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# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

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*Frontispiece*



Rev.d S. Rachett Del.t

Ja.s Mitan Sc.

*Launceston Castle.*

# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA;

OR,

OBSERVATIONS ON

## ANTIENT CASTLES.

INCLUDING

REMARKS ON THE

## WHOLE PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE,

ECCLESIASTICAL, AS WELL AS MILITARY,

IN GREAT BRITAIN:

AND ON

THE CORRESPONDING CHANGES, IN

## MANNERS, LAWS, AND CUSTOMS.

TENDING BOTH TO ILLUSTRATE

MODERN HISTORY:

AND TO ELUCIDATE MANY INTERESTING PASSAGES IN VARIOUS

ANTIENT CLASSIC AUTHORS.

BY

EDWARD KING, ESQ. F.R.S. AND A.S.

Modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis. Hor. Ep.

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To recall *past days*, is impossible;—and even to obtain any adequate apprehensions of *the days that are past*, is to man exceeding difficult:—for the mind is continually so overpowered with associations of ideas to which it is habituated from objects continually present, that it requires a command of thought, and a strength of imagination, possessed by few persons, to become divested of the prejudices arising from modes of thinking to which we have been accustomed, in a manner at all sufficient for the right apprehension of such scenes, and thoughts, as must have presented themselves to the minds of those who lived in former ages.*

* There are three very striking instances, of the exceeding difference of the combinations of ideas presented to the mind, in different ages, by means of the very same identical objects;—even though they still remain nearly the same in external aspect.—The one; the antient *Caledonian* Duns, in the north of Scotland; mistakingly called Danish Forts;—

We can hardly ever entirely avoid seeing the whole of the description of past times through a false medium;—a delusive imperfect apprehension, that will much alter the true and right appearance of every imaged feature.

another, the first small Towers of Stone, constructed by some of the early *British* Chieftains, on our Southern Shores;—and the third; the magnificent Tombs of our *Norman* Princes; and of illustrious Nobles; Prelates; Abbots; and Abbesses; from the middle of the twelfth, to the end of the fifteenth century.

The two former; (which we cannot forbear contrasting with the so much more magnificent Norman structures;) can now hardly offer to our imaginations, any other ideas, than that of small, dismal, dark dens; that must have been devoid of convenience, and devoid of state; even when crowded with the court, and retinue, either of Vortigern, or Ambrosius;—of Kenneth, or of Donald.

But in those early ages, either in Cornwall, or in Scotland, such kind of rude structures, (the very first, and almost only complete buildings of *stone* then known in the whole Island,) could not fail of conveying ideas of grandeur:—and would indeed appear, in the eyes of the Britons, *cloud-capt towers*; and even *gorgeous palaces;* at the very time that the numerous attendants on the Sovereign, were *there* literally *littered down with straw*, in the lower apartment, and in the surrounding court.

As to the last; the magnificent *Norman* Tombs, from the middle of the twelfth, to the end of the fifteenth century;—we *now* can scarce bring our imaginations to view them in any other light, than as *mere monuments*, and memorials of the dead.

But in the ages referred to, they presented to the mind of the beholder, the idea of great personages *actually still lying in state*, and not yet mingled with that common dust, the common lot of all men.

Whilst such of them as, by the superstition of the times, were canonized, were considered as present in their magnificent shrines, not only in body, but even in some degree in spirit, to receive those most shocking idolatrous supplications, which were offered up, through their supposed intercessions, by the misguided people.

Whilst Edward the Confessor, and Thomas a Becket, were worshipped in their shrines;—Henry the Third, and Edward the Third, whose bodies were *not buried*, but placed high from the ground, in the centre of their tombs, (with the representation of their persons, placed above, in their royal robes, covered with brass, so richly gilt that it might all be easily restored to its pristine splendour at this very hour,) were considered, by every spectator, as still lying in the heart of the tomb *in state*, as effectually as when the body was first placed under a sable herse, in the royal apartment of the palace wherein each died.

And even the same idea was annexed to each of the stone coffins, of the Bishops of Hereford; and of the Abbesses of Ramsay; wherein they lie above ground.

Still more strongly was this idea annexed to the tombs of Edward the Black Prince, and of Henry the Fourth, at Canterbury; under the bodies of whom, contained in their tombs above, you may at this hour actually walk, in the lightsome Crypt beneath.

The same sort of ideas were doubtless usually annexed to the tombs of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, and of Aveline his wife, about A. D. 1300; and to that

Yet unquestionably there is hardly any kind of cultivation of the human faculties, that can well be of more importance to us, than the obtaining the power of discerning, as clearly as we are able, how the whole aspect of things has changed, upon the face of the earth, from age to age;—and how exceedingly different the combinations of ideas, in the human mind, must have been, at different periods;—since upon it depends all right judgment;—and on it very much depends the full elucidation of all truth; and the removing

of Aymer de Valence about 1323 or 5, at Westminster;—and in like manner to those of Robert King of Naples about 1320, in the church of St. John at Naples;—and to those of the first Scaligers, at Verona; all nearly of the same age, and very much of the same kind of architecture with the former; whilst one of the bodies of the ancestors of the Scaligers was placed over the door of the church; and another of the bodies on high pillars, so that you may walk under it.

The magnificent monument of Henry the Fifth, whose body, like that of Richard the Second, lies inclosed in the lower part of the tomb, much above the level of the floor;—and last of all, (when the custom of placing the body in the raised tomb itself was coming into disuse,) the tombs of Henry the Seventh, and that of his mother Margaret Countess of Richmond, (with the brazen socket for the taper, that was designed to be kept continually burning, still remaining at the feet of one of the finest bronze figures, to resemble her, that sculptor ever formed,) had exactly the same continued idea, of a perpetual *lying in state*, annexed:—till at length, in that very age, the whole of this sort of imagination became utterly extinguished;—and from thenceforth most truly left earth to earth, ashes to ashes, and in every sense of the word, dust to dust; and to us ideas so totally changed, that mankind are now, in general, at a loss to find out *how* the whole matter was;—wonder, when by chance the remains of bodies are discovered (like that of Edward the First, and like the bones of Richard the Second,) lying yet in their sepulchres *above ground*;—and can scarcely acquire discernment sufficient to perceive, that such things, once so common, and so perfectly well understood, ever were.

Yet this idea of a stately presence of Royal Remains, was as far as possible endeavoured to be preserved, throughout ages, in a most striking manner, in the well-known Inscription, on the margin of the Tomb of Edward the First; whose body still nearly entire, wrapped in cere-cloths, and robes of state, and lying *above* the steps ascending to Edward the Confessor's Chapel, was seen and examined in 1774; and has a most curious account given of it in the Archæologia, Vol. III. p. 376.

The Inscription was almost perfect, till within the last half century.

Edwardus Primus—Scotorum Malleus hic est—1308—Pactum Serva.

Edward the First,—the Scots Maul is here,—1308—Observe the Treaty.

A slight representation of the tomb of Robert King of Naples, and of the adjoining ones, may be seen in Misson's Voyage d'Italie, Vol. II. p. 39, French ed. of 1702; and good representations of the tombs of the Scaligers are given by Panvinius, the dates of which tombs were from 1311 and 1325 to 1353 and 1375. Onuphrii Panvinii Antiquitatum Veronensium, p. 169, 170.

of many difficulties, that have even prevented the right understanding of those Sacred Writings that are above all things the most interesting to us.

And at the same time, on it depends the relieving of the mind from the entanglement of many errours, that have been imposed upon the world, with regard to matters both relating to religion, and to civil government.

To collect together, as many well ascertained facts, and as many clear accounts of actual remains of antiquity as possible, by way of *data*, in one point of view; without any hypothesis whatsoever; and without any preconceived apprehensions; and to wait with patience for the unavoidable obviously concluding ideas, that present themselves to the eye of the mind, from a concurring convergency of every ray of the light of truth derived from the whole; must surely then be one of the best modes of attaining unto such kind of discernment.—And is perhaps an effort in the cause of truth, which deserves to be much cherished in the minds of those who have leisure, even as a just and due cultivation of those faculties which Almighty God has given us.

An undertaking of this kind, produced the contents of the two former Volumes:—and an honest desire still further to persevere in such effort, now brings this third to the public eye.

In the conclusion of the last Volume, it was intimated; that *after* having endeavoured to discern, without prepossessions of any kind, how rude were the *Munitions*, and how comfortless the Habitations, both of those deemed the aboriginal British inhabitants, and of the first additional British settlers:—and how gross, and barbarous, though in some instances so stupendous, all their works were:—and *after* having endeavoured to discover more precisely, what sort of Fortresses, and what improved ideas of Civilization, the Romans introduced; that we should next proceed to enquire, in what degree any *Imitation* took place, amongst the Britons themselves;—and how far any *greater* advancement was progressively made.

But before we enquire what Imitations of Roman magnificence were attempted by them, it will be well deserving our utmost care, and diligence, to turn our attention to some extraordinary remains of architecture, which are found in certain parts of this Island, well known to have been visited by foreign nations, long before the Roman Invasion.

Remains, which are of such a singular construction, that they cannot be supposed to have been the vestiges of any buildings erected either by the Romans,—or by the Saxons,—or by the Danes,—or by the Normans;—and Remains, therefore, which must have been the works of some prior age;—and, as it should seem, either of *Phœnician* settlers; or of some other foreigners from the East;—or else of such Britons, as in those early ages, and in those parts so early visited by the Phœnicians, had at last acquired this plan, and this art of building, by conversing with those who repeatedly visited these coasts, in order to obtain that valuable produce *Tin*.

This assertion, (the fact having never yet been properly attended to,) may appear to some persons, at first sight, rash, novel, and extravagant: and the truth of it may perhaps be somewhat called in question. But it will, I am persuaded, on a fair and full examination, appear to every candid person to be well supported, by a chain of corresponding evidence; whilst the perfect, close resem-

blance of these structures, to what appears, from the highest authority, to have been the real construction of the—ὀχυρώματα,—or *antient Castellated Fortresses*, in *Syria*, *Media*, and *Persia*, so often mentioned in Scripture;—and their total disagreement with the plan of any *Roman Fortresses;* and with the dimensions and other peculiarities of those of the *Normans;*—will afford the strongest light, to assist us in tracing their real history:—in doing which, however, we must be careful to distinguish these *very original Remains*, from all such additional structures, and out-buildings, as are now found in their environs, and in their out-works.

It has been remarked, concerning the Romans; that they did not build *Forts* in *Cornwall*, and *Devonshire;* as they did in other parts of Britain; and that very few *Roman* antiquities have been found in those countries;* and the reason, with great judgment, assigned for this has been, that the *Danmonii*,+ who inhabited those coasts, were *previously* the most civilized of any of the inhabitants of this Island;—submitted very soon, and without much resistance, to the Romans;—and never joined in any revolt against them.

Diodorus Siculus expressly speaks of the hospitable, and more refined manner, in which these people lived; and plainly attributes it to their great intercourse with foreign merchants.‡

And we learn from Strabo,§ that their neighbours, the people of the Scilly Islands, or Cassiterides, to which the Phœnicians and,

* Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 243.

+ Camden, Vol. I. p. 3 and 4. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 108.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. § 22, p. 209. Wesselingii ed.

§ Strabo, lib. iii. p. 175. We learn from Strabo also, that Pytheas of Marseilles, an antient Greek geographer, who lived three hundred years before the beginning of the Christian æra, mentioned Britain and the neighbouring islands, and had even *visited* them. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 104.—It is no wonder therefore that some degrees of civilization existed in these parts, long before the invasion by the Romans.

The Phœnicians imported hither at first, glass beads, salt, little trinkets, earthen ware, and toys, (Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 47,) much in the same manner, as the Europeans have done in later ages to America, and to the South Sea Islands; and they carried back *tin*; which they transported as far as India; (Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. § 22, p. 347, and Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16); there is also every reason to believe, that they carried back some lead (Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17).

We have further every assurance possible, that the people of Cornwall, and of the

in process of time, also the Grecians traded, had, notwithstanding their sordid squalid appearance, the advantage of being *clothed; before* any such degree of civilization had reached the interior parts of Britain, or even its eastern coasts.*

A yet further confirmation, that the inhabitants of Cornwall, and of the neighbouring districts, were of more consequence, in the estimation of their fellow Islanders, from the advantages of superiour, and earlier civilization, than those of other parts of Britain; is; that on the Romans leaving this country, the *first* regular *British Kingdom* was attempted to be set up by *Vortigern*,† the Chieftain of the *Cornish Britons*, and of those Britons, *the Silures* (who inhabited what is now called Glamorganshire).

To all which circumstances it should be added, that the skill of the *British workmen* in building, in the time of the Romans, is spoken of in the highest terms by antient writers:‡—from whence we cannot but conclude that their innate ingenuity must have

Scilly Islands, not only dug tin out of their mines; but somewhat understood the arts of *refining and working* tin, several centuries before the Roman invasion, (Bochart. Vol. I. p. 648. Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. p. 347); and indeed the working in other metals, seems also to have been a little understood in some other parts of the Island: for in 1735 a discovery was made on *Easterly-moor*, twelve miles from York, which indicated, that a forge for copper *Celtes* had existed there;—a species of instrument, or weapon, so antient as to be quite disused in the time of the Romans. See Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 283.

The Romans, we now know, mixed tin with the brass of their swords, and spear heads, before they knew any thing of Britain;—and in a very curious Paper of Dr. Pearson's, that was read before the Royal Society, in June 1796, concerning the analyzation of several antient brazen instruments, and weapons, both Roman and others, it was most justly observed; that British tin must have been much more valuable, and in higher estimation, in the very antient ages, than in any period since; because it was found, that those brazen instruments and weapons derived their hardness, merely from the admixture of tin with the brass.—The celtes, the swords, and the axes, having almost uniformly one part in nine of tin.—Can we then suppose, that whilst this commodity was in such high estimation, and even of necessity so greedily sought after, that those Britons themselves, who furnished this useful material, should never avail themselves of such continual commerce, to obtain any information for the improvement of their own means of defence? or rear one Structure according to Phœnician hints?

* See also Samme's Britannia, p. 118.

† Henry's Hist. Vol. I. p. 130, 243.

‡ Eumenii Panegyr. viii. See also Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 77. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 93. Tyrrell's Hist. p. 116; and Baker's Chronicle, p. 3.

manifested itself somewhat, *even before* that time, in such particular parts of the Island, as were the first of all others civilized by the introduction of some degree of foreign information;—of information prior to, and from other regions than the Roman.

And probably the very reason *why* the Romans did not build any *Castra* in Cornwall, similar to those at Richborough, Pevensey, and Portchester, was, because they found no sort of occasion to do so; there being fortresses sufficiently strong already erected there, before their time.

What other conclusion then can be formed, than that *some Munitions*, far beyond what were *usual* in the rest of the Island, did actually exist in *Cornwall*. And that the *sole reason* why Cæsar makes no mention of any *such* in his Commentaries was, because *his* troops never approached thus far west.

That there were, in very truth, such in Cornwall, and in its neighbourhood, before the Romans visited these parts; we may perceive, from remains of which no other rational account, than that they had such prior existence, can be given.

For they are remains inconsistent with either *Roman*, or *Norman* designs of architecture: and such as cannot reasonably be supposed to have been erected otherwise than by *the Britons;* and in consequence merely of such ideas of building, as they had originally obtained from *the Phœnicians*.

The *Normans*, in all the instances wherein we have any assured testimony concerning their works, constructed, from the first, such as were always upon a quite different scale.

The *Danes*, in the early periods of their irruptions, had no time to rear such edifices; and appear, in every instance, to have formed mere hasty fortifications, of a very different construction. And in the later periods of their established monarchy, had plainly, as appears by the works of *Canute*, ideas of architecture far superiour to any thing of this sort.

And as to the *Saxons;* (to whom I was formerly almost inclined to attribute some antient structures of this kind;* from a full conviction that they could neither be *Norman*, nor *Danish;* and because

* Observations on Antient Castles, p. 115, and p. 59; and Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 291 and p. 235.

one or two such, in other parts, are known to have been actually resorted to by *Hengist*, and his Saxons;)—as to *their* having any concern in the erecting these edifices; those people, in the earliest periods of their ravages, it is well known, had indeed no footing in Cornwall at all: and when they did obtain power there, in the time of King Athelstan, yet they held it only for a very short duration;—such as cannot possibly be deemed to have been sufficient for the rearing any of these piles;* even if their style of architecture could permit the suspicion of such an origin to any of them.

The Remains in question are, in short, such, as will not bear a close comparison with any thing constructed by any of these *three* different invading people: but at the same time they have so perfect a conformity with the real plan of Phœnician, Syrian, and *Median* Castles, and with others in *Asia Minor*, as far as we have any information concerning those kind of fortresses, either from the most antient authors, or from modern travellers, that there cannot remain a doubt, of their having been originally actual designed imitations of them; whatever age they were erected in; or whatever alterations, as to the insertion of arches, or adding of other out-buildings, may have been made in them.

There is one particular Castle in Cornwall, in a situation of all others the most likely to have been pitched upon for a strong-hold in the very first instance; that most effectually confirms all that is here said.

This is the antient Castle of *Launceston;* near the banks of the river *Tamar;*—situated in a part of the country, where the Phœnician traders are likely to have had the earliest access;—where, therefore, they must have been conversant, for more than three hundred years, before the time of the Romans.†—And where, it is still well known, a Castle, of some sort or other, did undoubtedly exist, *long prior* to the Norman conquest.‡

There is indeed a *squareness*, in the form of the great outer court, (called in Norman times the *outer ballium*, or lower bailie) beneath the rocky hill; which plainly indicates that the Romans did, in

* See Borlase, p. 44.

† Borlase, p. 28.

‡ See Borlase, p. 360. 361, and the authorities so fairly adduced by him.

process of time, take possession of this fortress, and improve it.*—There is also *a Tower*, at the very foot of the rocky hill, which may be suspected to have been constructed, during the time that the Romans held this important place.—And some circular arches in the outermost parts, even of the Keep itself; are marks, either of reparations made in *Roman* times, or at least of some knowledge of the invention of *the arch*, when those outworks of the Keep were constructed.—But still the whole style of the Keep Tower, in its peculiar form, and dimensions, and in the structure of its walls, is such, as will not permit any intelligent mind, accustomed to compare the works of different nations one with another, once to harbour an idea of its having been constructed by the *Romans;* or in any subsequent ages either by the *Saxons*, or by the *Normans;* although there are, in the great court beneath, undoubted Norman edifices, both gates, and towers.

It must then have been one of those very early pre-existing Castles in Cornwall, (and perhaps *the very first* of them,) which rendered it so unnecessary to the Romans to form any other fortifications, or *Castra* of their own peculiar construction, in the country of the *Danmonii*.

Let us then, without prejudice, attend to the peculiarity of its remains:—distinguishing such particular parts of the lower outworks as are plainly of recent Norman architecture;—and comparing its more original remains, on the summit of the hill, with their true archetypes in the East.

Not far from the banks of the river Tamar, on an high conical rocky hill, above an hundred feet in altitude, (far different from the *artificial* mounts of Norman times,) stands this most antient Castle of Launceston; commanding the principal ford of a river; which has the longest course, and is one of the most considerable rivers in Cornwall; forms an harbour for shipping at its mouth; and has no other possible ford, between this place and its entrance into the Sea.†

It stands also, evidently, in a part of the country rich in tin

* That the Romans actually had possession of Launceston, appears with more than common probability, from coins of *Vespasian*, and of *Domitian*, that have been dug up there. See Borlase, p. 360.

† Ib. p. 360.

veins, and most likely to have enticed Phœnician traders:*—and in a district, which is well known to have been resorted to, as the chief of all the others, on public occasions, by the Danmonian Britons; even so late as the year 831:—when, from this very spot, they sent to invite the Danes.

It stands about *midway* of the whole length of the river; and in the very heart of the country; almost equally distant from the northern, and southern coast; so that it might well command, from the earliest ages, the whole extent of the tin produce.

The Keep (unlike all Norman keeps,) instead of being of great diameter, and spacious, is very small:—though there was evidently space enough, on the top of the rock, to have made it as large as Norman magnificence could demand; had it been erected, (as some have hastily conjectured,+) by those people.‡

It is only eighteen feet and an half in diameter within, and is round, in form, as represented in the plan. (Pl. I. fig. 1. at K.)

But its wall is exceedingly strong; being at least ten feet thick.—And within its thickness, is a staircase, as shewn in the plan, ascending up from one side of the passage of the door way, at (I), without any winding, excepting that of the mere curvature of the wall itself.

The present height is thirty-two feet; the upper part being somewhat broken down.—And it contained, as its only apartments, a sort of dungeon, on the ground, which had no light at all: and two rooms over it; one above the other.

The lowermost of these, or the room immediately above the dungeon, was nearly as dismal and dark as the dungeon itself; and appears obviously, therefore, to have been intended merely to be used as a place for stores; or a sort of treasury. But in the uppermost apartment there appear to have been two large windows, (now broken down), commanding a most extensive view; one to the east,

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 7. + Ib.

‡ *Trematon* Castle, in the very same county of Cornwall, which may, with good reason, be concluded to have been built by Robert, Earl of Moreton, is a true *Norman* structure:—and there cannot be a greater contrast than there is between it and *Launceston*.—Like Tunbridge Castle, it is placed, not on an high natural rock, but on an *artificial* mount, and is no less than sixty feet in diameter on the inside.—See the Views of it in Borlase, p. 354. Pl. XXXI. and in Grose's Supplement to his Antiquities.

and another to the west;—and also a fire hearth, with a passage for the smoke carried up through the thickness of the wall, towards the north,—all which plainly indicates this room to have been intended as a sort of state apartment, for the actual residence of the Chieftain.

Such is this tower;—or treasure house;—this keep;—dungeon;—or palace; (by whatever name it was dignified in antient times). And its close surrounding works, are no less extraordinary.—For we find it immediately encompassed by a second munition, still stronger than itself.

About six feet, or a little more from its outside, is an encircling wall, twelve feet thick; and nearly as high as the floor of the uppermost apartment of all.—And the entrance through this wall, for the better security of the keep, is not opposite to the inner entrance of the keep; but is placed a little on one side;—at (G): and to preserve still greater external strength, the staircase, which is only three feet wide, leading to the rampart above, is not here (like the staircase of the body of the keep,) *quite within* the inmost substance of the wall; but is placed close to the inner area; separated only by a very slight partition of stone work.

The very existence, however, of this staircase, surely, shews, that Dr. Borlase must have been mistaken, in supposing,* that the area between this strong wall and the keep was once covered over; and that the great openings, or windows, in the upper part of the keep above, served as doors to lead to a walk all round, formed by such covering: for if there had ever really been such covering, and if the windows above were once, (as doors,) the means of going out upon it; this staircase was not only of no use; but would even have been a means of greatly weakening the defence of the inner tower: since whatever enemy, in that case, once gained the outermost of the two gates, (at G), would easily be master of the whole.

This immediately surrounding wall, on the contrary, seems merely to have formed a little open court of guard:—and it is indeed no ways improbable, that the present passage into this little narrow court, *on the left hand*, (at H), might have been originally strongly walled up;—and that there might have been no access to the second gate (I), except by passing *all round* the keep itself, from

* Borlase, p. 359.

the gate (G), through the whole of this winding passage; which would undoubtedly greatly add to the strength of the defence.

Beyond this second wall, is, again, a second surrounding circular area: in like manner with the first, only six feet wide;—which was further enclosed by a third encircling wall, forming a sort of mere parapet, on the very edge of the summit of the hill.—This last is now almost entirely ruined; and appears never to have been above three feet thick; and only a sort of breast work.

The walls have a little irregularity in their thickness, in one part of the circle more than in another; which it is difficult to account for, except from the rudeness of the age, in which they were built.—And all these three concentric structures, occupy an area, on the flat surface of the high rocky conical eminence before described, of at least ninety-three feet in diameter. An area therefore, whereon, if this castle had really been a work of the Normans, there was more than room sufficient to have constructed any Keep, as usual, even of their most magnificent dimensions.

At the foot of the circular rock, which is at least two hundred and twenty feet in diameter, we are informed, by such authority as cannot well be called in question,* there was formerly a fourth surrounding wall: situated nearly where the lines (444) are marked in the Plan (fig. 1.); and where the dotted curve appears in the view of the elevation. (fig. 2.)

And the ascent to the keep, from the very earliest ages, was evidently by a steep flight of many deep steps, at (D), carried straight up the slope of the hill, between two side walls; in the which were loop holes, the whole way, at proper distances from each other, for defence. This mode of ascent still continues:—and the width of the passage is about seven feet.

Beyond this fourth surrounding wall, was also, in former earlier periods, as well as in later Norman ages, (as appears evident from many parts of the ruins,) another, external, strong wall; and a great surrounding ditch. But this outward wall has been frequently repaired; and in its present state, shews that it was finally completed in the true *Norman* style, with several towers; and a gate at (A), exactly on the Norman plan.

* See Borlase, p. 359.

Here then let us pause a little;—and consider what sort of idea, the whole groupe of building must have formerly conveyed to the mind; even with such outward walls, as it must be concluded to have had, even before the time of the Normans.

We find an antient Fortress, which must originally have appeared to the eye as composed of a stately Keep, or Palace, in the midst; high elevated on a tremendous summit: and of *five* great surrounding walls, seen distinctly rising, and towering, higher and higher, one behind another; in what must have been thought both then, and indeed at all times, a very august manner.—Especially as even its ruins, in its present wretched state, still convey ideas of a sort of sublime grandeur.

A slight representation of the whole is endeavoured to be conveyed, both in the kind of bird's-eye view (Pl. I. fig. 2.); and also in a distant view, given in the Frontispiece to this Volume.

And if we compare this sort of fortress, first with the description given by *Herodotus*, of *Ecbatana:* and with the description, given by Diodorus Siculus, of the Castle of *Pergamus;* and with the descriptions given by some modern travellers, of the remains of one or two other *antient* fortresses in the East: we shall at once perceive, that the original pattern for the construction of Launceston, could be derived from no other quarter than Asia; at the same time, that we cannot but recollect that, from *that quarter*, it might most easily have been derived; by means of intercourse with those Phœnicians, who visited this Island, with cautious attention, to obtain tin.

" Herodotus plainly tells us,* that at the request, and command " of Dejoces, the Medes built him strong and magnificent edifices: " and also constructed what is called *Ecbatana.*"

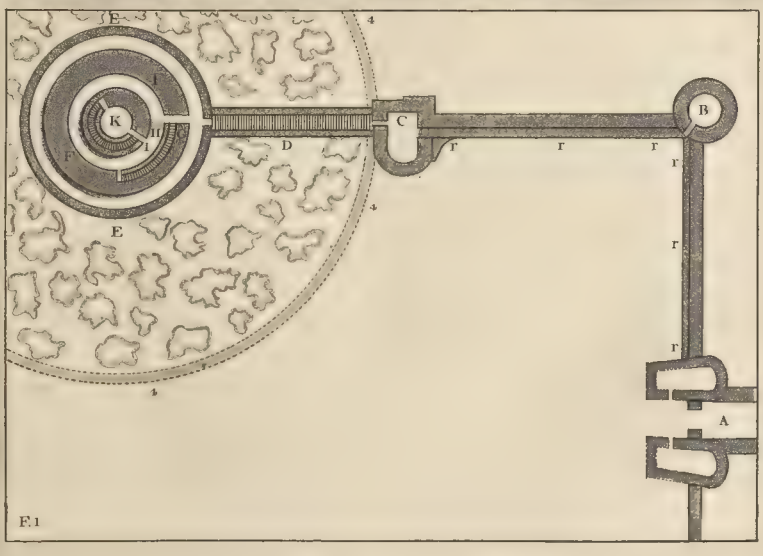
His very words, which I cite for the sake of the greater precision, and because of my differing from some commonly received opinions, are as follow:

*Πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα.—μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισί ἐστι ὑψηλότερος.—τὸ μέν κου τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει, κολωνὸς ἐὸν, ὥστε*

* Herodotus, ed. Wesselingii, lib. i. 98, p. 50.51.

F. 2






F. 1

*Lanceston Caſtle in Cornwall.*

E. K. *delt.* J. C. Stadler *ſculp.*

*Προμαχεῶνες* evidently means all the uppermost defensive parts of the walls:—and, therefore, must include the idea of turrets, or towers, as well as of mere battlements.—And as *κολωνὸς* much rather means *a steep rocky summit*, or very high steep mount, than any other kind of hill;* it well accounts for there being room, and

should rather be considered as having been in reality only a gradual introduction of civilization, and of regular *just government*; and as importing little more than what our Norman Princes did, when instead of permitting the continuance of the then usual *immediate* application to the King, in the *Aula Regis*, his great Court, which till that time constantly followed the *King's person*, Henry the Second appointed *two* other Courts, of *King's Bench*, and *Common Pleas*, to be *stationary* at Westminster; where all applications, and proceedings, were thenceforth to be *by pleadings*:—and when, in addition to this regulation, *Judges Itinerant* were sent on regular circuits, *to enquire*, and take cognizance (or, as *Herodotus* perhaps would have expressed it, to *spy out*, and obtain information) of offences, and misdemeanours. (See Lord Ch. Just. Hales's History of the Common Law, p. 140, 142. Dalrymple, p. 284.) For by both the one means, and the other, *legal processes* were regularly instituted; and criminals were duly brought to judgment.—And indeed the same sort of steps toward civilization, and on its first dawning, seem to have been taken in *France*, when the Gallic Kings instituted first what were called the *Missi Dominici*; and afterwards *Royal Cases*, and *Appeals*. (Henault, Vol. II. p. 892. Essay on the English Constitution and Government, by the Author of this Work, 2d edit. p. 75.) And this idea, of these regulations of *Dejoces* being rather merely such a kind of useful and beneficial introduction of *Civilization*, seems confirmed, by what is further added by *Herodotus*;—and also by the well-known fact, adverted to in the Book of Ezra, that *Ecbatana* actually became *the established Place of Public Records* in subsequent ages. Ezra, chap. vi. ver. 2. 1 Esdras, chap. vi. ver. 23.

Herodotus adds concerning Dejoces that,

Ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός. καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες, εἴσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσεπέμπεσκον· καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων, τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε.—ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε.—τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατο οἱ·—εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἑκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίευ,

*He was rigidly observant of justice*;—*and those who had litigations, sent in to him their causes written*;—*and he, judging them, sent back the writings that had been sent to him.*—*This he did with regard to* (suits or) *causes*;—*but with regard to other matters, he ordained thus*:—*If he understood that any person was doing injury, after he had sent for him, he recompensed him according to his desert for every injurious action.*

The words that Herodotus immediately subjoins, seem also to point out, instead of the conclusions we have been too much led to form, concerning his violent tyranny, that, like the conduct of our Norman Princes, he merely sent persons to make enquiry after offences.—For concerning Henry the Second's Itinerant Judges, it not only might be said, but was said, almost literally in the words of Herodotus, that

Καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἤρχε.

*There were both spies, and persons upon the watch, throughout the whole country that he governed.*

* See H. Stephen's Appendix, 1262.

opportunity for these works regularly to overtop one another, from the outermost circular wall, to the innermost.

The colouring of the walls must have had a beautiful effect:—and, though applied in so different a manner, cannot but recal to the mind of a curious and attentive reader, the beautiful and brilliant colours, with which *Norden* assures us the basso relievos on the walls of the antient temples, and palaces of Upper Egypt are stained:—whilst the word φαρμάκοισι, evidently implies that *chemical art* was used, in the preparation of them.—And whilst the words καταχρυσωμένους, and καλακεχρυσωμένους, much rather imply, that the walls were merely *gilded*, and *silvered;* than that they were *plated* with gold, and silver, as some translators have supposed.

It would be an omission not to add, that whilst the rendering of the word, κολωνὸς, as meaning *an high pointed hill*, perfectly well accounts for the manner in which the seven walls appeared towering one above another; it at the same time perfectly reconciles the seeming difference, between the account given by *Herodotus*, and that given by *Diodorus;* who says that *Ecbatana* stood, *ἐν πεδίῳ, in a plain;**—because we may very fairly conclude, that *an insulated, high, conical rocky hill*, might stand, in reality, *in the midst*

And that the ultimate tendency of what Dejoces, as well as Henry the Second did, was to introduce *Civilization*, amongst a rude and barbarous people, appears even from a trifling circumstance, mentioned still further; that, πρός τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν ἀπίλιον, καὶ ἅπασι τοῦτό γε εἶναι αἰσχρόν. *Besides all the preceding regulations, to laugh, or to spit, in his presence, should by all be deemed infamous.*

A regulation which, (however in itself contemptible,) yet shews a degree of caution, well consistent with the climate of Eastern Countries; and, however it may appear to us, *as unnecessary*, did yet, in point of refinement, surpass the ideas even of our late elegant, Sir William Temple. (See a curious anecdote with regard to him, in his Censure of Monsieur *Hoeft's* Cleanliness. *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 472. fol. ed.)

* The words of Diodorus are, concerning the original establishment of a Strong-hold in this place by *Semiramis*, (whosoever she was, or whensoever she lived,) that παραγενομένη δὲ εἰς Ἐκβάτανα, πόλιν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην, κατασκεύασεν ἐν αὐτῇ πολυτελῆ βασίλεια. *Coming to Ecbatana*, (most probably an original hill fortress of the preceding and still earlier ages, and such as have been described in the first Volume of this Work,) *a city* (or fortress) *situated in the midst of a plain, she built there with great expence a palace.* Diodorus, Wesselingii, Vol. I. 72. p. 127.

And not only in this respect may the account of Diodorus be well reconciled with that of Herodotus; but also, in what he adds concerning the extent of the outermost wall of *Ecbatana*, in the time of Alexander the Great.

*of a great plain;* just as Mount *Tabor*, (on which was once a strong fortress,) is well known to stand in the midst of the great plain of *Esdraelon.**—And *Ecbatana*, entirely covering this hill, might with the more propriety be said to stand *in a plain;* as the whole rocky hill itself was (according to the natural inference from the words of *Herodotus*) even actually quite included *within* the outward wall of the Fortress; just as the rocky, high pointed hill, at *Launceston*, is also included much within the outermost walls of that Castle.

The outermost wall at *Ecbatana*, must undoubtedly have been vast, and magnificent.—And we have a still more particular and most interesting account of the building of it, confirming such idea,

Ταύτης δέ φασι διακοσίων μεν καὶ πενήκοντα Σταδίων τὸν περίμεδρον ὑπάρχειν, βασίλεια δὲ ἔχειν τῆς ὅλης Μηδίας, καὶ θησαυρους πολλῶν χρημάτων. Diodorus Wesselingii, Vol. II. 621. p. 247.

*That according to report it was of two hundred and fifty Stadia in circuit, and that therein was the royal palace of all Media, and treasures of vast value.*

For although this measure does not agree with the real extent of Athens, if the account of Dion Chrysostom (Ora. VI. p. 87) may be relied on, who says the circuit of Athens was only two hundred Stadia; yet we ought to consider that the words of Herodotus, κατὰ τὸν Αθηναίων κύκλον, &c. do surely not imply any description of *precise equality*;—but do merely imply an idea of being somewhat *about* the same dimensions comparatively: to say nothing of the possibility of the extent of Ecbatana having been enlarged between the time of Dejoces, and the time of Alexander the Great; a space of more than 300 years.

Before this note is concluded, it perhaps further merits some degree of attention, that we have in the Book of Daniel (ch. vi. ver. 8 and 12) a confirmation of the continuance, even in the days of *Darius the Mede*, of the solemn ordinances established by *Dejoces*, as mentioned by Herodotus.

For we find mention made of *the unalterable sacredness of writings signed by the King.*—And that ordinances, *so established*, became *fixed laws*; much in the same manner as our Acts of Parliament; and even more irrevocably.—Whilst there can be no doubt, but that these sort of Writings, and *Acts*, were the very Records so cautiously preserved, from age to age, in the strong Treasury Tower at *Ecbatana*:—The words of the Presidents, and Princes to the King are,

Ver. 6. *O King, establish the Decree and sign the Writing; that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.*

Ver. 9. *Wherefore King Darius signed the Writing, and the Decree.*

And when they afterwards urged the carrying the Decree literally into execution, the King Darius himself submitted, though so greatly against his will, saying,

Ver. 12. *The thing is true according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.*

* See Maundrell's Travels, p. 113.

in the Book of *Judith*;—which may, like the account given by *Diodorus*, be perfectly well reconciled with that of *Herodotus*;—and at the same time tends to assure us, how much this wall must have extended *beyond the Palace*, properly so called,—because we find, that *within* this wall were indeed dwellings for *an whole army*.

This more full account in the Book of *Judith*, also points out, evidently, a correspondency, with those most massive buildings, the walls of Babylon, and with other huge walls of great cities in Asia; and as plainly indicates from whence proceeded the imitation, in the outward wall, originally surrounding both the town and the Castle at *Launceston*.

At the same time, the great height assigned to these outward walls of *Ecbatana* shews, that unless the other more inward walls had themselves stood on higher ground, and even on *a very high rising conical rock*, they never could have overtopped these outward walls, in the manner described by Herodotus, as seen from any neighbouring spot whatever; without being themselves so high as exceeds all belief, and as must have darkened every habitable space inclosed by them.

The learned Prideaux has clearly proved,* that *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the Book of *Judith*, was *Dejoces*;—and *Nebuchadonosor*, *Saosduchinus*, the son of *Esarhaddon*, *King of Assyria*.

And the plain account of the building of the outermost wall of *Ecbatana*, in the Book of *Judith*, (as translated by the LXX.) is; that *Arphaxad* (Dejoces) *reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana*, and that,†

Ver. 2. Ὠκοδόμησεν ἐπ' Ἐκβατάνων κύκλῳ τείχη ἐκ λίθων λελαξευμένων, εἰς πλάτος πηχῶν τριῶν, καὶ εἰς μῆκος πηχῶν ἓξ· καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τείχος πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτοῦ πηχῶν πεντήκοντα.

Ver. 3. Καὶ τοὺς πύργους αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῆς πηχῶν ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς ἐθεμελίωσεν εἰς πήχεις ἑξήκοντα.

Ver. 4. Καὶ ἐποίησεν τὰς πύλας αὐτῆς πύλας διεγειρομένας εἰς ὕψος πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῶν πήχεις τεσσαράκοντα, εἰς ἔξοδους δυνάμεων δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διατάξεις τῶν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ.

Ver. 2. *He built round Ecbatana walls of hewn stones, of the breadth of three cubits* (or 4½ feet), *and of the length of six cubits* (or 9 feet).—

* See his Connection, Vol. I. p. 28, fol. ed. 1717.

† Judith, chap. i. ver. 2.

*And made the height of the wall seventy cubits* (or 105 feet), *and its breadth fifty cubits* (or 75 feet).

Ver. 3. *And set up the towers thereof an hundred cubits* (or 150 feet) *high, at its gates, and laid their foundations of the breadth of sixty cubits* (or 90 feet).

Ver. 4. *And made its gates, warlike gates, of the height of seventy cubits* (or 105 feet); *and their breadth forty cubits* (or 60 feet), *for the marching forth of his mighty hosts, and for the arraying of his troops of foot.*

The words ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις, (in the 3d verse,) evidently do rather mean, *at its gates,*—than, *upon the gates of it*, as our version in the Bible has translated them.—And the vast height of the gates 105 feet, as well as their breadth of 60 feet, as evidently shew, that no arches could be meant to be described, as covering such gates.

From the whole concise account we may therefore understand that the walls were (like those of Babylon) a sort of great ramparts; of 75 feet in breadth, at bottom; and 105 feet high; probably in the greatest part of their substance formed of earth, and only *faced* with hewn stone;—that they had, at proper distances, towers rising about 45 feet above the top of the wall; and about 90 feet square; and therefore *projecting* about 15 feet beyond the wall;—and that the gates designed for *sending forth of armies*, were either inclosed courts, or areas at the gates, protected by walls and towers:—or else, simply, great wide passages, through the walls, (either blockaded occasionally like the Decuman gates of the Romans, or constantly guarded by a sufficient force,) 60 feet wide; and flanked with smaller towers (105 feet in height, and about 60 feet square), to protect the passage the whole way.—And indeed, as it is so particularly mentioned, that this passage, of 60 feet wide, was *for the arraying* of his troops of foot; we must the rather be led to conclude, that it must (whether a court and area, or a mere passage) have been considerably longer than the mere width of the wall (or 75 feet); because a space of 75 feet, by 60, would not conveniently muster more than 1100 men at the utmost.

The stones of the wall, according to this account, were, unquestionably, magnificent and ponderous:—but we ought not to omit recollecting, that those of the outward wall of the *Temple of Solomon*,

in earlier days, and those of the outward walls of *Palmyra*, and of *Balbeck*, in later days, were much more so.*

Every minute enquiry into the interesting history of any of those ages that are past, flings light, not only on those that follow, but on such as have preceded; and in return often receives aid from obsolete accounts of the most early periods of all.—And thus, the fact of there having been an *hill fortress* at *Ecbatana*, (as well as on *Mount Tabor*,) of the old, and most original plan of such works, even long before the time of *Dejoces*, seems to be greatly confirmed, by a very obsolete circumstance mentioned by *Diodorus*;—that when *Nineveh* was taken, and so dreadfully plundered by *Arbaces*, (not many years after Jonah's Prophecy, and exactly according to that of Nahum†) about 120 years before *Dejoces* was raised to the throne; and when the first *Sardanapalus*, then King of *Assyria*, had burnt himself to death, with his wives, and concubines, and their attendant eunuchs, on a great pile, which he had heaped up, containing the best part of his riches; the melted treasure, saved out of that pile, was carried to *Ecbatana*, by *Arbaces*, and deposited there as in a place of safety.‡

Allowance must unquestionably be made, for the vast difference, in point of magnificence, between one of the first, and most sumptuous patterns, of these kind of structures, in the East; where arts *first* took their rise; and the mere distant imitations of them in a remote Island in the West, barbarous as Britain was.—But yet surely, in reading Herodotus's description of *Ecbatana* in Media; except merely as far as relates to the *gilding*, and *silvering*, and

* See in the preceding part of this Work, Vol. I. p. 262, 263.

† Newton on the Prophecies, Vol. I. p. 264, 266, 268.

‡ It is still further, a most curious fact, peculiarly deserving attention on this occasion, that Diodorus expressly says, concerning this first destruction of the city of Nineveh, (30, p. 140; ed. Wesselingii,) that—Πετοβόλοι γὰρ ἢ χελῶναι χωστρίδες, ἢ κριοὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μεμηχανημένοι τειχῶν οὔπω κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἐξεύρηντο. *Warlike machines for casting stones, or pents for making approaches, or battering rams, cunningly devised for breaking down of walls, were not yet, in those times, invented.*—In the following pages it will appear, that they were very soon afterwards invented, either *by*, or in the days of, *Uzziah* King of Judah, and *at Jerusalem*.—Surely it is astonishing, that these striking circumstances mentioned in profane History; tending so greatly to illustrate, and to confirm the truth of the Holy Scriptures, should not hitherto have been more properly attended to.

richly ornamented *colouring*, of the battlements of the walls; and that they were *seven* in number, instead of *five;* one seems to be almost reading the description of *Launceston Castle*,* extended upon a grander scale.

Some very learned men, misled by prejudices arising from the consideration of the vast magnificence that took place, in ages subsequent to that of *Dejoces*, in other parts of the *Medo-Persian Empire*, and that existed even prior to his time, in the Court of *Solomon*, and perhaps in a degree in that of *Priam*, have concluded, that *the very Palace alone*, of *Dejoces* was seven furlongs in circumference; adorned with wood work of cedar, and cyprus: with beams, ceilings, and columns, *plated* with gold, and silver; and *covered* with silver tiles.

But *Herodotus*, in his plain account of the rough Median grandeur of the superb structure reared, in those antient days, for the residence of *Dejoces;* does by no means use words that can fairly convey to our minds any such idea.—For he only says, in the most simple, unexaggerated manner, that the *largest*, and *outermost* of the walls surrounding the whole of the Fortress; (and which therefore plainly included the *lowest*, and *outermost* area, where the whole army,—every person in office,—and all the attendants of the Court, had their abode) was similar in extent to the circumference of Athens.—In fact, therefore, this outermost area, seems to have been most properly *the whole city*, instead of the palace; whilst the tradesmen dwelt in the suburbs, beyond the walls.—And surely we may be equally certain, that *this* City, notwithstanding the grandeur of the central Palace, and *gilded Treasury*, contained habitations, not better than those described by Herodotus to have existed in the magnificent city of *Sardis*:* as unquestionably the

* The rude irregularity of the rock, and the situation of the outward wall and towers, cause this Fortress to have very different appearances, from different points of view.—And accordingly there is a representation of it by *Grose*, and another by *Buck*, where the effect, as to its appearance, is far from being just the same either as that in the view given by *Borlase*; or as that in the views given in these pages:—but from whatever point the whole of the Castle is seen, we may easily understand, that very much of the same sort of idea, as that which Herodotus gives us of *Ecbatana*, (only on a smaller scale,) would be ever conveyed to the mind of any spectator.

+ See Herodotus Wesselingii, lib. v. 101, p. 428.

*Medians* were not *more* luxurious than the *Sardians*.—Habitations easily erected, and as soon removed, or destroyed.—Habitations of which multitudes might stand in a small space.—And habitations, truly not *much* better than those British huts, of which an whole, and numerously inhabited town, might easily be placed within the area of the lowermost great court at *Launceston* Castle.

There can be very little question but that the two innermost walls, at *Ecbatana, alone contained*, what were really the apartments for the use of *Dejoces* himself, and of his personal attendants;—neither can there be much doubt that these were of no very great extent; if we consider how very great spaces would absolutely be required, *between* each of the other seven successive walls, for the use of the *whole* court, and of the *whole* great army.

*Ecbatana*, as described by Herodotus, points out an obvious *pattern*, from whence the style of building imitated in many parts of *Media*, and in *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, might at last even be copied at *Launceston*, in Cornwall:—and the Castle and Treasury at *Pergamus*, in *Mysia*, further shews the actual early existence of another such *pattern*, in the neighbourhood of Phœnicia itself.

The description of it we have from *Strabo*,* minutely enough for the confirmation of this fact. He says,

*Ἦν μὲν δὴ τὸ Πέργαμον Λυσιμάχου γαζοφυλάκιον τοῦ Ἀγαθοκλέους, ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων, αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους συνοικημένην ἔχον· ἔστι δὲ στροβιλοειδὲς τὸ ὄρος εἰς ὀξεῖαν κορυφὴν ἀπολῆγον. ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ ἐρύματος τούτου καὶ τῶν χρημάτων (ἦν δὲ τάλαντα ἐννακισχίλια) Φιλέταιρος ἀνὴρ Τιανὸς.*

*Pergamus then indeed became the Treasury of Lysimachus the son of Agathocles, one of the Leaders of Alexander's forces; the very highest summit of the mountain they had to contain at once both their charge and themselves; the mountain is of a conical form ending as a (sort of) sharp pinnacle. And a man named Philetærus, the son of Tianus, was entrusted with the custody of this fortress, and of the treasure; (which was nine thousand talents.)*

This translation (with a careful attention to the precise meaning of the word *συνοικημένην*) is made as close to the original words as possible; for the sake of shewing with more clearness, both the

* Strabo, lib. xiii. 623, p. 985.

fact of the treasury, and of the habitable apartment for the Commander, and his guard, being on the summit; and also the precise form of the rock:—which we find corresponds exactly with that at *Launceston;* and, like it, could have no very great area at the top; though it contained this celebrated fortress, and so many ingots of gold.

The palace and Treasury of *Crœsus*, at *Sardis*, (or *Sardes*,) in Phrygia, where his treasure was stored, we are also given to understand* was on the *high summit* of a rock, though we have not any particular description of its form; only Herodotus says, that ἀπότομός τε γάρ ἐστι ταύτη ἡ ἀκρόπολις, καὶ ἄμαχος· *This hill fortress is precipitous, and inexpugnable. (not to be approached to fight against.)*

In the time of Alexander the Great, this Acropolis appeared fortified even *with a triple wall;* and when *Chandler* was there about 1765, it had still a double wall, and the hill appeared of a triangular form.+

As to the peculiar form of *Phœnician*, and other Asiatic palaces, and treasuries, of their princes;—even in later ages, still more nearly approaching our own times; we are assured, from the most unbiassed descriptions given us of some which still remain, in such parts of Asia, as have, from their secluded situation, the longest preserved their original customs, that they are of just such a kind as the round tower of *Launceston*.

*Chardin*, without any thought or intention of illustrating this matter, at all; and who is therefore a most fair and proper evidence to be made use of, plainly describes the palaces of the *Mingrelian princes*, (whose country was not far from *Media*,) in such a manner, that they obviously appear to have been, as nearly as might be, on the same plan with *Ecbatana*, and *Launceston:* considering only

* See various passages tending to elucidate this fact in Mr. Beloe's elegant translation of Herodotus, and in his curious notes, Vol. I. p. 20, 88. Vol. II. p. 474. Vol. IV. 151.—And see particularly Herodotus, ed. Wesselingii, lib. i. 84. p. 42.

+ Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 253, 255.

Perhaps it ought just to be mentioned, that the antient stronghold of *Hypsile*, formerly called *Myonessus*, between *Teos and Lebedus*, and under the dominion of *Attalus*, was on a *conical Summit* of an hill, standing on an ample base. (Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 101.) And that the Castle of *Magnesia*, stood on an exceeding high hill, of steep and tiresome ascent.

that those puny Mingrelian chieftains had but little means for effecting any great works.

*Chardin* tells us, concerning the residences of these princes, and chieftains of *Mingrelia;* whose country borders on the eastern side of the Black sea; and therefore near enough unto Media,* to be understood to have imitated and adopted its customs in the earliest ages; that the mode of building their Castles, for any of their Chieftains is; that, in the midst of a thick wood, they erect a tower of stone, thirty or forty feet in height;† which is the *Donjon*, or strong hold of the castle: where *all the riches, and treasures* of the Lord, and of those who take refuge with him, are secured.—And that, when it is to be a Castle of the prince himself; this sort of tower is again *surrounded*, with a *second wall* of stone.

There are then, he says, near this tower, and *in the plain, or court at its foot*, slight buildings of wood, about five or six in number; which serve for dwellings for the women, and children; and as magazines for provisions:—and besides these, there are huts, formed of branches, and boughs of trees:—and, he adds, that excepting such Castles, there are neither *cities*, nor *towns*, in all *Mingrelia*,‡ but the inhabitants dwell in detached wooden hovels.

Have we not then, in this account of a prince's Castle in *Mingrelia*,

* It may indeed fairly enough be considered to have been *the Scotland of Media*, whilst that empire was in all its glory.—And there seems to be even still a wonderful resemblance between the rude and wild manners of the *Mingrelians*, and those of the old *Scotch highlanders*; as well as of those of the old, and more wild Irish.—For, their arms, *Chardin* says, are still a lance;—a bow and arrows;—a sort of broad sword;—a mace;—and a shield.‡—And the followers of their several chieftains, or their different little tribes and clans, are continually quarrelling, and have constant feuds and wars.—Their§ women, are exceedingly beautiful; but exceedingly filthy, and nasty:—and their‖ diet is a sort of grain, mixed up into a kind of pudding; which they eat all together, with their fingers, in a most uncleanly manner;—they are much addicted to drunkenness;—they are absolute vassals to their respective lords;—and they lay up their grain also in hiding pits,¶ just as the antient Caledonians, and Britons, and other barbarous nations used to do.

† Voyages de Chardin, Tom. I. p. 44; ed. 1711.

‡ We see here, how inconsiderable a mass of real building, still constitutes *a city* in *Mingrelia;*—and we may hence be led the better to apprehend, *what* was really the magnitude of some of those very numerous cities, mentioned as existing in the earliest ages in Holy Writ; and to account the better, both for their being so expeditiously, and so easily built;

‡ Voyages de Chardin, Tom. I. p. 46; ed. 1711. § Ib. 45. ‖ Ib. 44. ¶ Ib. 38.

by *Chardin*, a description given us, that must very nearly have suited the precise antient state of *Launceston* Castle, in Cornwall? And are we not led to conclude, that *Launceston* Castle was built, as the place *of Residence, and as the Treasury* of a *Cornish Prince;* in a manner very similar to that in which a place of *Residence, and Treasury*, was provided for a *Mingrelian* Prince?—and after the sort of pattern by which even *Ecbatana* itself was made the *place of Residence*, and *the Treasury* of the Monarchs of *Media*?

Again, at *Tauris*, even in Chardin's time, the *Royal Treasury*, was still an *high round tower;** retaining, at least in that respect, the form of the pattern at *Ecbatana*.

And the fortress, and treasury, of *Irivan*, in *Persia*, was surrounded with *three walls;* and had a steep precipice on the north-east side, of 300 toises in depth;† retaining again, in those respects, a distant resemblance.

In the country of *Imiretta*, in the neighbourhood of *Mingrelia*, are found similar Castles, built on spots of difficult access; and fortified by nature.‡

And particularly that of *Cotatis;* with a *Donjon*, or round tower, on an high steep hill, and surrounded with a *double wall*, and other towers.§

On some of the summits of *Mount Caucasus*, are also many remains of *such* Castles; amongst which, should not be passed by unnoticed, on this occasion, *Usker*, towering over the river *Kur*, (where, as at *Ecbatana*, the rock itself is *surrounded* with a double wall; and on the outside of those walls, is again still *surrounded* with the little town.‖

—and also for their being, in so short a space of time, razed, and destroyed.—And we cannot but call to mind, what is said concerning *Cain's* building the *very first* city, (Genesis, chap. iv. ver. 17;)—concerning *Shalem* a city of *Shechem* being so easily destroyed by two men only; (Genesis, chap. xxxiii. ver. 18; chap. xxxiv. ver. 25, 27;) and concerning *Joshua's* utterly destroying so *many* cities, in so *few* days; (Joshua, chap. x. ver. 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39.) We may fairly also be led to conclude, that several of the earliest kings in *Syria*, and the *Land of Canaan* were very little different, in extent of dominion, and power, from the *Mingrelian* princes; or from the old highland chieftains in Scotland. And a curious investigator of history, will not be unmindful of what is said concerning the *Tower of Penuel*, (Judges, chap. viii. ver. 17,) and the *Tower of Shechem* (Judges ix. ver. 47, 51, 52.)

* Voyages de M. Chardin, Tom. I. p. 183, and Pl. xi; ed 1711. † Ib. Tom. I. p. 152.
‡ Ibid. Tom. I. p. 81. § Ibid. p. 116. ‖ Ibid. p. 112.

We find these sort of *Castles*, as we might reasonably expect, chiefly in rude and still uncivilized parts of the world, where the most antient usages, are ever the most tenaciously preserved.

At the foot of the rock at *Launceston*, there were unquestionably, in the early ages, slight buildings, for the women, and for other attendants, somewhat similar to those which Chardin describes to have been at the foot of each of the *Palaces*, or *Treasuries*, of the *Mingrelian* princes.

And in the lower more extended court, there were doubtless huts, and habitations, for numerous attendants;—very probably (as *Cornwall* so nearly resembled *Wales*) similar to those which are said to have been erected by *Howel Dha*, or *Heolus Dha*; that is,—of wattled work; or of boughs, and twigs, winded and twisted about stakes.—Habitations that, in those days, could not well be connected with ideas of misery, and wretchedness; when we are told,* that *Howel Dha* himself, in the year 940, caused an house to be built, in South Wales, of *white twigs*, to retire into when he came from hunting; which was called *Tyguyn*, or *the white house;*

* Of some of those more common buildings, there is reason to believe an idea, by no means inadequate, may be formed, from the poor huts of twigs, still constructed, in some parts of the Western Islands of Scotland, and called *Skeelins*; of which a representation may be seen, in Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 216, as they existed, in the Isle of *Jura*.

And even though the construction of common dwellings in Cornwall, may possibly be supposed to have somewhat surpassed that of these Scottish hovels; yet can we not form any high idea of them; when on the one hand we are told, the architecture of the Saxons, in England, as to their common dwellings, in ages that must have been of somewhat more advanced improvement, consisted even then of *very low* thatched dwellings; and when, on the other hand, we reflect on what has been already observed, concerning the common antient dwellings, even in the proud city of *Sardis*; where Heródotus gives us to understand was a Castle on an high rocky eminence, as at *Ecbatana*. Herodotus Wesselingii, lib. i. 84, p. 42; see also in the preceding part of this work, Vol. II. p. 242.

Concerning the structure of the common dwellings of the *Anglo-Saxons*, even of some distinction, we have a curious anecdote; that shews a man could easily reach up, with his hand, to the steep thatched roof of his house.—

" When a son was to be weaned from his mother;—upon a certain day appointed for " the purpose, the family and friends being assembled, the father placed his infant son on " the slanting part of the roof of his house, and there left him.—If the child began to cry, " and appeared to be afraid of falling, the spectators were much dejected, and prognosticated " that he would be a coward;—but if he clung boldly to the thatch, and discovered no " marks of fear, they were transported with joy, and pronounced that he would prove a " *Stoutherce*,—a brave warriour." Howel's general history, Part. 1. p. 335.

merely because he had caused the twigs to have the bark taken off, to the end, as it is said, that according to his *Princely qiality*, it might be distinguished from *vulgar buildings*.*

Perhaps, even with regard to the structures at the foot of Launceston Rock for the use of the resident prince himself,—we may obtain the truest idea, by attending to the very laws† of Howel Dha, concerning such kind of structures in Wales; where all the customs, as well as the language so much resembled the Cornish: and by which laws the *King's hall, built of wood*, was valued (as to the mulct upon any one who should burn it,) at no more than one pound and eighty pence:—and his *eight* other outbuildings, namely his dormitory,—his kitchen,—his chapel,—his granary,—his bake-house,—his store house,—his stable,—and his dog-house,—were valued at one hundred and twenty pence each.

That the very outermost, and lower Court at Launceston, contained in reality originally the *antient Town*;—as the city itself (according to the account given by Herodotus,) was contained in the outermost inclosure of the Castle of *Ecbatana*; (whilst the lower orders of all dwelt in suburbs;) seems still most evidently pointed out to us, because even the present modern town is partly *within*‡ what constituted a portion of this enclosure.

Let us now then a little attend to the other additions, that have evidently been made here.

In the first place, we find, just at the foot of the Rock, a semicircular tower (C) of a somewhat doubtful construction, but which has generally been deemed *Roman*;—whilst almost all the rest is most clearly Norman, though of different ages, from the time of Robert, and William, the two first earls of Moreton, down to that when the gate with its *pointed* arch was erected.

The entrance was over a wide and deep ditch; through a passage, between two walls, leading to the Gate Tower (A); the whole

And concerning the antient houses of Sardis, we are expressly assured, that they were for the most part entirely constructed of reeds; and that even those few that were built with brick, yet had reeds for their covering above. Herodotus Lib. v. 101, p. 428; ed. Wesselingii.

* See Samme's Britannia, p. 219. † Leges Wallicæ, p. 167, 263.

‡ Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 359; and Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 21.

of which passage was one hundred and twenty feet in length:—and its remains are such, that there can scarce be a doubt but that it was once fortified over head with machicolations, and defended by several gates, and portcullisses, somewhat in the manner of the great Norman entrance that has been previously described at Portchester.*

The outward arch of this Gate, having been a pointed one, shews that it must have been erected *long* since the time of either the first or second Earl *Moreton*:—but a more inward, and obviously more antient arch, that is circular, shews this latter to have been, as to its date, near to, or even prior to, the age in which they lived.

From this Gate-way, on the right hand, was an ascent by steps, to a rampart, or covered way on the wall (r r r); which led, first to a round tower at the corner (B), called the Witches Tower; of *Norman* construction evidently in many parts, though it may have been originally more ancient;—and from thence, turning to the left, a like covered way leads to the semicircular, apparently *Roman*, Tower at (C); which has been made to join the original steep ascent to the Keep at (D).—But, though the Tower itself seems to have been Roman, yet the whole of the ascent is of a construction, far different from what does ever appear in any Roman Work, either at *Richborough*, or at *Castor*, or any where in, or near to the Great Wall of Severus, in the north; either in its Stations, Castles, or Turrets; or, indeed, in any place originally of truly Roman construction.

It is beyond all doubt, that there was a castle here, *before* the Conquest by the Normans;—because *Othomanus de Knivet* is recorded to have have been hereditary Constable of this castle, *before* that event; and as such to have been displaced by William the Conqueror, at the very same time that *Condorus*, the then Earl of Cornwall, was also divested of his earldom; when the whole was given to Robert Earl of *Moreton*.

It is well known also, that a town existed here, about the year 900; which was so situated, that the rock, on which the castle stands, must have been somewhat *pared away* on that side, as we still find it, before that town began to be built.

* Vol. II. p. 34.

And that this Castle was a principal place of Residence, of *Vortigern*, both before, and after his advancement to the throne of Britain, we may the more fairly conclude; because, in his latter days of adversity, when he retired for defence, into his own country, Wales, amongst the *Silures*, we find him *there*, building another strong Castle, identically upon this sort of plan and pattern,—*on a mount*;—in which (according to the most credible historians), he was at last burnt to death, with his wife and children, when besieged by *Ambrosius*.

Holinshed says,* (on the authority of *Caxton*, *Fabian*, and the *Polychron*,) that, "withdrawing into Wales, he began to build a "strong Castle, *upon a mountain*, called *Breigh*, or, (after others "*Cloaric*,) near to the river *Guana*, which is on the west side of "Wales; in a place within the compass of the said hill, called "*Generon*, or *Mount Erix* . . . . ." And that afterwards, having "fortified this castle very strongly, with men, ammunition, and "victuals, he was therein besieged by *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and "his brother *Uter Pendragon*;—and in the end, after his ene-"mies had given many assaults to the said castle, they found "means, with wild-fire, to burn it down to the earth; and so "consumed it by fire, together with the king, and all other that "were within it.†"

Instead therefore of considering this structure, as being originally a Castle built either by Robert the first, or by William the second Earl of Moreton; according to the apprehensions of some of our modern antiquaries, we may much more justly consider it, as having been the Castle and Palace of *Vortigern*, king of the Britons; and erected even *prior* to his time;—in the very earliest ages of any degree of civilization in this country; and in imitation of such mode of building *Towers of safety* as the inhabitants of Cornwall had become acquainted with, from the accounts given them by their former Phœnician traders;—a mode of protection that might easily remain still fixed in their minds, even when they heard of the eastern parts of this Island being invaded by Julius Cæsar and the Romans.‡

* Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 83, 84. † See also Stow, p. 52, from Geffery of Monmouth.

‡ In order to render the idea of the original appearance of this Castle the more intelligible, in the sketch, Pl. I. fig. 2, the *third* surrounding wall, at the edge of the rock on the

Another instance of Syrian architecture introduced into Britain, we seem to have at *Brunless*, or *Brwynllys*, in *Brecknockshire;* which was part of the country of the *Silures;* whose Chieftain was also the Chieftain of the *Danmonii*, in Cornwall; and as such, from the acknowledgement of superior advantages, first assumed the Regal Dignity, on the departure of the Romans.

For here, at *Brunless*, is found again, as at *Launceston*, the remains of a Keep, or *Tower*, of a most singular construction; unlike any thing Roman, or Norman:—and which, standing in a more humble situation, and not on a high rock, seems to correspond with Chardin's account of the *subordinate* kind of *Median*, or *Mingrelian*, antient Eastern Castles.

In latter ages, it has been surrounded with many other more important, and more magnificent edifices;—some of which are remembered; but all of which are now destroyed; whilst it has itself, from its exceeding strength, defied the devastations of time, and has remained, just as it was at first, *insulated*, to bear its own most curious record.

A view of it is given. (Pl. II.)

It is built, in part, of small hewn stone; the art of forming which, may very justly be conceived to have been acquired, in a degree, by these Cornish Britons, from the Phœnicians.

And, it deserves to be remarked *here*, once for all, that there cannot be a more vulgar error, than that which has been too hastily adopted by some persons; that all squared stones, of small dimensions, used in antient buildings, in general, are *Caen stone*, or *Ashler stone;* since the *substance* of the stones themselves, in a variety of instances, proves the very contrary.

This Tower, though it does not stand upon an high, rocky, conical hill, there being none such naturally formed near the spot, yet seems to have, in its own structure, by way of distant imitation (as we shall find to have been the case, in some other instances, both in this Island, and also in Syria), the appearance of a little artificial mount, formed of stone; and a little rise of ground beneath.

At the bottom of this artificial stone mount, appears a modern

summit, which was only a *breast work*, and is now very much destroyed, is represented as having somewhat more of it remaining, than does at present exist.

forced entrance, at (A) Pl. II. which is manifestly a mere breach, that has been made for convenience, of late years, with great difficulty, and violence, in a part where, most evidently, was, originally, only the approach to a small loop, with a passage on the inside, leading up to it.

*Far* higher up, appears the real original door of entrance, at (E); to which there could have been no access, except only by a steep flight of steps, on the outside, probably situated nearly where the dotted lines (2 2) are marked;—and, perhaps, merely of wood; (as we shall hereafter find to have been the case in another instance;) or, if of stone, yet so narrow, that only one person could ascend or descend at a time.

The particular construction of this door of entrance, is most remarkable, and deserving of close attention;—for, although it appears, at first sight, as if it were *an arch*, yet, in reality, it is *no* arch at all; being merely composed, as it is very narrow, of two pieces of stone, bending, and placed inclined, in such a manner as to meet at top, and to support each other, in the form of an arch.

It is shewn, upon a large scale, Pl. III. fig. 1.

And that only such an imperfect idea of the arch, really existed in the minds of the architects, when this tower was built, appears still more manifest; because, in what may be called the State apartment, for residence, where there are great open windows, they are constructed in the same kind of manner;—being, if possible, even still more oddly formed, of two inclined stones; as shewn opposite to the letter (L), Pl. II. and on a larger scale, more exactly, in Pl. III. fig. 2.

And in the third story, and uppermost apartment above, there is no sort of arch at all; but only a plain window, of an oblong form, and flat both at the top, and bottom; as seen at (w.)

All these circumstances surely may lead one to believe, that this structure was raised originally on the *Syrian*, and *Phœnician* plan;—but yet so late, as at a time when even the arch had actually been invented, and slightly seen; but when its true use was not yet understood;—that is (as seems probable, from a variety of circumstances), in the interval of time, between the first Invasion of Britain by *Julius Cæsar*, and the subsequent one by *Claudius*;




*Brunlefs Castle in Brecknockshire.*

A.C. del.t

Stadler sculp.

FIG. 4.



FIG 1

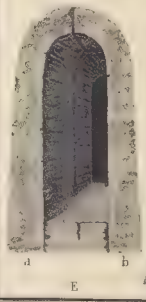



FIG 3



FIG 2




Door Window & Peep at Brimlips, & imitation of Roman arch at Monmouth in South Wales

neither of which Invasions did any ways molest, or affect the Britons in Cornwall, or Wales; and of which they could only have distant reports.

This, perhaps, was nearly one of the latest of the fortresses erected for safe-guard, before the *Silures* and *Danmonii* finally submitted to the Romans, and erected, probably, at the very time when they first heard of the successes of the Romans on the Eastern side of this Island, and dreaded their approach; and when they had not taken the resolution of submitting, which they afterwards adopted.

The inside of this structure, even still more than its outside, deserves attention to its peculiarity.

Pl. IV. fig. 1. represents a plan of the present ground floor; where the present forced entrance is seen at (A).

To this sort of dungeon, or perhaps rather place for stores, there was manifestly, originally, no entrance whatever, except down from above, by a steep staircase (b 2), descending through the wall, from the floor above, at (b), and even then, not reaching *quite to the ground;* but ending in an outlet, at some height from the floor, at (2), from whence must have been another flight of steps (or a ladder), to reach the floor, at (3).

To this store-room, or dungeon, however, there was air admitted, by very small square loops (c and d), at a considerable height from the floor; which might occasionally serve as loops of defence; there being an ascent up to them by means of exceeding steep steps, that appear to have been constructed in later Norman days; when there seem also to have been some alterations made in the arch, at the bottom, which is next the inside of the room.

This store-room, or treasury, is only seventeen feet in diameter: and probably had a dungeon beneath it.

But, what is still more remarkable, there is a square cavity, only one foot four inches in width, and one foot seven inches in height, which runs quite round, through the whole circuit of the wall, at a small distance from the ground, as shewn in the plan; and which opens into every one of the recesses leading to the loops, on each side, at (o o o o o o.)

The real use of this strange sort of little gallery, cannot be well ascertained; but it might very likely serve for the concealment of

the most valuable part of the stores, or treasure, in the innermost parts of it; and also for the depositing of arrows, and such like weapons, to be ready near the loops, in its outermost parts.

It is shewn on one side of the approach to one of the loops in Pl. III. fig. 3.—and also on one side of the forced entrance (A), Pl. II.;—but *here*, for the sake of shewing its appearance, it is placed not so far inward as it really is.

On the next floor above (Pl. IV. fig. 2), appears, first, the real door of entrance, (E); without a portcullis, or any of those artificial contrivances for defence, that were invented in later Norman ages; and which would surely have appeared here, had this Tower been built in those times. Instead of such guard, the intended protection seems to have depended principally upon strong bars; and either upon the having steps placed there only occasionally;—or else upon having only such stone steps as were extremely steep, and narrow.

At (f) was a fire place, the chimney going up, sloping within the wall, to a loop.

And at (g) and (h) are recesses, leading to two small, narrow windows, little better than loops.

In the side of one of these recesses at (b), is the beginning of the steep flight of steps, leading down to the store-room, or dungeon: and in the other of these recesses, (h), is the beginning of another flight of steps, leading, through the thickness of the wall, up to the apartment above.

Of this upper apartment, Pl. IV. fig. 3, is the plan; where (l m n), shew the recesses leading to the three larger windows, whose construction of leaning stones is so remarkable (as has been mentioned); and one of which is shewn both in Pl. II. at L; and in Pl. III. fig. 2.

At (p) was a fire hearth and chimney, passing up through the thickness of the wall; and there was said to be, in one part of the wall, a little recess, or closet. But the lower part of this Tower being now used as a stable, and quite covered over, and not being able to procure either key to the upper apartment, or a ladder, I had no opportunity of examining either the particular situation, or exact construction of this closet, and therefore do not venture to

Fig.3.

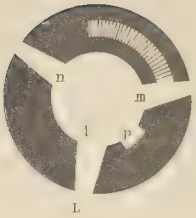



Fig.2.

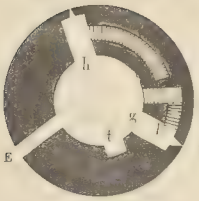
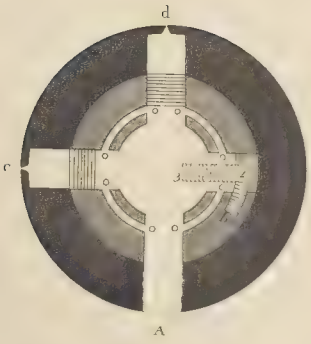



Fig.1.




*Plans of Brindisi Castle*

Wales,) this son, named *Mahel*, (or *Mael*,) who, in process of time, discovering his mother to be incontinent, watched for her lover, as he left her apartment; and, to use the words of Dugdale, maimed him grievously, and then let him go with shame: enraged at which, his mother directly went, and, applying first to the king, publicly took an oath, that indeed she had been an adulteress; and that *Mael* was not the son of her husband; whereby he became deprived of his whole inheritance.* After this he became desperate, and lived by plunder;—and having, in one of his attempts, plundered some lands of the Bishop of St. David's, on retreating he obtained entertainment, for one night, of *Walter Clifford*, who was then Master of this Castle at *Brunless;* when in the night it was destroyed by fire, and *Mael*, as he was endeavouring to make his escape, was killed by the sudden falling of a stone.

The present floors of this Tower are all of timber; and every mark in the mode of constructing, and of supporting them, shews that from the very first æra of its building, they must ever have been so; and, therefore, that it is very possible, they may have been even burnt, and refitted, over and over again; whilst the walls remained less injured than those of a potter's kiln.

We may easily comprehend then, how it comes to pass, that several of these so strange and marvellous piles, have really preserved their exact outward form, from age to age, and do still exist, to bear testimony to the usages of the most early periods, notwithstanding what has been recorded in history, concerning their having been repeatedly destroyed.

Of this sort of burning, we have a most curious instance mentioned, in the history of the very earliest ages, by *Herodotus;* concerning a tower at *Cyrene*, in Africa, not far from the coasts of *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, which well deserves to be referred to on this occasion; because it plainly shews, both *by the double meaning* of the words of an antient oracle, and by the apprehension of *Arcesilaus*, in his interpretation of them, what sort of idea, even in the most antient times, was entertained of these towers, sometimes burning *exactly like a great kiln, or furnace*, and of their being frequently subject to do so,

* Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 435.

*Arcesilaus*, king of *Cyrene*, had enquired of the Pythian at *Delphi*, concerning the event of his return to *Cyrene*, which he had been compelled to leave, in consequence of some popular disturbances; and the Response warned him:

*Ἢν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὕρῃς πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσῃς τοὺς ἀμφορέας, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον· εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσῃς τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίῤῥυτον. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανέεαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων.*[*]

*If thou find a kiln filled with vessels of clay, do not bake the vessels; but turn them out into the open air: and if thou set the kiln a burning, do not enter into the midst of flowing surrounding water, otherwise thou thyself shalt die, and a bull excelling in form.*

He returned home; and, after this, it happened, that a number of his popular enemies fled to a Tower, belonging to one *Aglomachus;* and *Arcesilaus*, says Herodotus, set the Tower on fire, and consumed them all; which he had no sooner done, than his conscience smote him, and he remembered the *prohibition* of the Oracle, *not to burn the earthen vessels in the kiln;* and immediately dreaded his own situation at *Cyrene*, in a place *surrounded by flowing streams of* rivers, and fountains of water.

He fled therefore from *Cyrene* (because it was surrounded with such *flowing streams*), to *Alazir*, King of *Barce*, the father of his wife, and soon afterwards was murdered at *Barce, in the midst of a surrounding mob*, together with *Alazir*, whose *name*, Herodotus plainly seems to have thought, was (consistently with the language of that country) intended by the expression of *a bull excelling in form*.

We have here, then, from all these odd expressions of the Oracle, and from the apprehensions of *Arcesilaus* himself, the strongest descriptive outlines possible, of a round Tower of stone, fitted up entirely with timber work on the inside, and therefore, when once set on fire, burning *like a furnace, or a kiln*, and consuming all within. And we have this description with regard to a country, that may justly be deemed to have adopted a *Phœnician* mode of architecture, long prior to *Britain*.

Whilst it cannot be doubted, but that after *Arcesilaus* had *set such a furnace on fire*, and destroyed it, and all *(the living earthen vessels)* that were within, that yet the outside walls remained just as they were

[*] Herodotus Wesselingii, lib. iv. 164, p. 354.

before:—capable of being fitted up as a tower again, from age to age. A Tower that possibly (though now unnoticed) may still endure.

It has already been mentioned, that King *Vortigern* was burnt to death, with his wife and children, when besieged by his enemies, in a very similar manner.* Burnt in a Castle that appears to have been much of this sort of construction; and which he had built on a high mount in Wales, most probably on the very plan of that at Launceston:—to which Henry Huntingdon adds, that the body could never be found.†

And a very curious old history of Wales, written in part about 1157, by *Caradock of Lhancarvan, in Glamorganshire*,‡ (in which place there was a great seminary for the teaching of literature,) is so full of accounts of Castles being thus burned, and suddenly destroyed, over and over again; and of their being then *quickly* restored, and fortified strongly, by different persons, at different times; that nothing can be more manifest, than that it was the *inside*, and timber work only, of such Castles, that was so demolished, whilst the strong walls of the Towers defied the whole outrage, and were easily restored to their pristine strength.

*Caradock* tells us§ that, on one certain occasion only, about 1157, there was such a destruction of them, that not *one* Castle was left standing in Cardiganshire.

*Camden* takes no notice of this Castle, at *Brunless*, at all; and *Leland* barely mentions its existence.‖

In the same slight manner he also speaks of another very curious remain;¶ which, on the present occasion, much deserves our attention, because its style of building, and munition, seems evidently derived from the kind of plan of which we have been speaking, in the instance of *Launceston*.

This is *Three-Tor*, or *Tretwr* Castle, in the same country of the *Silures*, in *Brecknockshire;* a Fortress, whose exceeding high antiquity seems to have been the sole reason, why our antiquaries

* See Holinshed, p. 84, and Stow, p. 52.

† Henrici Huntindoniensis, lib. 2, p. 310.

‡ Completed, printed, and published, in Queen Elizabeth's time, by Sir John Price, and Humphrey Lloyd.

§ See Price's black letter edition, p. 200.

‖ Itin. Vol. V. p. 72.

¶ Ib. p. 61.



*Three-Tor, or Tretwr Castle in Brecknockshire.*

K.C del.

Stadler scul.

have known, so little concerning it:—for it may be observed, in general, that where Castles have been erected at all *since* the Norman Conquest; or where their origin is at all within time of memory; or where any records have been preserved in consequence of any tenures annexed; they are usually very diffuse in their accounts.—It may almost invariably be observed, that the *silence* of *Leland*, and *Camden*, is nearly as certain a proof of the high antiquity of a Castle, as its style of architecture.

We have both these kinds of proofs with regard to *Tretwr*.

It was formerly the residence of *Mynarch*, Lord of Brecon:—and if, whilst viewing it, we recollect *Chardin's* accounts, we may be almost induced to imagine, that we are actually viewing a *Mingrelian Castle*.

We here find the same *Phœnician*, or *Syrian* plan pursued, as at Launceston, only this Castle stands on *flat ground*, as such Buildings, in some instances did, in *Mingrelia*.—Perhaps, also, it formerly stood in a wood.

We find a round Tower, or Keep, of small dimensions;—and, at the very little distance of only eight or nine feet, a surrounding fortified wall, enclosing a very small area;—and then a larger outer enclosure.—So that its original appearance must have been, as standing encompassed with walls and battlements, rising one *above* another, and one *within* another, in a distant resemblance (as far as could be on a flat) of *Ecbatana;* and very much like the rude *Mingrelian* Castles.

Pl. V. represents a view of this Tower, and of the wall closely surrounding it; just as it appeared when I visited it, in 1788.

The great window in the Tower, seen over the surrounding wall, is on the *second* floor above; that is, in the third room from the ground;—for this Castle had three floors, besides that on the ground;—and the latter here, just as at *Launceston*, and *Brunless*, seems only to have formed a Store-room, or Treasury.

Loops also appear in the very *battlements* themselves of the second wall:—a mode of fortifying, in itself most antient; but a mode that has been retained by the *Welsh*, even to the latest ages, and which, from some cause or other, seems to have been almost peculiar *to them* in this Island,

Pl. VI. fig. 1; is a plan of the Keep, on the first upper floor, above the Store-room, or Treasury;—its diameter within, is a very little more than that at *Launceston*, or than that at *Brunless*, being only nineteen feet, and three inches.

At (B) is the great entrance; to which there was, obviously, an ascent formerly, by a flight of steps, on the outside of the Tower, from (A) to (B):—whilst as to the Store-room, or Treasury, on the ground beneath, there was evidently no entrance, except by stairs down from the floor above; the present entrance being, most clearly, only forced through, in a place where was the approach to a small loop from within.

The door of entrance above, at (B), is without any portcullis; no such thing having been invented, when this Castle was built.

At (C) is a staircase, leading through the interior part of the wall, with a return, or doubling in the ascent up to the apartment above.

At (E) and (F) are recesses, leading to small windows.

And, in the side of one of these, at (D), almost in the same manner as at *Brunless*, is a staircase, leading down to the Treasury, or Store-room, on the ground.

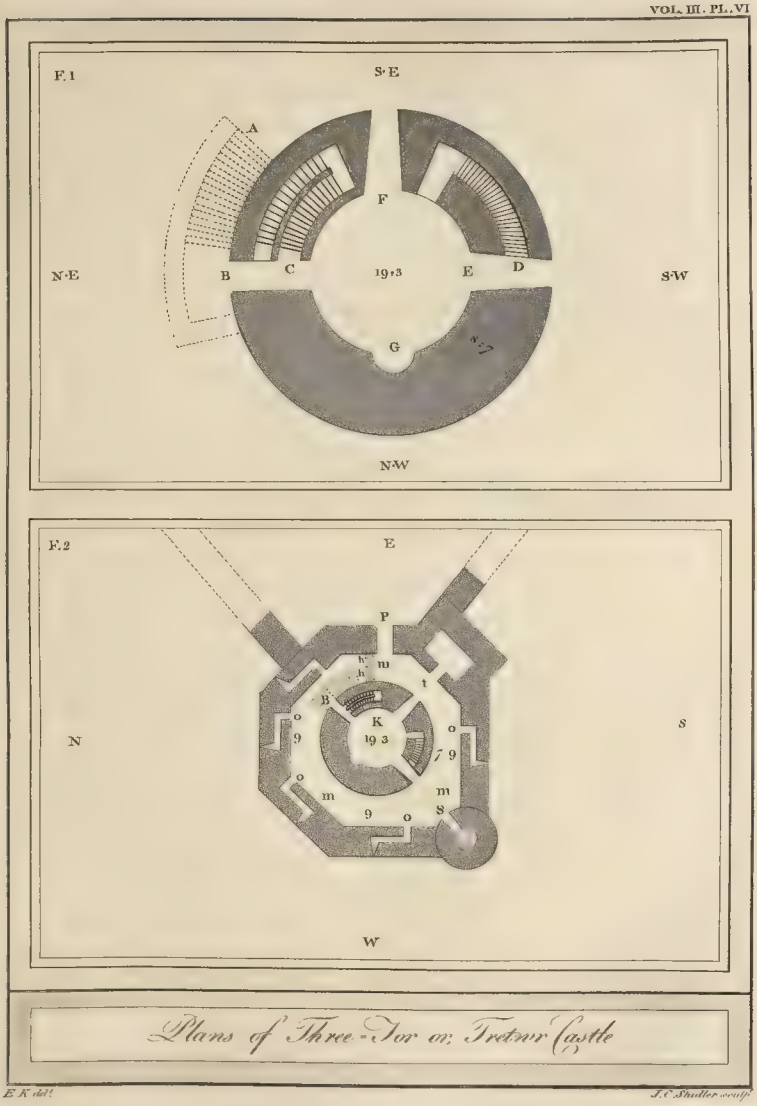
At (G) is a fire hearth, with a chimney, passing up through the thickness of the wall, which was, at least, eight feet, seven inches.

And within this wall, in the apartments above, there seem also to have been small closets:—but having no ladder, I could not ascend to examine them.

Pl. VI. fig. 2 represents this Keep, upon a smaller scale, with its surrounding, next immediate wall of defence. The distance of that wall from the Tower, is, in one part, only seven feet nine inches; and, at most, only nine feet:—and its form is irregular; exactly as represented in the plan.

At (P) is the entrance from the larger area of the Castle, to this inner Enclosure; situated here in the same manner as at *Launceston*, not opposite to the entrance of the Keep Tower itself, but on one side, for the greater security.

The walls of this Enclosure were near nine feet thick, and were in height, when I saw them, nearly equal to that of the first upper




*Plans of Three Tor on Tretnor Castle*

E K del.

J. C. Stadler sculp.

floor in the Castle. On the top was a walk, or covered way, all round, fenced with battlements, that are pierced with loops; in the manner, that is so peculiar to Wales;—and at the bottom, at (o o o o o), are several little narrow galleries, winding in a zig-zag form, as here represented; and by that means fenced from the possibility of permitting any weapons to be shot through them *into* the inner area:—though indeed they are found to terminate, not merely in very narrow loop holes, but rather in a sort of small open windows, far different from any *Norman* loops whatever.

These windows, however, having *circular arches*, though very rudely constructed, (if they were *originally* in the wall, as there is every appearance of their having been,) lead us to fix the date of this building somewhat later than that of the Tower at *Brunless*.

At (s), is a circular, or newel staircase, in a small round tower, leading up to the Ramparts; which kind of staircase also points out a period subsequent to *Brunless*.

At (t), is a small square tower.—And there is much reason to believe, that a wall formerly existed at (h h) crossing the narrow Court; so that no access could be had to the door of the Keep (B), without passing quite round the whole.

The form therefore of this Keep; and the peculiar construction of its small surrounding area, connects the whole most clearly, as in the former instance, with that early age, which was *previous* to the full reception of Roman manners and customs in this Island; and certainly long previous to *Norman* times.*

Pl. VII. fig. 1, represents the external appearance of one of these loops, or windows, in the surrounding wall.—And fig. 2, represents a section of the steps, ascending from within its little gallery to one of them.

Pl. VII. fig. 2, shews the whole plan of this antient fortress;

* To suppose, according to the conclusions of some learned antiquaries, (see Archæologia, Vol. 1. p. 278, 284, 286, 291.) that *all* the Castles in Wales, were built either by Edward the First, or about his time, is doing the greatest injustice to *Welsh antiquities*, as well as confounding the characteristick marks of different ages, and of different people together. Many Castles in Wales, were, indeed, undoubtedly erected both during, and since the reign of that monarch; but the different style of *such*, and their uniform imitation of *his* architecture, plainly shew *which* they were; and render it almost impossible (if due attention is bestowed) not to distinguish them.

the walls in those parts which are dotted, being now nearly levelled with the ground; though quite enough of them is here and there left standing, to ascertain the form of the triangular enclosure (y y y y); and even in some parts left of the whole height, so as to assure us that it was surmounted with battlements; each one of which had a loop pierced in it.

From this plan, it appears that the great area of the Castle (N), for the encamping of troops, or for the reception of those who should at any time resort hither, from the adjacent country, to take refuge; was (at least in the later periods, when this Castle was used,) of an irregular, triangular form, having two more round towers, at the other two corners (X), and (Z); from the addition of which to the Keep, it seems to have taken the name of *Tre-tur* or *Three Tor* Castle: and the great gate of entrance *seems* to have been somewhere about (Q).

But there is considerable reason to suspect, though I had no opportunity to search properly for the foundations of such walls, that there was, in prior ages, another more extensive Enclosure.—In which case the Court (N) may be understood to have been made use of for those kind of *temporary buildings* that have been already described in the account of *Launceston*;*— and such other more extensive Enclosure, for troops, and for refugees.—

Very probably the outer walls were similar to those which we shall actually find existing in another instance, at *Skinfrith;* built in the form represented by the outlines (w w w w w w); with an outward gate of entrance, about (d), and perhaps another smaller one at (p 2), imitating a *Roman Castrum*.—For it is a curious fact, which will be further elucidated hereafter, that, though *the Welch* preserved their independance, there are evidently, in *Wales*, marks of successive imitations, and oftentimes very odd and distant ones, of all the improvements introduced by *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, in those other parts of Britain, which, when the Welch themselves ceased to be, as they were *at first*, the *most civilized* inhabitants of this Island, became, the seats both of power and splendour.

Let us now trace the evident copying of *Phœnician*, and *Syrian*, plans of building even still further.

* See p. 27.

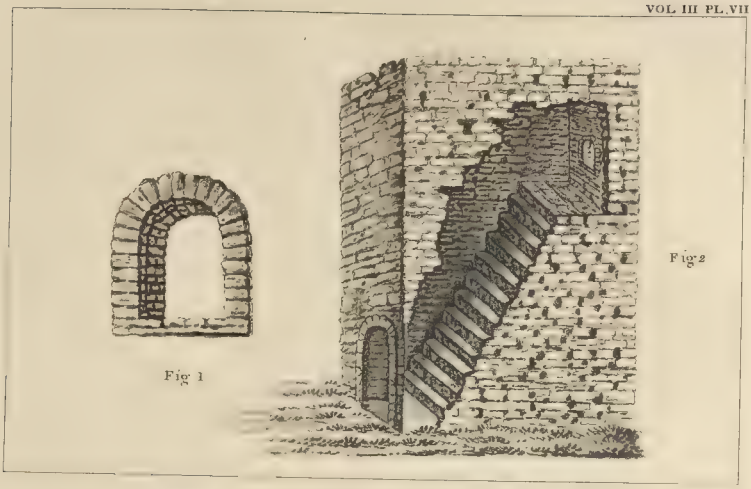
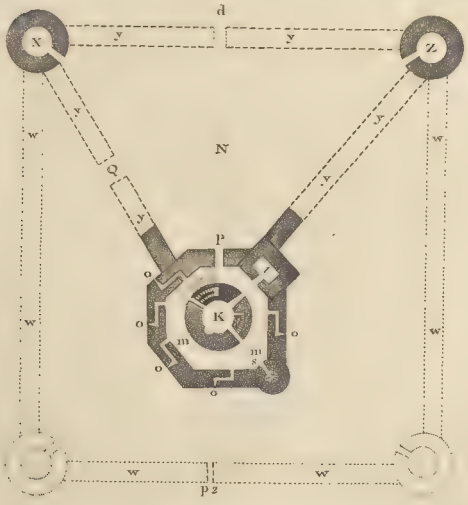


Fig 1

Fig 2

Fig 3




*Remains of Tretwr Castle*

E K del

It is well know that the *Brigantes*, who inhabited Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland,* were established here in the most antient times; and esteemed themselves to be a sort of *Aborigenes;* boasting of having been the *first* inhabitants, long before the *Belgæ* arrived either in Britain, or even in Gaul itself:—and these *Brigantes* have been deemed, with great probability, to have been descended from the *Phrygians.*+

Like the Cornish Britons, they appear to have been more civilized, and easy of access, than other tribes in Britain;—to have, like them, soon either voluntarily submitted, or to have contracted alliance with the Romans;—and to have still retained their *own* Chiefs and Princes, amongst whom was the celebrated *Cartismandua*, a faithful and useful Ally.‡

It was not till *Vespasian's* reign, that they were considered as objects of conquest:—nor were they ever reduced to any subjection, till *Agricola* carried his arms thither.§

Here, therefore, notwithstanding the vast, and numerous, truly *Roman* works, constructed in some of the neighbouring parts, we may yet reasonably expect to find, on account of the more early civilization, and importance of its inhabitants, some few works, in imitation of *the specimens* of *Phrygian*, and *Phœnician architecture.*

And so we really do, in a very striking manner:—

For, at *Conisborough*, in Yorkshire, we discover a most antient Castle, whose form has an astonishing resemblance to such kind of works; and whose exceeding high antiquity is indicated, by every circumstance of history relating to the spot, as well as by every part of its own structure.

It is acknowledged, without controversy, that there was here, in the earliest ages, a British town, called, in British language, *Caer-Conan*;‖—*the City of the King;—the place of the King's abode:*—a circumstance, from which it cannot but be concluded, that there was here also, as distinguished a mansion *for Royal Residence*, as the Britons of these parts were capable of constructing.

* Camden, Vol. III. p. 1, 127.

+ Baxt. Gloss. Brit. voce Brigantes; Carte Hist. Vol. I. p. 10, 18.

‡ Taciti Annales, Lib. xii. c. 32, 36. § Taciti Vita Agricolæ, c. 17, 20.

‖ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 3.; and Gibson's, p. 706, 724.

And, consistently with this idea, we find, that when afterwards it came into the possession of the *Saxons*, it was still maintained as a place of Royal Residence, and called *Conines-borrough*,* or the *King's Fortress*, or *Royal Palace;* for so we must interpret the name, if we pay any regard to antient etymologies, and give any credit to the authority of *Verstegan*.†

Hither, when *Aurelius Ambrosius* had routed the Saxons, at *Maisbelly*, in 489, and put them to a disorderly flight, *Hengist* their first leader retired, with the wreck of his army.—Here, therefore, he must have found *a fortress prepared* to retire to;—and from hence, a few days afterwards, he sallied out, and made a second attack upon the Britons, who still pursued him; when, as the British historians relate, he was taken prisoner, and beheaded;‡ or, as the Saxon annals maintain, being worn out with incessant fatigue, he soon after died a natural death.

In either case, *here* he is understood to have been buried:—and, in consequence of that, a barrow, or mount, just before the gate has, by a long and uniform tradition, been deemed to contain his grave.

Whatever doubts we may justly entertain concerning this *last* circumstance, we can entertain none concerning the importance of this place, both in his days, and *before* his time;—and therefore, can have no doubt, but that there was really here *a Tower*, and place of Royal Residence, occupied by *Hengist*.

It was, perhaps, though barely possible, that such Tower might have been constructed by *Hengist* himself, and his *Saxons*:—but when we consider how much more equal to such an undertaking, in point of civilization, and art, the *British* inhabitants of Cornwall and Yorkshire seem really to have been, both *prior* to the time of the *Romans*, and *after* their departure, I cannot hesitate *now* to ascribe to this Edifice, on a spot which has so constantly been *the Residence of Kings*, a still earlier date.

It belonged, either as a Royal Domain, or as a private possession, in the latter end of the Saxon period, to King *Harold;* and was

* The name is thus spelt in the first editions of Camden.

† Verstegan's Antiquities, p. 211, 215, 313.

‡ See Matth. Westm. Florilegus, ad A. D. 487, 489; and Huntingd. II. p. 179.

afterwards, by King *William the Conqueror*, bestowed upon the celebrated *Earl Warren;* with all its former privileges and jurisdictions; which, (as a proof of its princely dignity, are affirmed to have been over twenty-eight * subordinate towns.

*William de Warren*, being a great builder, has been too hastily supposed, by some antiquaries, to have re-edified the Keep of this Castle.—But *all* the other mansions, and strong-holds, which we can so fully and clearly ascertain, to have been actually built *by him*, are in a style of architecture, so totally different from this, that it is impossible to believe the *same* great *Norman* should ever have reared *this sort* of structure:—and especially at *Conisborough;*—a place of the greatest dignity of any belonging to him;—and a place of distinguished Residence therefore, where had he, or any of his sucessors built the *Keep*, they would certainly have displayed their utmost splendour.

It is impossible to suppose that *here* they would themselves have reared a Tower of such *small dimensions;*—and which had neither *Machicolations;*—nor *Portcullisses;*—nor the advantage of the usual *Norman* mode, for securing loop holes;—nor any of those peculiar modes of fortification that were, without exception, adopted in all other strong-holds, built by *Norman* Chieftains.—But it is obvious enough, that, *out of veneration for its antient Royalty, and Dignity*, they might be very likely to content themselves with such Tower of Residence as they already found *here;*—of strength certainly sufficient to withstand the assaults of hosts, and the ravages of time;—and dignified as a *Regal Habitation*, in a manner sufficient to gratify the proudest degree of vanity.

We shall find, in those many instances which there will be occasion hereafter to refer to, that, *uniformly*, all *Earl Warren's* buildings

* Perceiving plainly that this Tower must have been erected long before the times of the *Normans*, I was formerly inclined to attribute its construction to the *first Saxons*; knowing that it could not be built by the *Saxons* of the *later ages*, who had such a superior style of architecture in common use, whereof we have met with such frequent instances.—But as all the *Saxon Keep Towers*, decidedly of the first ages, are *square*;—and not found supported by any *projecting, sloping basement*;—on that account, as well as on account of all the circumstances that have been just mentioned, I must now carry its antiquity up to a still more early period; with which indeed, I even then had my suspicions that it must have been connected.—See Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 235, 244.

were on the truly *great Norman scale; and* on *plans* that were most uniformly introduced at the Conquest, and were ever adopted by all *King William's* followers.

And we shall also find, that all the *alterations*, and improvements, that were introduced in the mode of constructing *Norman Castles*, in any subsequent age, were still so much more widely different, from the architecture of *Conisborough*, that there is not any one period *after* the Conquest, in which we can, with the least consistency, conceive it possible that this Keep could have been erected.

Perhaps, suspecting this, it was, that one writer, who seems unwilling to allow of its very high antiquity, has yet confined himself merely to the asserting* " that there is not the least reason for imagining this Castle *prior to the Christian Æra among us.*"

If, by this ambiguous expression, he meant to intimate, either that it was not prior to the time when the *Saxons* embraced Christianity, or when the *Christian Æra* first began to be made use of as a mode of computation, in 516, we shall find ourselves under a necessity of forming conclusions quite contrary to his opinion; because the true style of the *Saxon* architecture, after that period, both in their religious, and military structures, appears, from specimens that are unquestionable, and do remain, to have been not much less different from *Conisborough*, than the *Norman* edifices are.

But if, by saying it was not *prior to the Christian Æra*, he meant only to affirm its date to have been since the birth of our Lord Christ;—that indeed appears to have been really the case; from the rude imitation of the arch, being found in this building:†—Because that noble, and useful ornament, seems to have been first introduced, only a short time before the Light of the Gospel.

The most obvious conclusion then, that seems to present itself concerning this Keep Tower is, that it was built in an age, when *Phœnician*, and *Phrygian* ideas of architecture still prevailed, united with some additional conceptions of Roman improvements, in the

* See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. III. p. 32.

† In the preceding pages of this work, reasons have been alledged, for concluding that the arch was invented by *Archimedes*, in *Sicily*, about 200 years before *our Blessed Lord's* Advent.

minds of those who reared this extraordinary Structure.*—Built by Britons, without obstruction from the Romans ;—and even with the consent of the *Romans ;*—and by some of those very *British workmen*, who were so highly praised, for their great excellence by antient writers ;†—and so very many of whom were, from time to time, taken away, and drained from Britain by *Maximus*, and *Honorius*.—

It is not impossible, but that it might even have been built by

* It has been remarked, that the whole Tower is covered, on the outside, with an *ashler casing* of stone; which has therefore been said to be *too neat for the barbarous Saxons*.—(See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. III. p. 32.)

And it is indeed not impossible, but that this *covering* may have been of *later* ages than the Tower itself.—But as the inside is just as neat as the outside; I must also add, that although it may be *too neat to have been the work of barbarous Saxons*; yet it is not at all unlikely but that *the Britons might* have been able to rear a structure of such workmanship.

For as they are recorded, *after their subjection to the Romans*, to have been some of *the most skilful architects that the Romans had*; so some of them in the more civilized parts of Britain, who combined remaining traces of *Phrygian*, and *Phœnician*, with *Roman* ideas, may easily be conceived, to have been sufficiently skilful, to have reared this Tower, even with this sort of *ashler casing*.

It has already been remarked, and will be shewn more fully hereafter, that the use of *neat ashler stone*, like *Caen stone*, is no positive proof of *a Norman* building.—And as to the *possibility* of nations, deemed barbarous, having erected *neat work, with nicely squared stone*; we should never lose sight of the well known remains of the *Incas* palaces in Peru (See Ulloa's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 499);—where, notwithstanding the rude design of the structure, the stones are so exceedingly well cut, and joined so curiously, that the point of a knife, or even so much as a piece of the finest paper cannot be put betwixt them;—and though there is a visible irregularity in the stones, and in the courses, (a small stone often immediately following a large one, and ill squared,) yet the one is always made to fill up the inequalities of the other, and to fill up all interstices; so that whatsoever way they are viewed all parts appear well joined.

Neither should we lose sight of the consideration, that the *Incas*, both of *Peru*, and *Mexico*, who appear to have been the first introducers of any degree of civilization amongst the Indians, might possibly, (and from their custom of human sacrifices, very probably) have been of *Phœnician* extraction: descended from those very *Phœnicians*, who so often traded to *Britain*, and communicated perhaps the first ideas of building to the *Britons*.

And it ought not to be passed by unnoticed, that in one of those Palaces of the *Incas*, there even actually are remains of a *Round Tower*;—and that in many parts of the walls of the palace, are *hollow niches*, resembling *cupboards* (to use Ulloa's words, Vol. I. p. 502) and evidently, according to his description, somewhat resembling such as have been observed in the walls of the rooms, and closets, at *Conisborough*.

† See the passages before cited in p. 7 ; and there are many others that might be cited in proof of the fact, which intelligent readers will recollect.

*Venusius*, and *Cartismandua*, the formidable Queen of the Brigantes; whilst they were closely united to the Romans,* and opposed the other *Britons* about the middle of the first century.—Or, if their reign was not the æra of the rearing *such a structure as this*, in so many respects unlike any thing Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Norman; we may then with good reason conclude it to have been built about the year 400;—*when the Britons were continually supplicating the aid, and protection of the Romans;*—And were by them exhorted, and encouraged, to make every effort possible to defend themselves.

We learn from *Venerable Bede*,† that when they applied for the return of a Roman legion in 414; they were exhorted to build a wall from sea to sea;— which they constructed of earth and turf.— And when the Scots, and Picts, coming round in ships, had despised this wall; and the Britons had again applied for aid in 416, and received it; they then were exhorted to repair, with strong stone work, the wall of Severus:—and not only so, but to build Towers near the sea, to guard against the invasion by ships; in which works the *Romans* first assisted them, and then bade them a final farewell

The words of *Bede* are very strong, and remarkable.—Having spoken of the repairing, and rebuilding the wall of *Severus*, he adds,

"Quo mox condito dant fortia segni populo monita, præbent in-
"stituendorum exemplaria armorum. Sed et in litore Oceani ad
"meridiem quo naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde Barbarorum
"irruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris
"collocant, et valedicunt sociis tanquam ultra non reversuri."

And the words of *Gildas*, who lived nearer to the time, and wrote about the year 546, are still stronger.—Nervously translated as they are, in the old English edition, they may even be substituted, instead of translating those of Bede.

*The Romans leave them the art to make armour,—and teach them the order of warfare.—And moreover on the southern shore of the ocean, where their ships lay in harbour, (because the landing of the barbarous savage sort was there most to be feared,) they do in divers and distant convenient places erect watch towers to ken over the seas.*‡

It is evident from these passages, that the *Romans* actually assisted

* Taciti Ann. Lib. XII. Sec. xxxvi, xl. Taciti Hist. Lib. III. Sec. xlv.

† Bedæ Hist. Lib. I. c. xii. p. 50. ‡ Epistle of Gildas, Sec. xiv. p. 33.

the *Britons* to build some Towers, after the *Roman* fashion, on the shores of the northern friths, in the neighbourhood of the wall of *Severus*.

And that the *Britons* also had *other Towers* in the southern parts of the Island, next the British channel, appears from the words of the same *Gildas*,* in describing the ravages of the Saxons.

*With the often beating of the rams, people with naked swords that glittered on all sides, and crackling flames were together whirled to the ground;—lamentable and dreadful to behold, there lay the tops of lofty towers now tumbled down.*

That *Vortigern*, moreover, had in reality some other Tower of Residence in the southern part of Britain, besides *Launceston*, is most fairly to be concluded; when *William of Malmesbury* expressly says, *that the people fled to the palace of their king imploring safeguard.*†

Can we then imagine, that whilst the Romans themselves were exhorting the Britons, on the Scottish borders, to build strong walls, and *towers;* and whilst the Britons actually had other *towers*, on the southern shores of the Island, that those Romans would in any wise oppose, or offer the least obstruction to the more inland *Britons*, the *Brigantes*, rearing that strong Tower of defence now called *Conisborough*, either at *that* time, or in the prior age, when *Cartismandua* was their fast ally?—or can we deem it any objection to such a fact, that imitations of Roman *ornamental* architecture should be found upon its walls? when in almost the very next page, the same *venerable author*, *Bede*,‡ speaks in the strongest terms of the excessive *luxury*§ of the Britons of that age, and even mentions it as a chief cause of their final ruin?

With good grounds, therefore, may we conclude, that this Tower

* Epistle of Gildas, Sec. xxiii. p. 55. † Will. Malmsb. lib. i. p. 8.

‡ Bedæ Hist. lib. i. cap. 14. p. 52.

§ At the same time that both *Bede*, and *Gildas*, describe in such strong terms, the luxury, and even pomp of the British Chieftains of those days, (which well accords with the British *ornaments* and remains that have been dug up on *Barham Downs*, and elsewhere), it is almost impossible for us, in the present age, to conceive the excessive grossness of the manners, which they also describe as accompanying such luxury; but which as well accords with the inhabiting such *dens* for *palaces*, as *Launceston*, and *Conisborough*.

*Gildas's* reproof of the gross and brutal characters, of *Vortiper*, *Cuneglasse*, and *Moglocune*, is one of the most curious specimens of preaching, in the fifth and sixth centuries;—and was

was first built by *Britons*, descendants of *Phrygians;* either in the time of *Cartismandua*, about the middle of the first century;*—or else about the year 400.—And that it was, in either case, at first the Residence of *British* Rulers;—who had neither known, nor embraced Christianity:—and afterwards the abode of *Hengist*, and his *Saxons*, who were undoubtedly Pagans.

Let us now consider all its parts, as they still appear.

The Court immediately surrounding the Keep, it is true, has a resemblance to the Courts, (or *Ballia*,) of other Castles, of later date:—but yet, even this part of the fortress, when closely attended to, will be found very unlike those *Ballia*, or *Castle Areas*, that were in use *after* the conquest: having neither the regularity in form, any more than the extent in dimensions, of those of *Norman* Castles:—whilst indeed there is, from the peculiar situation of the Keep, some reason to conclude, that it was originally surrounded with *a more inward wall still;* something in the manner in which we find the Keeps at *Tre-twr*, and *Launceston*, surrounded.

This latter fact, may also be still further concluded, from the *very great number* of towers, which remained *even* till Leland's time, at *Conisborough*, and are so remarkably taken notice of by him.†—Whose odd words are,

"The waulles of it hath be strong and *full* of toures."

The outward entrance, (at least in the later Norman ages,) appears to have been by means of a draw bridge, across a deep fosse, now filled up in this part;—and through a long passage, between two walls, somewhat in the manner of that at *Launceston*, flanked by a round tower, on the left, at (2) Pl. VIII. fig. 1st.;—and (as it seemed to me) originally by another at (*s*);—between which, this sort of covered way was continued winding, till it entered the great court,

perhaps too severe to have a good effect upon those whom he wished to reform.—The good *Latimer's* freedom of language, in the sixteenth century, strange as it now appears to us, bore but a faint resemblance to the remonstrances of *Gildas*. Ep. of Gildas, Sec. xvi. p. 75, 77, 81.

* *Cartismandua's* wealth, and power were great, and may well be conceived to have had such a Fortress as this to preserve the one, and to maintain the other, as well as to skreen her evil practices, which at last caused her destruction.—It was her who betrayed *Caractacus*.—Taciter Annal. Lib. XII. Sec. xxxvi; Hist. Lib. III. Sec. xlv.

† Itin. Vol. I. p. 39.

near another round tower at (7).—This entrance is on what may most properly be called the north-west side; but, on account of its winding, may be termed the north.

In different parts of the wall of enclosure, (which by an exceeding heavy rain I was prevented from examining myself, when I visited the spot in 1781,) were several other round, and demi-round towers; —whereof the remains of at least eight may be traced:—but I do not venture to ascertain their precise situation; and only give a general sketch of the whole Plan, Pl. VIII. fig. 1.

Some of these towers had projecting buttresses;—but they in general appear to have been of a different construction, and of a much later age than the Keep itself.

On entering; the Castle area itself evidently appears much less than is usual in any truly Norman Castles: and though indeed foundations of buildings may be traced adjoining to the north, and north-western walls, yet they, in like manner, do not seem to have been upon the same great scale with such as are known to have been usually constructed by Norman Chieftains; the stateliness of whose ideas appeared in all their Strongholds, as well as in all their Conventual Churches.

In Pl. VIII. fig. 3, is a view of that part of the Castle area, at the east, and south-east end, near the Keep, which I had an opportunity of attending to more minutely, as I did also to the Keep itself;—and it is faithfully exact according to my best apprehensions, only leaving out some of the great ash, and elm trees, with which the ruined walls, and the remains of foundations in the area are shaded.—But it deserves to be remarked, that on account of its great projecting buttresses, the Keep Tower itself is in truth one of the most difficult objects that can well be met with, to be properly represented in a drawing:—for in some points of view it appears much narrower, and higher, than in others:—when seen near, it appears to be round, as it really is;—and when viewed at a distance, it appears only as a great square tower.

This extraordinary Structure stands near to one corner of the

* Since I visited this curious *Keep Tower*, at *Conisborough* in the year 1781, and described it in the Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 256, it has been still more accurately examined, at different times, by two persons of very great curiosity; Mr. *Watson*, and Mr. *Browne*;—

area ;—commanding a most glorious view of the windings of the river *Dune*, or *Dun*, and of the whole adjacent country: if any ideas of the real beauty of such a scene, could be conceived to draw attention, in those barbarous times, when this fortress must have been erected; and when not one single window was so placed therein, as to behold it.

The first thing that strikes the eye in this Keep,* is a small, very low mount, at the bottom ;—and then a remarkable sloping part of the walls, rising to a considerable height, of at least 18 feet; like another small artificial mount; in the same manner as the lower part of the tower at *Brunless:*—only here there are moreover, laid sloping upon its sides, six most prodigious stone buttresses; as represented in the plan, Pl. IX. fig. 1, and in the representations, Pl. VIII. fig. 2,—and fig. 3.

Immediately above this sloping part, the tower rises perpendicularly to a great height ;—being, in all, not less than between eighty and ninety feet, from the ground to its summit.

Its inside forms a complete circle ;—but, on the outside, it is rendered of a polygonal figure, by the continuations upwards of the six vast buttresses, or *turrets ;* which are, themselves not square, but lessen gradually in thickness, as they project outwards from the body of the tower.

And from hence is produced that very strange deception of sight, in the distant appearance of this most antient Keep: that, if a

who by the help of ladders, (which I could not obtain,) and by the assistance of some nails fixed in the walls, (which I was not acquainted with, and by the aid of which they could walk along the narrow ledges,) have been enabled to explore every part above ground; and fully to describe the curious chambers, and closets, in the uppermost stories.—The account given by Mr. *Watson* may be seen in the History of the Warren Family, (I. 30,) and in Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 32;—and that of Mr. *Browne*, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1801, p. 201.—There are some little trifling disagreements between them, as to small measures, and dimensions; and the number of steps in the staircases; and as to the particular precise aspects of different parts of the building: but their accounts, which are exceedingly curious, are easily reconcileable, on the whole, both with each other, and with what I myself viewed attentively, and had previously described :—and therefore, with due acknowledgments, availing myself of their united labours, I shall now describe the whole, more at large, and in the fullest and clearest manner that I possibly can;—using, in the plans, and sections, as far as I am able, the same letters of reference, as in the *Archæologia*; and correcting whatever little errors I had fallen into.

Fig. 1.



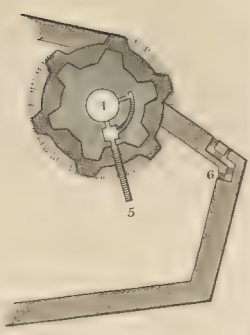




Fig. 2.

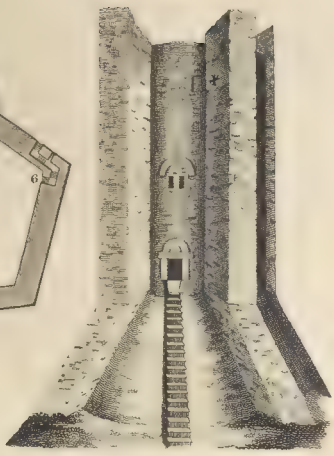


Fig. 3.



*Conisborough Castle.*

person chances to stand in the least degree nearly opposite to any one of the buttresses, the whole building appears, notwithstanding its perfect rotundity, to be a square Tower, instead of a round one.

The walls of this Tower are of a prodigious thickness at the bottom; and about 15 feet thick at the floor on which is the entrance;—but they set-in several inches in each story; by which means the middle room is somewhat larger than that on the first floor, whose diameter is twenty-one, or twenty-two feet;—and the uppermost room is larger still.

The middlemost of the three rooms is rather higher than the other two, and all three together are between 50 and 60 feet in height, from the sloping part of the Tower; whilst the buttresses, or turrets, may be observed to rise still several feet higher.

The next remarkable thing that draws attention, is the ascent to the grand entrance of the Keep;—which now is, (and most probably always was) by an exceeding steep flight of above thirty steps, on the south side, a little tending to the west; with so short a space for setting the feet on every step; and of so little width, that the appearance on descending was truly frightful;—as there was no rail, when I was there, nor any indication of there ever having been one originally.

At the top of this ascent, is a door, most remarkable for its being very low, and small, in comparison of those in Norman Keeps:—and of a very singular construction;—for although there is indeed a stone arch turned over it, (in imitation probably of those which the Britons had seen in some Roman buildings), yet such arch seems not to have been trusted to, in respect of strength: for directly across the centre, at the bottom of it, is placed a great *transom stone*, like a beam; and the space, between this stone and the arch, is filled up with solid stone-work; as if to *assist* the arch in supporting the wall above.

The peculiarities of the door-way;—and of the sloping buttresses;—as well as of the flight of steps;—and of the window in the apartment over it (consisting only of two large loops);—with the singularity of *the only great window* in the whole Tower, belonging to the state apartment, high above, at the very top of the

building, and even turned *from* the rich prospect of the country;—are endeavoured to be faithfully represented, in Pl. VIII. fig. 2 and fig. 3.

The inside of this curious Remain, exhibits a still more extraordinary and interesting appearance.—In Pl. IX. are plans of the several floors of the Castle;—and in Plate X. is a representation of a section, and of the two opposite sides of the Castle within:—the section being made in the direction of the *dotted diameter*, which is drawn in the plan of every floor, Pl. IX.

These representations of the two concave parts of the inside, are given as seen by a sort of bird's eye view, looking down upon the Tower: this being unavoidably necessary, for the sake of shewing the setting-in of the wall, on the floors of the several stories; and for the sake of shewing the great surrounding platform, on the top of the walls of the Castle, within the buttresses.

In Pl. IX;—fig. 1 shews the wide-extended base of the whole building, with the vast thickness of the foundation wall; and with the little, low, slightly-extended mount beneath, marked by the radiating lines.

And here is represented also the peculiar form of the six great sloping buttresses, lessening gradually as they project from the body of the Tower;—whilst the more inward dotted lines, shew the dimensions of the part from whence the whole body of the building rises perpendicularly; and from whence these buttresses form turrets, extending at least eight feet wider than the rest of the building.—The situation of the steep, narrow flight of steps, from the ground, to the portal, is also represented in this Plan.

And in fig. 2 is the plan of the Tower, on the first floor, where is the grand entrance; and where again the steps are marked (*a b*).

On entering the door, (which is placed high enough to be inaccessible from the sloping sides of the Tower, even if there had been any possibility of climbing up the slope,) you come first into a little apartment, or sort of vestibule (V);—where an attentive observer will perceive, that though there are indeed cavities formed in the inner side-walls of the door-way, for receiving strong beams, to barricade the entrance; yet there neither was, nor could ever have been, any *portcullis* whatever. Such means of defence evidently

Fig. 4.

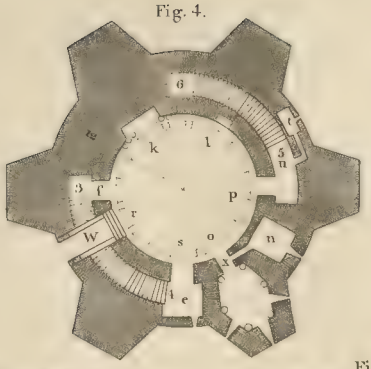



Fig. 2.

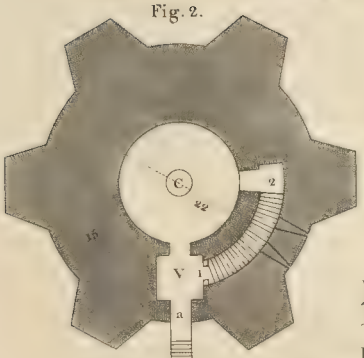



Fig. 3.

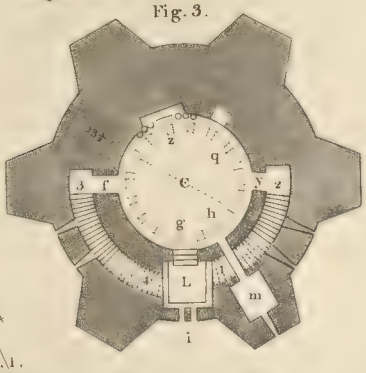
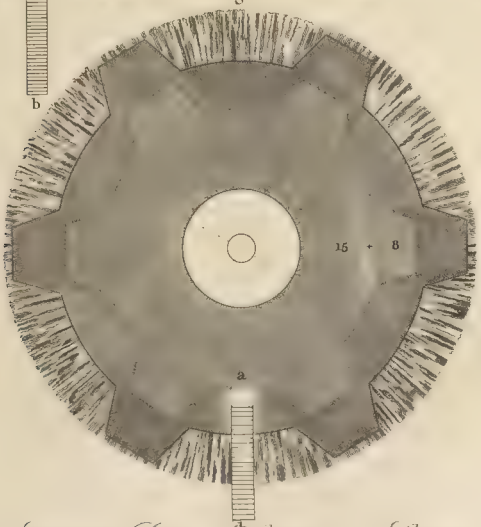



Fig. 1.




*Ground Plans of Conisborough Castle*

not having been invented when this Tower was constructed, any more than *machicolations*, of which not one appears in the whole building.

It has been supposed, that there was once an approach to this door by means of a drawbridge, and passage, from the top of the opposite wall; but, in reality, it is too far from that wall for any such communication, except by means of a cross wall constructed on purpose, of which no traces whatever can be discovered.—Neither are there any sort of remains whatever of any fastenings, or provision for a drawbridge, which where there ever has been one do usually appear;—and besides this, such cross high wall, having a covered way level with the door, would evidently have weakened the defence of this Tower, instead of strengthening it.

The little vestibule (V), which we first enter, is formed merely within the thickness of the great circular wall of the Tower, which is no less than 15 feet thick.

On passing through this vestibule, straight forwards, we enter the circular room on the first floor; which is only 21, or 22 feet in diameter:—and in the very centre of which, is a circular aperture marked (*c*) in Pl. IX. and X. like the mouth of a great well, leading down to a most dark dismal dungeon, within the basement of the Tower.

This dungeon has long been partly filled up with rubbish; and there is a tradition, that from its bottom there was a subterraneous passage out of the Castle.—Such sort of traditions, however, (the mere offspring of ignorance, and hasty suspicion) are so common concerning many antient buildings, that they are in no wise to be relied on.—Subterraneous passages, are indeed sometimes really met with in Castles; but are not likely to have been in such a situation as this; where a safe strong dungeon for confining prisoners, was much more likely to be found; and which would hardly have had such an outlet.—On the contrary, there is the utmost probability, that in the centre of this dire den, there was a draw-well, for water, (as a deep well has actually been found in a similar situation, in the Remains of Oxford Castle, and has of late years been cleared out, so as to recover a very fine spring).—We may observe further also, that the very situation of the great round aperture (*c*) here at

Conisborough, in the floor over the dungeon, seems evidently to have been fixed upon, in so odd, and remarkable a manner, both for the benefit of a little light, and air to a dungeon ;—and also for the sake of drawing up water to the floors above :—where there can be little doubt but that there were similar openings :—as without such, neither the dungeon, nor even that first circular room itself, would ever have been at all habitable ;—as neither of them have the advantage of one single loophole.

The exact form of the rude vault of the dungeon, I cannot pretend to ascertain ; not having had any means of descending into it.

From the vestibule (V), on the left hand, is a staircase (1 , 2) Pl. IX. fig. 2;—not of a spiral form like those of later ages ; but just like that at *Launceston*, ascending up, straight forwards, through the thickness of the wall, without any other bending, or winding, than the mere curvature of the wall itself.—It is seen in the section, Pl. X. fig. 1, ascending at (*d*) ; and in fig. 2, descending at (*d*).—It is five feet wide, and has a noble appearance, and consists of 25 stone steps ; is lighted by two loopholes, notwithstanding its limited dimensions ;—and having no sort of communication with the lower circular room, except through the vestibule, might always have been ascended, without endangering the security of that apartment, which probably, on account of its extreme darkness, served only as a repository for stores, or a sort of treasury.

From the top of this flight, is the entrance to the room above, by the door marked (*y*), both in the plan, fig 3, and in the section, fig. 1.

The flooring of this room, as well as of that over it, is entirely gone ; but there remain projecting stone trusses all round the wall, to support the beams of timber of which it was composed ;—and besides this, there may be observed a regular setting-in of the wall, in the construction of the building, (as is shewn in Pl. X. fig. 1, and 2), forming a ledge, on which the ends of the timbers even still more firmly rested ; whilst it is most obvious, that they were no where let into the wall.

It even seems indeed, as the whole Tower is most remarkable both within, and without, (like the palaces of *the Incas*,) for its compact, very smooth stone work ; that this might be a purposely

Fig. 1.

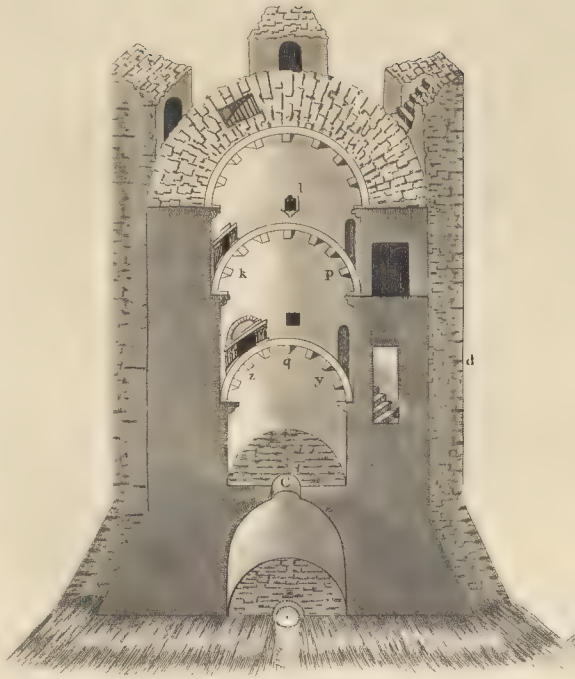
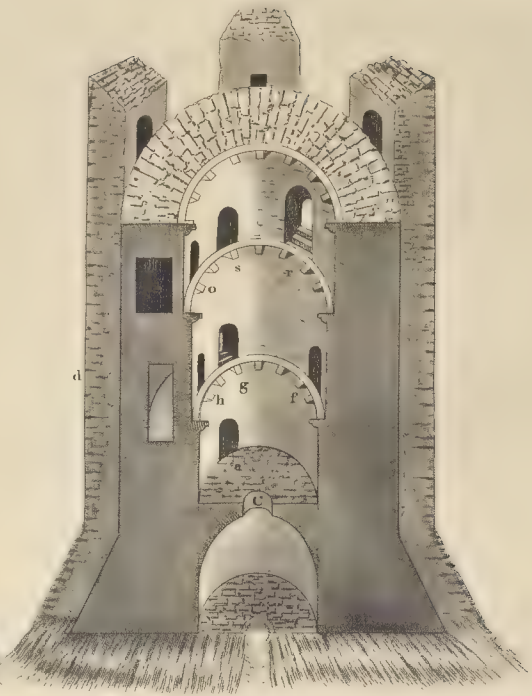



Fig. 2.




*Sections of Conisborough Castle.*

A.W.del. Basire sculp.

Published as the Act directs Nov.r 4.th 1783

intended precaution, to render it continually *restorable*, and lasting; —as we find it still to be, in defiance of any burning, or sacking, or mouldering ravages of time whatsoever.

Such a Tower, might be burnt, *like the Tower of Cyrene, according to the words of the Oracle,* flaming as a kiln*, over and over again, and still remain, in point of strength, almost unimpaired.

The *setting-in* of the wall, enlarged somewhat the dimensions of this apartment; whilst the thickness of the wall was somewhat reduced.

Directly opposite to the door-way (*y*) by which we enter, is another at (*f*), leading to the next staircase, that ascends further upwards.

And at (*z*) is an appearance, that astonishes every beholder. It is a vast chimney-piece, on the north side of the room, of a most noble structure, twelve feet long; carved with an apparent degree of elegance, that at first glance, at a distance, almost resembles the work of these later ages;—and even might induce a suspicion of its having been put up in the time of Elizabeth, or of James I. on the revival of Roman architecture; as on the other hand, it has sometimes been conceived† to have been of the age of Henry I. or II.—But as it is impossible to suppose such an exceeding large ornamental piece of workmanship to have been placed, either in the age of Elizabeth, or of James I. in a small dark apartment that was almost without any light; so it is as difficult to attribute it to the days of Henry I. or II. because the capitals, and pillars belonging to it, are unlike those of Henry I. or II. either at Rochester, or Canterbury, or Norwich, or any where else that I have seen:—and because, if they were of that age, they must have been placed there by some of the Earls of *Warren*, whose well known style of building was so different from that of this Castle.—When viewed near, the whole work is found to be but rudely executed.—The vast front, of twelve feet wide, raised high enough to admit a pro-

* See p. 37; and Herodotus, Lib. iv. 164. p. 354; ed. Wess.;—and perhaps it may add some little degree of illustration, to bring to remembrance, on this occasion, *Abimelech's* approach to the door of the Tower at *Thebes*, to endeavour to effect just such a catastrophe; when, from a woman's hand, he met with his own destruction.—Judges. chap. ix. ver. 51, 52, 53.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 32.

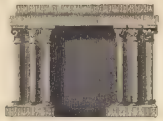
digious pile of wood, is supported by a most irregular sort of arch; which however was evidently not trusted to as sufficient for the purpose; but was filled up with stone work, and again supported by two huge transom stones, lying one upon another, and resting on the three pillars at each end, which, with their capitals, give this fire hearth such a striking appearance.—The ornament upon one of the capitals, is shewn Pl. XI. fig. 2.—And seems to me to point out an age, for their construction, *nearer* to the *Roman* times; and when *Roman* architecture, jointly with *Syrian*, was, though very rudely, yet *more designedly* imitated, than at any other subsequent period, till the revival of Grecian, and Roman architecture.—There are indeed some strange *Saxon* specimens of workmanship, somewhat of the same kind, in the curious *Saxon* Church of *Shoreham*, in Sussex;—and possibly, therefore, this front to the fire hearth may have been placed here, as an additional ornament, in *Saxon times*;—but as it rather appears to be one compact, uniform piece of work with the rest of the wall, and to have been constructed of the same stone; the more just conclusion seems to be, that it was truly of a period, when amongst the northern *Phrygian* Britons, rude imitations of *Roman* architecture became grafted upon *Phœnician* ideas;—and when the Romans leaving them, and exhorting them to defend themselves, would not object to any of their efforts to rear such a stronghold, or to render the place of Residence of a British Chieftain, both formidable, and respectable.*

The Chimney ascended sloping through the wall; and seems to have had its opening to the air, only through a loop.

* I must earnestly desire here, to have it understood, that throughout these Volumes, I do not wish to impose opinions upon any one;—I wish solely to state facts fairly: and from a number of concurring circumstances, with integrity, and ingenuousness, to form the best and most obvious conclusions that I am able, in my own mind; and then to lay those combinations of facts, as useful communications, before the public eye; and those conclusions as hints;—and to leave every one to judge for himself.

If therefore any one should still be of opinion that this Tower was built in some subsequent age; I have only to add, that it is so completely on the same Syrian plan with those others in Cornwall and Wales, which totally differ, as this does, from the plans and mode of construction either of truly Saxon, or of truly Norman Castles, that even still, by way of illustration only, it well deserves to be mentioned in this place.

Fig. 3.



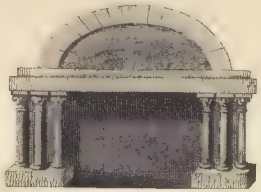


Fig. 1.

Fig. 4.

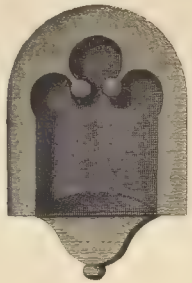




Fig. 2.

*Remains at Conisborough*

Published as the Act directs November 1st 1824

Not one single window, nor even so much as a loop hole, was there in this apartment;—which yet, from the greatness of the fire hearth, appears to have served as some common room for the soldiers, or guard chamber.

But nearly opposite to the chimney, on the south side, and directly over the grand entrance beneath, is a door-way, marked (*g*), Pl. IX. fig. 3, and Pl. X. fig. 2; which, by three very bold deep steps, leads up to a little chamber, or recess (L), over the vestibule, and like it contained within the thickness of the wall.

This little chamber has a stone bench, sixteen inches high, on three of its sides; and is lighted, not by any thing that can properly be called a window, but only by two large loops, at (*i*), whose very peculiar appearance, on the outside, is shewn in Pl. VIII. fig. 2; and which afford light, and air, little enough even for this apartment itself, and much less for the larger chamber; to which, for the sake of some degree more of light and air, there must probably have been a circular opening in the centre of the floor above, corresponding with that in the floor beneath, and probably covered occasionally by a lattice, or grating.—Without such provision, how this apartment could possibly be habitable at all; and much less for any such number of persons as the fire hearth shews to have been used to occupy it, cannot be conceived.

What name this little apartment went by, or for what purpose, either as *an occasional bed-chamber*, or otherwise, it was precisely used, cannot positively be ascertained;—but *here* we seem to have, most obviously, the true *origin of the Oriol, or Auriol.—The chief place to afford light, and air, to an hall; or apartment used in common.*

It was *here*, nearly the only place to afford that advantage, to this guard chamber; where many persons must have often assembled:—and, in subsequent ages, the great lightsome, and airy bow window, in a sort of somewhat similar recess, at the upper part of a great Gothic hall, easily obtained *the same name.**

* Hence we find, in *Math. Par.* A. 1251, and *Vit. Abb. S. Albani*, accounts, corresponding both with the situation of this sort of *Oriol*, and of that in a great *Gothic Hall*.

With regard to such an one as this,—we read

*Adjacet nobilissimum in introitu quod Porticus vel Oriolum appellatur.*

Here must have been the pleasantest spot, in the day time, for those who abided in the great guard room;—and here, at night,

*There is, adjacent to the entrance (or connected with the entrance) a most dignified place, which is called the Portico, or Oriol.*

And with regard to the succeeding *Oriols*, in *the great bow recess* of Gothic Halls, both of Castles, and Monasteries; we read,—concerning the indulgence shewn to sickly Monks,

*Ut non in infirmaria, sed seorsim in Oriolo, Monachi infirmi carnem comederent*;—

*That not in the infirmary, but apart by themselves in the Oriol, the weakly Monks might eat flesh meat*; *i. e.* as an indulgence, even contrary to the usual rules of their Order.

And again, concerning the manner of life, of one of the *Abbots*,

*Nisi in Refectorio vel Oriolo prandaret*;

Unless he dined *in the Refectory, or in the Oriol*;—*i. e.* in the common hall, or in the common hall window, or *great bow recess*.

And it is very remarkable that, exactly corresponding with the idea of the *Oriol*, or of this sort of recess, *over the entrance* of a Palace, or Keep Tower, being the place of *honour*, to entertain guests, is the account which we find *Homer* gives of the *Porch*, or rather (as the context equally implies) of the little Recess, or *Porch Chamber* over the entrance of the building, being the place where skins were spread, or moveable couches placed, at night, for strangers of distinction to rest upon; both in the palace of *Nestor*; and of *Menelaus*; and of *Alcinous*.

*Telemachus*, and *Pisistratus*, Homer says, were lodged in the palace of *Nestor*; (Odyssey, lib. iii. l. 399.)

Τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν, ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἠχήεντι
*On carved (or well turned) couches, in the echoing porch chamber.*

And in the palace of *Menelaus*, on their going to rest, *Helen* commanded, (lib. iv. l. 296.)

Δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι, καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
Πορφύρε' ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
Χλαίνας τ' ἐνθέμεναι ἕλας καθύπερθεν ἔσασθαι·
*Beds to be placed in the porch chamber, and handsome cloths*
*of purple to be cast upon them, and tapestry to be spread thereon,*
*with soft woollen wrappers o'er the whole.*

In the palace of *Alcinous* also,—*Ulysses* as a stranger slept, (lib. vii. l. 345.)

Τρῳῇσιν ἐν λεχέεσσιν, ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἠχήεντι·
On carved couch, within the echoing Porch Chamber.

The original words of these passages are here given, for the sake of shewing, with the more exact precision, the whole mode of lodging;—and also for the sake of shewing, that this sort of apartment, *over the entrance*, was generally meant to be distinguished from the *lower porch*, or *vestibule* of entrance itself, which was commonly called πρόδομος.

It is true indeed, that *this same apartment* where *Telemachus* lodged, in the palace of *Menelaus*, is afterwards described as being, ἐν προδόμῳ *in the porch* (lib. iv. l. 302.; and lib. xv. l. 5.), and that both words, elsewhere, are sometimes so used, as if both the *porch*, or *vestibule*, and the *small chamber over it*, went often, in common speech, under the same common denomination; as composing both together the *great porch*;—but still we often find the *porch*, or *vestibule* itself, most particularly distinguished from it.

any of those who rested on this floor, might at least find somewhat better shelter, and more retired lodging, than in the great central room.

A little eastward of the steps ascending to this Recess, or *Oriol*, is

Thus when *Ulysses* on his return, in disguise, really chose, as a mark of *humility*, and of his *low estate*, to sleep in the *vestibule*, or *Porch* beneath, as a poor, and wretched, wandering suppliant, though the Queen had directed that he should be more nobly lodged;—then the expression most cautiously, and with energy, used by *Homer*, is—(lib. xx. l. 1)

Αὐταὰρ ὁ ἐν προδόμῳ εὐνάζετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Καμμενὲν ἀδέψητον βοέην στόρεσ', αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
Κώεα πόλλ' οἰῶν, τὰς ἐρεύεσκον Ἀχαιοί·
Εὐρυνόμη δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα χλαῖναν βάλε κοιμηθέντι
But in the vestibule divine Ulysses slept,
A raw ox hide beneath he spread; above,
Fresh skins of many sheep, by Grecians slain.
*Eurynome*, a wrapper cast of wool,
Upon the sleeping guest.

And when *Telemachus*, in the morning, anxiously inquired,—if after his conference with the Queen, *Ulysses* had been well lodged?—*Eurymone* replied,—(lib. xx, l. 139),

Ἦ μὲν δέμνι' ἄνωγεν ὑποστορέσαι δμωῇσιν·
Αὐταὰρ ὅγ', ὥς τις πάμπαν ὀϊζυρὸς καὶ ἄποτμος,
Οὐκ ἔθελ' ἐν λέκτροισι καὶ ἐν ῥήγεσσι καθεύδειν,
Ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδειψήτῳ βοέῃ καὶ κώεσιν οἰῶν
Ἔδραθεν ἐν προδόμῳ· χλαῖναν δ' ἐπιέσσαμεν ἡμεῖς
*She ordered beds by servants to be placed;*
*But he, as wretched outcast, and forlorn,*
*Would not on couches, and on vestures sleep:*
*But on a raw ox hide, and skins of sheep,*
*In the first entrance slept: myself did cast*
*A woollen wrapper on.*

Whoever will take the trouble to consult the observations of H. Stephens (in his Appendix, p. 308; and in the Indicis pars secunda, p. 63; and Tom. i. p. 941,) will plainly perceive full authority for a distinction between the *πρόδομος*, or *vestibule of entrance*;—and the *ἄιθουσα*, or *porch*, or *portico*:—and will see how great difficulty even Stephens had, to comprehend the true meaning of the latter word, so different from the *στοὰ*, or *real Portico with pillars*.—And also will find (which is a curious circumstance) that the *ἄιθουσα* was always placed *towards the south*, or nearly so; as is the fact with regard to the situation of this kind of recess over the entrance at *Conisborough*.

And it may be added, that the finding this very kind of apartment so often called by the same name of *ἄιθουσα*, *Porch Chamber*,—and so uniformly allotted by *Homer* to the same purpose of lodging strangers, (whilst we may be certain that he would adhere exactly, in his descriptions, to the usages of the neighbouring countries,) is surely a proof both *what* it was;—and *where* it was;—though the word is so often mistranslated *Porch*, or *Portico*—

a very narrow doorway, marked (*h*), in Pl. IX. fig. 3,—and in Pl. X. fig. 2,—which has no arch at top; and which led to a small

For it is impossible to believe, that the most magnificent amongst the Grecian Princes, would as a mark of honour, turn their most favoured guests out of doors, to sleep under an open colonnade; or in a defenceless *Portico*, in the front of a building.

It would be an omission, not to add *Pope's* translations of the above passages; to shew how easily antient usages, and modes of building may be mistaken:—and how necessary a minute investigation of antiquities is, for the right understanding of antient writers.

Concerning the lodging of *Telemachus*, and *Pisistratus*, in the palace of Nestor,—*Pope* says, Book iii. l. 515.

Deep in a rich alcove the prince was laid,
And slept beneath the pompous colonnade;
Fast by his side Pisistratus lay spread,
(In age his equal) on a splendid bed:

Concerning their lodging in the palace of *Menelaus*,—his words are, Book iv. l. 401.

——— the menial fair that round her wait,
At Helen's beck prepare the room of state;
Beneath an ample Portico, they spread
The downy fleece to form the slumb'rous bed,
And o'er soft palls of purple grain unfold
Rich tapestry, stiff with interwoven gold:

Concerning *Ulysses'* lodging in the palace of *Alcinous*,—he says, Book vii. l. 455.

There, soft extended, to the murmuring sound
Of the high porch, *Ulysses* sleeps profound:—

And concerning Ulysses' humble resting-place, in his own palace, when returned in disguise,—Pope's translation is, Book xx. l. 1.

An ample hide divine *Ulysses* spread,
And form'd of fleecy skins his humble bed:
(The remnants of the spoil the suitor croud
In festival devour'd, and victims vow'd.)
Then o'er the chief, Eurynome the chaste,
With duteous care a downy carpet cast;

And his translation of *Eurynomes'* answer to *Telemachus* is,—Book xx. l. 173.

In vain the Queen the night refection prest;
Nor would he court repose, in downy state,
Unbless'd, abandon'd to the rage of fate!
A hide beneath the portico was spread,
And fleecy skins composed an humble bed:
A downy carpet cast with duteous care,
Secured him from the keen nocturnal air.

As in the original words of the *Odyssey*, we find *Homer* manifestly distinguishing the αἰθούσα, the *Porch-Chamber*, or *Oriel* from the προόδομος, the *lower porch*, or *vestibule*; and as it is still more evidently different from στοὰ, *the Portico for walking*; so Homer as clearly

closet of ease (*m*), formed in one of the buttresses; having a narrow winding drain in the wall, that emptied itself through one of the external loops.

And on one side of the fire hearth, about half way between it and the door of entrance, is a little square nich in the wall, at (*q*); too small for any serviceable use as a locker, or cup-board; and the original design of which may perhaps best be discovered, by what we shall find appear in the state apartment over head.

Traversing quite through this sort of guard chamber, to the door directly opposite that by which it is first entered, was the way to the staircase, at (*f*), leading to the floor above:—but at present the door of that staircase can only be approached, either by a ladder, or by treading on the ledge, formed by the setting in of the circular wall, in which some nails are fixed to hold by. Reaching the door (*f*), by either of these means, the ascent is, by a staircase (*3*, 4, Pl. IX. fig. 3), similar to the former one; and lighted by two loop holes; and consisting of about thirty-four steps; entering a small lobby above, at (*e*), lighted by a single loop;—from whence the passage is directly into the state chamber, by a door at (*s*); as seen in Pl. IX. fig. 4, and in Pl. X. fig. 2.

This room, on account of the setting in of the walls of every floor, is still larger than either of the rooms beneath;—and on every account it deserves still more attention.

At (*r*), Pl. IX. and X. is a large and noble window;—the only one in the Castle.—It is shewn, in the view, Pl. VIII. fig. 3.—And it is found, on account of the vast thickness of the wall, to be placed at the end of a sort of recess (*w*), which has steps ascending to it, and a stone bench on each side.

At (*k*) is a fire hearth, adorned somewhat like the former.—Its

distinguishes from it *the great Main Gate*;—or the outward gate of the court of his Castle, or palace; (lib. xxi. l. 240, 389) which is described by the words

Θύρας εὐερκέος αὐλῆς

*The gates of the well fortified court.*

It only remains just to add, that more than sufficient authority will be found for translating ὑπὸ, *in*, or *within*, in many passages of Homer, by those who will consult *H. Stephens*, *Tom.* iii. *p.* 1756; *and the* 2*d part of his Appendix*, *p.* 144.

And that, very probably, the stone benches round the three sides of this small *Porch Chamber*, at *Conisborough*, were rather designed for sleeping upon, than for seats.

appearance is shewn, Pl. XI. fig. 3:—and it is smaller than that beneath; but is as richly, or even more richly ornamented, though of the same rude workmanship;—and, from its lesser dimensions, it plainly indicates that this apartment, though more noble than the one underneath, was yet designed for the abode of fewer persons.

The floor having been long utterly destroyed, the narrow ledge, formed by the setting in of the wall, is nearly covered with weeds, and become both moist, and slippery; and the appearance both of the precipitous height, and of the dark dungeon at the bottom of the Tower, is from hence most strikingly dreadful;—insomuch that it requires uncommon fortitude, notwithstanding the assistance of nails in the wall for holding by, to advance along, or to make any further discovery.—Proceeding, however, from the door of entrance at (*s*), a little to the eastward, is found another door at (*o*), opposite to the fire hearth; leading, through a narrow passage (*x*), to a most curious little chamber, of an hexagonal form, contained within the thickness of the wall, and of one of the buttresses.*

This chamber is twelve feet in length, and ten feet in breadth:—but, having round stone pillars at every angle, this breadth, between the two middle ones, is reduced to about eight feet.

It is arched over, with circular arches, resting on the pillars;—two of which arches cross each other in the midst of the furthermost division of the room; and two cross each other in the middle of the nearest division of the room; and a fifth exactly divides the

* There is a little disagreement in a part of the descriptions given by Mr. *Browne*, and Mr. *Watson*; from whence it does not decidedly appear, whether the door of entrance, is exactly *at the end* of this little hexagonal upper chamber, opposite to the loop;—or on one of the sides *near the end*.—Mr. Browne expressly says, *opposite the door is a large loop-hole*:—from whence one would be led to conclude, that the door was in the side of the hexagon, *fronting* that in which the loop is; as I have ventured to represent it in the plan, fig. 4, Pl. IX:—but from a perspective view given of the interior of the Chamber, annexed to his description, it seems as if the door was *on one side*: to avoid any mistake therefore, as much as possible, and to do the utmost justice in my power to his full description—I have added in fig. 8, Pl. XII, a second plan—drawn consistently with the *latter* idea;—which certainly has this advantage, that it affords better opportunity for placing a couch, or bed (if this little room was used for a resting apartment):—whilst the placing the entrance in this manner, occasions no other alteration in the rest of the plan, than the placing of the door (*o*) a little further eastward from the entrance of the great chamber (*s*) at the top of the stairs.

room in the midst.—The whole height is about fifteen, or sixteen feet:—and in each point where the arches cross, is a sort of circular key-stone: ornamented as is represented, Pl. XII. fig. 4; whilst the ornamental work of the arches themselves is shewn, fig. 7.

Pl. XII. fig. 1, represents the more eastern half of this interesting chamber; and as nearly as possible, as Mr. Browne has delineated it.

And fig. 2, and 3, represent the pillars upon a larger scale; with the ornaments of their capitals:—whilst fig. 9, and 10, shew the variation of the ornaments on the sides.

From the *studied variety* in the capitals of the pillars; and from their peculiar style, as they are described by Mr. Browne, they may possibly have been *Saxon additions* to this room, somewhat about the time of *Alfred;* as they have even more of a *Saxon* appearance than those of the fire hearth in the larger circular room; and as I have seen elsewhere, in more places than one, pillars nearly of that age, that may very well be compared with both.—But to the best of my judgment, and as far as any comparison can be made with works clearly ascertained to have been of those times, they can never be rightly deemed to have been *Danish*, or *Norman* additions; either of the age of *Canute*, the Dane; or of any of the early *Norman Princes*, and much less of any of the subsequent reigns, down to the time of the *Tudors*.—And indeed, in all their ornaments, and in all their proportions, as Mr. Browne has given them, there is a neatness of design, though with much rudeness of execution, and an approach to regular architecture, that bespeaks an age *nearer* to the time of the *Romans*, and when their works were both better understood, and better remembered.

At the end of this small chamber the furthest from the entrance, is a mere loophole for light, only six inches wide:—but towards the chamber its cavity in the wall widens, to two feet and an half in breadth, and to six feet in height; having a depth, through the thickness of the wall, of five feet.—It is adorned with an arch on the inside of the wall, that is ornamented with large triangular indentations; and which have themselves (as Mr. Browne informs us) been formerly enriched with various rude carvings, now much defaced.

These sort of *very large* indentations, are not (as far as I can recollect) found on any arches *after* the very earliest *Saxon* times; and the carvings inserted within each triangular space, are an odd mode of ornament, consistent only with what appears in the exceeding antient arches at *Shoreham*.

In each of the two side walls of the hexagon, on each side of this loop-window, is found at the height of about four feet, a nich about a foot and an half square; having the top carved, and formed somewhat in the resemblance of a crown:—there is no trough or cavity at bottom, but there is a small hole penetrating downwards in the wall, at the back of each.

And a little above these niches, somewhat nearer to the loop-window, is found on each side, a large circular aperture, two feet six inches in diameter; which passes through the whole thickness of the wall, having its sides converging conically, till it becomes only about twenty inches in diameter, and terminates in a quatrefoile loop.

The exterior appearance of this loop, with its little surrounding ornaments, is shewn Pl. XII. fig. 6.—Its place on the outside of the great buttress, is seen in fig. 2, and fig. 3, Pl. VIII;—and the appearance of the mouth of the aperture, in the wall of the chamber, on the inside, is shewn Pl. XII. fig. 1; and still more exactly, fig. 5.

The design of these apertures was evidently to afford more light, more air, and a little more extensive view on three sides; and to render the whole apartment more comfortable; whilst any occasional inconvenience might be prevented, by wooden shutters.

This little room has been called a chapel; but without any authority to support such designation;—and I should therefore much rather conceive it to have been the State bed-chamber, where stood the couch for royal repose:—as otherwise there is not one single place, in the whole Tower, fit for such a purpose; and as it exactly answers the very antient descriptions, we often meet with, of an *inner chamber*, or *secret chamber*, in a Royal Palace.

* As we could not but remark the great conformity of *Homer's* descriptions, in his *Odyssey*, of the apartment where strangers were lodged, to the *Recess*, or *Porch Chamber*, over the vestibule at *Conisborough*; so it is an exceeding curious circumstance deserving our attention,










*Romains at Conisborough.*

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And this conclusion concerning its being the State bed-chamber, is the rather confirmed, because of its having a remarkable appendage:—for on one side of the passage of entrance is a closet, six

that when mention is made, by him, of the retiring of *Nestor*, of *Menelaus*, and of *Alcinous*, themselves to rest, after having consigned their guests to the *Porch Chamber*, just such a retired part of the building, near the top of a *lofty tower*, is described, as we here meet with in the little hexagonal chamber, on the floor above; whilst we may be assured that *Homer* would precisely describe, even in fable, and romance, the exact customs of his country.

The words, concerning Nestor, are (lib. iii. l. 402)

Αὐτὸς δὲ αὖτε καθεῦδε μυχῷ δόμε ὑψηλοῖο·

*But he himself afterward slept in the secret inner chamber of the lofty building.*

where the word—μυχος—is so expressive, that in fact it not only means *the inmost part of a building*; or *an interior small room, through another*, or on the side of another;—but implies also, its being obscure, and dark, and cavernous in a thick wall, like a den:—(See the Observations of H. Stephens, (Tom. ii. p. 1659,) who takes great pains to mark the exceeding peculiarity of Homer's expression; whilst at the same time the other words—δόμε ὑψηλοῖο—as precisely and plainly mean a *building really lofty* in its structure, as *a Tower* is.

Pope's words therefore do certainly not convey the right idea, either of the situation of the apartment, or of the nature of it; they are (lib. iii. l. 519)

But in an inner court, securely clos'd,
The rev'rend Nestor with his Queen repos'd.

Again, Homer's account of the chamber of *Menelaus*, is most fully descriptive (lib. iv. l. 304.)

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ κάθευδε μυχῷ δόμε ὑψηλοῖο.

*But Atrides slept in the secret inner chamber of the lofty building.*

Whilst Pope's translation of them is (lib. iv. l. 409)

While to his regal bow'r the king ascends,
And beauteous Helen on her lord attends.

The resting place of Alcinous is described exactly by Homer, (lib. vii. l. 346)

Ἀλκίνοος δὲ ἄρα λέκ|ο μυχῷ δόμε ὑψηλοῖο.

*But Alcinous went to rest in the secret inner chamber of the lofty building,*

Whilst Pope's translation (lib. vii. l. 437) departs from every word of the original.

Within, releas'd from cares, Alcinous lies,
And fast beside were clos'd Arete's eyes.

That the great *Earls of Warren* occasionally resided at *Conisborough*, is unquestionable;—for it is remarked, (in the Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren, p. 51,) that this conclusion may be formed concerning *William the first Earl*, from a passage in the foundation Charter of Lewes Abbey.—And that *John the last Earl*, in the time of Edward the Third, was occasionally resident *here*, is evident, from his last will and testament being even dated at *his Castel of Conesburgh*.—See Dugdale's Baronage, p. 82.

And if these great Earls resided *here* at all, this very *State Chamber*, on the third floor, must in all probability have been their own State apartment; and the little hexagon Chamber, in the wall, their bed-room;—as it had occasionally been that of *British*, and of *Saxon* Kings, whilst their retinue were lodged in the several surrounding Towers of the Castle.

feet square, and seven feet high, lighted by a narrow loop; with a nich in the wall, similar to the two former, but without either trough, or pipe.—It is possible to suppose *this* may have been *an Oratory*, in latter ages; but in a fenced Tower, with so little other convenience for lodging its Lord, we can scarce suppose that *two rooms* (both the hexagon chamber, and this,) would have been destined, like the apartments in a Monastery, solely to religious uses.

That superstition, however, and of the worst kind, did at some time or other prevail in this Castle, seems to appear very probable; from the number of its ornamented niches:—for (besides these now mentioned),—in the great round chamber itself, on one side of the fire place, nearly over the square nich in the chamber beneath, is a more distinguished nich than all the rest.—It is represented, Pl. XI. fig. 4, on a large scale: and its place is shewn in the plans, Pl. III. fig. 4, and in the section of the Tower, Pl. X. fig. 1 (at *l.*)

It is well known that many of the Britons remained Pagans, after the Romans possessed the island; and from several idols dug up, at various times, and in various places, it even appears that some of them adopted the old *Roman penates*, and *little* household images of abomination;—and it is still more fully known, that *Hengist*, and his *Saxons* were at first gross idolaters:—these niches therefore may

As to the remains discerned, of the foundation walls of *rooms* in the Court;—there is every reason to believe, that they were, even in the later Norman times, merely the Chapel; —the Hall,—the Kitchen, and Buttery, and Offices;—and this small *hexagonal Chamber*, might unquestionably be no more derogatory to the dignity of an *Earl of Warren*, for his lodging room; than the little dark Chamber in the *Eagle Tower*, at *Caernarvon Castle*, (not twelve feet long, nor eight in breadth,) was to the dignity of *Eleanor Queen of England*; who therein was brought to bed of *Edward II.*—(See Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 215.)

The manner in which a very numerous retinue might be lodged in antient times, in the *surrounding Towers*, is obvious from a little anecdote, which I ventured to mention, in my first essay on this subject, (Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 377,) from the authority of that honest man, and most excellent Philosophical Lecturer, James Ferguson, who, being not merely detained, but almost imprisoned there, to draw miniature portraits, was many months an eye witness of the fact:—that so lately as the year 1740, in the sequestered highlands of Scotland, where so many antient customs then remained unchanged, the numerous retainers of the then powerful Laird Lovat, who was always surrounded with a sort of Court, had no other lodging, than upon a quantity of straw spread every night, on the floors of the lower rooms.

well be deemed to have held such sort of objects of their superstition; and indeed, from their mode of being ornamented, from their dimensions, and form, they seem to have been totally unfit for any other purpose.*

Projecting stones, *or trusses*, appear all round the walls for supporting a floor; besides the setting in of the wall itself.—They are seen in the sections, Pl. X.:—and the manner of their construction is shewn, Pl. XII. fig. 11 and fig. 13.—But it deserves observation, that they do not seem so placed as to support beams for a floor *lying parallel, and reaching from one side of the Tower to the other;* but are placed, as converging to a centre: so that long beams could not be laid from any one of them to that which is properly its opposite stone truss, without those beams crossing one another in the midst of the room; a circumstance that would render the so placing of beams, of the whole length of the diameter of the room, impossible.—They seem therefore obviously to have been intended, only for the support of short timbers; which converging towards the middle of the room, should be there sustained by some wooden pillars:†—a circumstance, that again indicates there was some *open space* originally left in the midst, that might either be guarded by a rail, or might be occasionally covered by a lattice, or trap-door.

* From the idols dug up near Strelitz in Mecklenburg, towards the close of the last century; and described in a work published, in German, at Berlin in 1771, entitled "*Runic Antiquities:*"—from those dug up at the Devises in Wiltshire, in 1714; and represented in a curious Plate, published by Mr. William Musgrave in 1717;—and from those which were dug up at Exeter, in 1778, and are described in the sixth volume of the Archæologia, p. 1; and which were either Roman, or imitations of such as were Roman; it fully appears, that whilst the detestable abominations of idolatry were practised, the images made use of were, in general, *very small*; except those placed in public temples.—And this seems also to be confirmed, with regard to the most antient days, from what is said of *Rachel's* having carried away her father's *teraphim*, or images; and of her mode of concealing them. Genesis, chap. xxxi. ver. 19, 32, 34, and afterwards concerning Jacob's finally burying them, under an oak by Shechem, chap. xxxv. ver. 4.

† It is a curious fact, and will be more fully mentioned in the sequel, that the floors, even of the antient *Caaba* at *Mecca*, which is a small square Tower, are actually *thus* supported.—See Pitt's Pilgrimage to Mecca, p. 128; and Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 115, 116, 117; and it is a still more striking fact, that this *Caaba* was known to have been, *before* the time of *Mahomet*, a Tower full of small idols.—See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 62, 73, 74; and Long's Life of Mahomet, prefixed to Ockley's History of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 62.

From this apartment, which seems to have been the most dignified of all, there is an ascent by a flight of twenty-five steps to the top of the tower.—The door way, leading to this staircase, is shewn at (*p*) in the plans, Pl. IX. fig. 4,—and Pl. XII. fig. 8;—and also in the section, Pl. X. fig. 1.

On entering the staircase door; on the left, at (*u*), is found a winding passage to a sink, or place of easement, somewhere about (*t*);—but the loop-hole, by which this little closet received light, is now broken away; as are many other small parts of the wall on this side the Tower.

The staircase is similar to the others.—At the top, the wall is found about ten feet thick, having diminished in thickness at every story.—And here the mortar is discovered to have consisted of lime sand, small shells, and charcoal;—and the great buttress turrets are found to be continued about eight feet higher; so that, according to Mr. Browne's measures, their whole height is nearly 86 feet;—whilst that of the body of the Tower is about 78 feet.

But as every part of this structure is interestingly curious, so its summit is, if possible, even more so than the rest.—For on one of these turrets appear steps; as if leading to the station for a watchman;—in each one of three of the others, is a sort of large alcove, or closet; in the walls whereof (according to Mr. Watson's* account) appear to be, not regular *loops*, but small holes to shoot arrows through:—and in another of the turrets, is a round place exactly resembling *an oven*,+ five or six feet in diameter, and height; and having a mouth, only two feet square, level with the floor of the passage all round, which is formed by the top of the wall.—As Mr. Browne however does not precisely say *which* buttress each was in, I do not pretend to ascertain that fact;—any more than the exact form and dimensions of the closet (*t*).

On descending into the court, from this strange *Den of Greatness;*

* Memoirs of the Earls of Warren, p. 34.—These *small holes*, seem to have a great similarity to those small square holes, that have been already taken notice of, as being *in the battlements* themselves, at *Tretur* Castle, p. 39, 41, and which are so frequently observed in old British Castles.

+ It may very probably have been used as *such*; for in another instance, we shall find manifestly a sort of kitchen, on the top of a round Welch Tower.

I had just time, before a storm came on, to examine minutely what evidently appeared to have been a small Postern gate; of the very strangest construction of any I ever met with.

Its entrance, from the court, was so choked up, with weeds, and rubbish, as not to be easily discovered; but was first found by one who attended me, whilst I was examining the Tower.

It is near the further corner, as is shewn in the slight view, Pl. VIII. fig. 3:—and is marked in the plan, Pl. VIII. fig. 1, at (6). And, for the sake of explaining the whole more particularly, is represented, on a larger scale, Pl. XII. fig. 12.

It consists of an exceeding narrow, winding, covered passage, just high enough for a man to walk upright.—From (1) to (2) it descends steep, with exceeding deep narrow steps;—and from the landing-place at (2), it then ascends in as steep a manner also, to a second landing-place at (3);—where is a very narrow loop (4) for observation.—From (3) it ascends again, though somewhat more gradually, and with steps not quite so deep, to a third landing-place at (5).—Here is a short recess or passage, a little on one side (7), to another narrow loop directly over the lower outward door-way at (6);—and from the landing (5), the descent, at last, to that door, is straight down, and quite precipitous; almost like a steep ladder.—Nothing perhaps ever was, or could be contrived, more effectual than this postern-gate, to enable one or two valiant heroes to defy an whole army, before the invention of gunpowder.

In this court there unquestionably were, in the very early ages, as at *Launceston*, slight temporary buildings,* for attendant officers,

* Most probably, the greater part of these buildings were, according to the common usage of the Britons, of very slight wood work, like those of *Heolus Dha*.

As we have the account of *his* house of *white twigs*, in South Wales, called *Tygwyn*; so have we also an account of a church, reared at *Malmsbury*, of the same kind of materials; which was pretended to be the first Christian Church in *Britain*;—and whatever doubts may justly be entertained as to the legendary tale of its first erection, there can be none as to the existence of such a kind of early building; the dimensions of which were 60 feet by 26; according to an inscription preserved on an old brass plate, on a pillar of the Saxon Church at *Malmsbury*, that has been copied by Sir *Henry Spelman*, and by *Sammes* (p. 213).—Many such sort of structures unquestionably were reared for British Chieftains; and their existence, and the use of them, was no ways incompatible, either with the contemporary existence of the small circular huts of the common people; nor with the contemporary existence of the few strong Towers they had of stone.

and domestics; whilst the Tower was the Treasury, and the Royal Habitation.

Such was this curious Castle of *Conisborough;* which though it may possibly have been one of the latest structures, that can be ascribed to the *Britons*, is now attended to in this part of our enquiry, because of the many minute particular appearances that are to be observed in it, tending so greatly to elucidate both the history of antient *Syrian* Castles, on the one hand; and on the other, to explain more completely, and at once, the various parts whereof such other structures consist, as have been built in imitation of them, in this country:—which parts are more usually found only separately; some of them in one Remain, and some in another; and seldom all together so completely, as in this instance.

As a proof how long it retained its importance as an actual place of residence.—*Here* was born Richard of Conesborough,* grandson to Edward III. Earl of Cambridge; who was beheaded at Southampton, and was father to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and grandfather to Edward IV,—and in all probability born in the very inner, little, hexagonal chamber, which has been so particularly described; as it is well known, that even Edward II. was born in as small a room, in the Eagle Tower, of the Castle of *Caernarvon*.

As *Cornwall* was a country where the *Britons* were most likely, in the earliest instance, to have caught, and imitated somewhat of the style of *Phœnician*, and *Syrian* architecture, so also was the *Isle of Wight*.—For if *Camden* is right in supposing it to have been the *great mart*, from whence the *Britons*, in succeeding ages, exported their tin to Gaul, there cannot be a doubt but that, from the convenience of its situation, in the channel, it must also have been known to several of the *Phœnicians*, who in prior ages visited the *British* shores.

Accordingly, about the same age with *Launceston*, and of much the same style of architecture, both with it, and with *Conisborough*, seems to have been the old Keep Tower, at *Carisbrook Castle*.

It agrees with their whole mode of construction, in a most striking manner:—and a constant, and continued tradition confirms an

* See Brooke's Catalogue, p. 123; Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 549.

history, perfectly corresponding with these appearances.—For it is affirmed, that *here* was a Castle built by the *Britons;* and afterwards (like Launceston) repaired by the *Romans*,* when this little Island had been subdued by *Vespasian*, in the reign of Claudius, about the year 45.

To this Castle, *Wightgar*, the *Saxon*, also added repairs, and alterations; and made it the place of his Residence, about 519; and was buried here:—from whence came its name of *Whitgaresburg*, mentioned by Camden.†

It is said to have been re-edified by *Richard de Rivers*, Earl of Devonshire, in the time of Henry I.—But that re-edification, it is plain, from the small dimensions of the Keep, and from the whole of its style of building, so unlike all those of the great *Norman* Barons, could go no further at most, than the constructing of new floors, and timber work, in the inside of this Keep Tower; and the adding of some buildings and works in other parts of the Castle.

In like manner, and for the same reasons, it is as plain, that the supposed evidence, from Domesday Book,‡ of its having been built soon after the Conquest, amounts to no more, than that a considerable *surrounding Norman Castle*, by means of great outworks, was then added.

This very antient Keep Tower, like *Launceston*, stands on an high mount, partly natural, partly artificial;—and, like *Conisborough*, it has buttresses projecting, in the manner of little towers, on the outside; and at the bottom, both here as there, the body of the Keep and these buttresses spread out, so as to form a sort of artificial mount of stone, joining the slope of the hill: by which means both together form a sort of continued *glacis*.—Like *Launceston*, and *Conisborough*, the inside is quite circular; and the diameter within small; being only about twenty-one feet.—And the buttress towers, on the outside, give *Carisbrook*, like *Conisborough*, in some points of view the appearance of being square; and in others that of being an irregular polygon.

* Doctor *Stukeley* thought it was built by *Carausius*;—but had it been built either by that Usurper, or by the *Romans*, it would undoubtedly have had more of *Roman Architecture* apparent, both in structure of the walls, with rows of brick, or flat thin stones; and also in the general plan of its inside.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 123.

‡ Domesday Book, p. 52; Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 144.

The ascent, as at *Launceston*, is even still by a steep flight of more than fourscore steps, from a covered way, on the top of one of the walls of the Castle;—but there are traces of steps, yet more steep, having existed originally, up the side of the mount; in a manner that seems to indicate, that this Keep was originally insulated, and stood detached in the Castle area, before it was connected either with this wall, or way.

At the bottom of the Keep is a dungeon;—and near the centre is a well still remaining:—vast quantities of faggots, and of rubbish, have been flung in, from time to time, to fill it up; but it is nevertheless still very deep.—Tradition says it was originally three hundred feet deep.

As at *Launceston*, so here at *Carisbrook*, is also a second additional most antient Tower. This is called *Mountjoy's Tower*, and stands in the south-east angle of the Castle.—We cannot suppose it to be so antient as the Keep:—but its walls are in some places eighteen feet thick.—There is also another well, so deep, that a pin thrown in is near four seconds of time in falling; and at last, on striking the water, sends up a sound, which can scarce be believed to have been occasioned by any thing of so small weight.

The actual depth of this well is said to be two hundred and ten feet; which makes the traditionary account of the depth of the former, considering the mount on which the Keep stands, the more credible.

The walls of the antient court, or area, enclose a space of about an acre, and an half: the shape being nearly that of a right-angled parallelogram, the greater length from east to west, with the corners rounded off; which form agrees very much with that of an additional Roman Castrum, as the appearance of the area round *Launceston* does.

There have here also been evidently many additional Norman buildings, in the days of Edward I, Edward III, &c:—and repairs were made here, and fortifications added, even so late as the time of Queen Elizabeth, when at last, a larger more outward enclosing wall was added, in the form of an irregular pentagon.*

After the rearing of these strong Towers, at *Launceston*, and

* There are three indifferent views of this Castle in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II.

at *Carisbrook;*—it may easily be imagined, that they would be imitated in other parts;—and accordingly we find that to have been so truly the case, that *round Keep Towers, of small dimensions,* have been found uniformly adopted in many parts of Wales, throughout succeeding ages; and may most justly be deemed *truly British Castles,* and as such be distinguished from the Castles, built in imitation of Norman structures.

The first of these succeeding *British* structures, that comes more immediately under observation; as a true specimen of Welch imitation, both of the originally introduced *Phœnician* architecture, and also of *Roman* additional improvements, is to be found in the same country of the *Silures* with *Brunless;*—at *Scenfreth,* in *Monmouthshire.*

Of this Castle, as of all others that are most exceedingly antient, there is the least mention made by our antiquaries that is possible:—the reason of which plainly is, that the date of *such* buildings is prior to the beginning of all the *written* records of modern history.

Camden barely mentions *Skinfrith;* only saying it* formerly belonged to the *Breoses,* by grant from King John; and afterwards to Hubert de *Burg.*—And Leland says still less about it;†—only enumerating it amongst others by the name of *Skeford.*—But its architecture will speak sufficiently for itself.

This fortress stands on the west of the river *Mynow, Money,* or *Munnow:*—and its exterior, surrounding wall has almost the regularity and appearance of a Roman Castrum. The whole preserving the oddest mixture possible of the antient *British,* or rather *Phœnician* plan; and of rude imitation of Roman works.

The plan of the whole is represented Pl. XIII. fig. 1:—where the dimensions of every part are very exactly laid down, from measures which I took with as much care as possible.

At the four corners, are four round Towers F, G, H, B; which in their construction very much resemble that which is called the *Roman* Tower at *Carleon.*

They are totally unlike any *Norman* Towers:—the loops being (as at *Tretwr*) very large, like windows;—even larger, than those in the surrounding wall at *Tretwr;* and they have no sort of

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 477. † Itin. Vol. V. p. 9.

protection from hanging arches above, as most loops had in subsequent *Norman* times.

The recesses also, leading to these windows, were made large enough to hold two or three men standing in them at once:—as may be seen in the more exact plan of the one marked (B), upon a larger scale in fig. 2.—In which plan it may further be remarked, that very nearly the whole body of each Tower stands clear of the inner area of the Castle; almost as the corner towers at Richborough did; and that, therefore, the walls of the Castle area do really nearly meet at the angle before them; and might quickly be rendered compact and strong, at the four corners, independent of the Towers; needing nothing to be closed up, except the small door at the entrance to each Tower.

In consequence of this mode of construction, notwithstanding the deceivable *apparent weakness* of these Towers, on account of the largeness of their windows; yet, (when it be considered how high those windows were from the ground on the outside, and how readily each Tower itself might be completely shut out from any communication with the Castle area within,) it may plainly be perceived, that there was no more real weakness, in point of defence, here than at *Tretwr*.

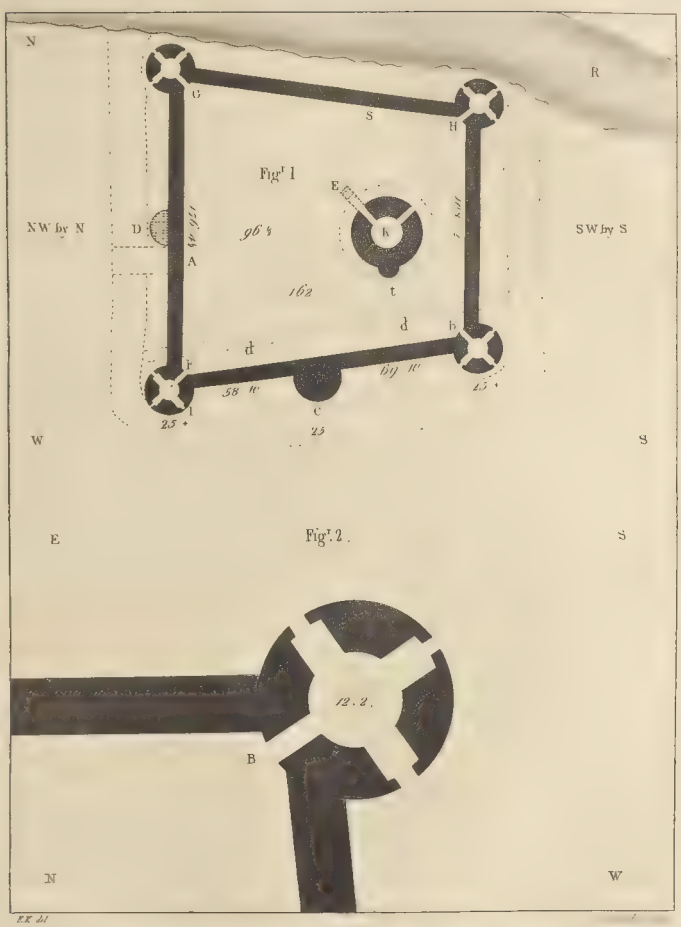
At (C) is a very remarkable Tower, altogether composed of solid masonry; without any chamber, cavity, or loop whatever:—in short, a mere solid bulwark, very much resembling the *Roman* Towers at *Pevensey*;* although, like them, it has an external appearance, resembling in all respects, except the want of windows, one of the other Towers.

At (D) was another, of the same sort of solid construction: of which the upper part is now destroyed.

This last stood on one side of the original great gate of entrance (A); which is now also destroyed, and the place walled up; but the gate has so lately been pulled down, that it was even still well remembered by persons yet living, whom I conversed with in 1788; and who also remembered that there were remains of a drawbridge, that had been placed before it, over the great ditch.

The present entrance, is merely through a forced passage, at

* Already described, Vol. II. p. 42.




*General Plan of Skinfith Castle. & a Particular Plan of One of its Corner Towers.*

(L), in the Tower (F): under a place, where had been a loop, or window.

At (S) there seems to have been a sort of Sally Port, or water-gate, next the river *Munow;* which river supplied all the surrounding ditches with water; and (what is very remarkable) at (*d d*), within the walls of the Castle area, there manifestly was an *interior* water course, to supply the garrison, much in the same manner as there was at *Chesterford*.*

These several circumstances indicate an undoubted intention of imitating *Roman* works: but the Keep itself, placed at (K), indicates, in its whole structure, an adherence to *another*, and *prior* mode of fortification.

Its plan is represented on a larger scale, Pl. XIV.;—where fig. 1 represents the lower part of the Tower, in which was the dungeon, on the ground.—And fig. 2 represents the first floor above; in which was the great door of entrance, at the top of a flight of steps at (D); as appears still more plainly in the view of the Tower, Pl. XV.

In the plan, fig. 1, the lightly shaded part shews the thickness of the wall of the Tower that is continued upwards for its whole height; —the surrounding deep shaded part, shews the projection of the sloping base of stonework, at the bottom;—and the lighter radiating part, beyond that, shews the further projection of the little mount; —whilst the whole mode of construction is still more clearly seen in Pl. XV.;—where the very odd, and yet obviously originally designed *bulging* appearance of the basement is very remarkable.

The dungeon in this lower part (L L E), is only twenty-two feet nine inches in diameter; but its walls are near nine feet thick even in the upper and weakest part, and much thicker at bottom; and there was manifestly no other entrance into it formerly, than by descending directly down, through some round aperture, in the floor above, as at *Conisborough;*—for the present entrance, at (E), is not only, evidently a mere breach, forced through a place where was originally nothing more than the approach to a small loop, or little square air hole; but may even be observed, in Pl. XV. to have been so rudely made, as to be continued quite up to the bottom of the original door of entrance above.

* Mentioned before, Vol. II. p. 56.

At (L L) are still remaining two other loops:—and, in the centre there seems to have been a well for water; but it is now stopped up.

On the floor above, (of which fig. 2 is the plan,) was the real great entrance of the Keep, at (D); which must have been at the top of a flight of high narrow steps; just in the same manner as at *Conisborough*, and at *Brunless*.—There was no portcullis: nor indeed does there appear ever to have been any such thing, in the whole Castle.

In this apartment was only one small window, at W 1.—And we find here, at (S), instead of a staircase going up straight through the thickness of the wall, a circular winding staircase, in a projecting round Tower: which is certainly a proof of a later date of building; as the form of the arches of the door, and windows, is a proof of a nearer conformity to Roman works, than is met with either at *Launceston*, or *Brunless*, or at *Conisborough*:—and there is also a still nearer approach to the imitation of Roman architecture, in all the outworks of this Castle.

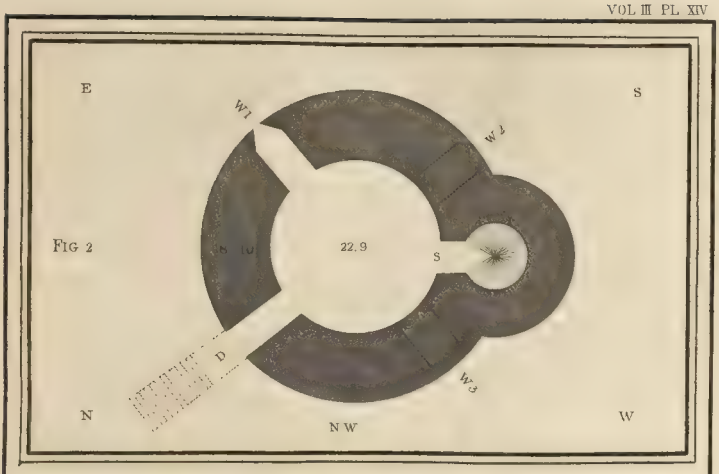
This newel staircase goes up quite to the top of the Tower; but does not reach any lower down, than this floor:—the part of the projecting building under it, on the side of the dungeon, being entirely solid masonry.

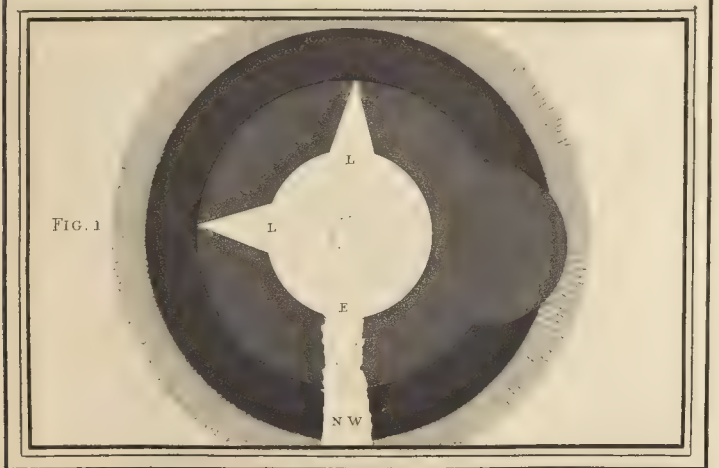
In the third room above, which was plainly the State Apartment, are two large open windows, over the places marked (W 2), and (W 3):—one of which (W 3), is that which appears, at the top of the Tower, in the view that is given, Pl. XV.;—and is represented still more exactly, on a larger scale, Pl. III. fig. 4.

It has neither pillars, nor pilasters;—its arch is formed of large rough rag stones; and the very odd rude manner in which the stones appear to be put together, evince that it was built by workmen inferior to those who were employed at Conisborough.

There seems to have been still another, *fourth* apartment, at the very top of the building, as at *Brunless*: but it is now destroyed.

Of the other floors, the stone trusses, (somewhat like those at Conisborough,) which supported the beams of timber, still remain in the wall: and further serve to shew, in what manner the walls of these kind of very antient fortresses have endured, from age to




*Plans of the Keep of Skinfrith Castle*



age; though the fortresses themselves are so often said, in history, to have been repeatedly burned and destroyed.

As we have found these very curious Castles, in the country of the *Silures;* it cannot be supposed that their capital, *Carleon*, would be without one on the same plan:—and accordingly its remains, such as they are, (though all is now almost utterly obliterated,) and the little fragments of its history, indicate it to have been very much of the same kind with *Launceston*.

We find an exceeding high mount, consisting in great part of natural rock, and larger and higher than Norman mounts:—and on this very mount have been dug up bass-reliefs, and other remains of Roman works, which clearly prove, that whatever structure was here, was prior to Norman times.—Whilst the description we have of the *Keep Tower*, from *Giraldus Cambrensis*,* evinces, on the one hand, that it was of *stupendous height;*—and whilst the sharp termination of the mount at the top proves, on the other, that it could not well have been of any greater diameter than Launceston.

It is surrounded with a lower court, or area, of an oblong *Roman* form, like *Skinfrith;* and stands, near one end of that area.—It is known that the second Roman Legion, surnamed *Augusta*, which continued in Britain little less than 400 years, had its head quarters constantly here, at this *Isca Silurum;* whose very name *Caerleon*, signified in the British language, that it was *The City of the Legion.*† But as it can never be supposed, that they would build a *Keep Tower*, for a Prætorium, so totally unlike their common mode of construction in all those Castra which we know to have been entirely of their forming, we can only conclude that they did here, as at Launceston, make use of a Fortress previously constructed by the Britons; and of strength so great, as to need no alteration, but that of adding outworks, on their own plan.

This Castle appears from Domesday Book, to have been in existence before the Conquest:—and long afterwards it was the residence of *British* Chieftains, descended from *Griffith* Prince of South Wales; and who styled themselves Kings of *Gwent*, and Lords of *Caerleon.*‡

* Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. c. 5. Camb. p. 836.

† Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 459.

‡ There is a very curious account of the Roman Works, and Remains at Caerleon, in Mr. Coxe's Tour in Monmouthshire, Vol. I. p. 80 to 98.

Having thus minutely examined, these very interesting remains of antiquity;—these stern, recording, memorials of the history of past ages;—memorials, almost as indelible as their neighbouring rocks; a few more very particular circumstances, mentioned in the most authentic writings, both sacred, and profane, deserve to be attended to, that on the one hand are illustrated by, and on the other hand fling great light upon this peculiar mode of constructing antient *Keep Towers*, that has so manifestly been derived from *Phœnician*, and *Syrian* plans; such as were adopted also, in many other parts of Asia, and in *Greece*.

The remarkable piece of history concerning the Tower of *Cyrene* has already been related.*

That concerning *Xanthus*, though the description is not so full and precise, is yet even more horrible: for Herodotus tells us, "that "the Lycians, who were few in number, having been overpowered, "by *Harpagus*, and the Persians, and forced to retire into the city, "they put their wives, children, and servants, with all their "riches, into the *Acropolis*, (or Castle,)+ and setting fire to it, con- "sumed the whole in one immense burning: which when they "had done, and all was burnt, they engaged themselves by the "strongest oaths to die together; and to that end returning to the "field of battle, they renewed the fight, and were cut in pieces to "the last man."

Similar accounts we have, of events taking place, in ages even prior to the catastrophe of the Tower of Cyrene, or of Xanthus.

For, in the Book of Judges we read,‡ that when all the men of *the Tower of Shechem* heard that Abimelech had taken and destroyed the city, they entered into *the hold of the house of the god Berith*:—in reading which description of an Hold, or Fortress, being connected with, or indeed (as the words, and context, rather imply)

* Page 27 in this Volume,

+ Lib. i. 176. p. 83; ed. Wesselingii.—The peculiarity of the two words used by Herodotus, τὸ ἄστυ—and τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, obviously points out *a peculiarity of situation* of the *Acropolis*;—and that its Tower was indeed placed on *an high rocky eminence*:—on which account it may well be compared with *Launceston* in Cornwall.—And as we are expressly told, that the *Xanthians* were *few* in number; their wretched families, may easily be understood to have been consumed in it; even if it were only of the same dimensions with that old Cornish fortress.

‡ Judges, chap. ix. v. 46 to 54.



View of Skenfrith Castle Monmouthshire

being *the very house of Berith;* we cannot but recollect, what has been remarked, concerning the appearance of *idol's cells*, in the antient Castle of *Conisborough;* and concerning the *Caaba*, or Tower of *Mecca* having been originally full of idols;—whilst the rest of the account exactly corresponds with the description of such a sort of Tower.

V. 47. " —It was told Abimelech, that all the men of the " *Tower of Shechem* were gathered together.

V. 48. " And Abimelech gat him up to Mount Zalmon, he and " all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an ax " in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it, and " laid it on his shoulder, and said unto the people that were with " him.—What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have " done.

V. 49. " And all the people likewise cut down every man his " bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them *to the hold* (ὀχυ-" ρωμα), and set *the hold* on fire upon them: so that all the men *of* " *the Tower of Shechem* died also, about a thousand men and women.

V. 50. " Then went Abimelech to Thebez, and encamped against " Thebez, and took it.

V. 51. " But there was *a strong Tower* within the city, and thither " fled all the men and women, and all they of the city, and shut " it to them, and gat them up to the top of the Tower.

V. 52. " And Abimelech came unto the Tower, and fought " against it, and went hard unto the door of the Tower, *to burn it* " *with fire*.

V. 53. " And a certain woman cast a piece of a milstone upon " Abimelech's head, and all to break his scull.

V. 54. " Then he called hastily unto the young man his armour " bearer, and said unto him, Draw thy sword, and slay me, that " men say not of me, a woman slew him. And his young man " thrust him through, and he died.

V. 55. " And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was " dead, they departed every man to his place."

As in the foregoing account of *Abimelech*, we find the Fortress, and the *House of Berith*, to have been one and the same edifice:—so in the history of *Samson*, we may now be led to conclude, in like

manner, concerning the *Temple of Dagon;* and may obtaina means of flinging light upon what has long been one of the most inexplicable passages of Scripture;—the history of Samson's death.

For there is the utmost reason to suppose, that *the house of Dagon,** like *the house of Berith*, was a Tower, and a Stronghold; and much of the same construction:—that is, with floors, and with a flat roof, supported by beams of timber, that were laid, and rested, with one of their ends on stone trusses, and ledges in the wall; and with the other of their ends, on pillars standing in the midst of the building.

Such a building, would not only contain its abominable idols, in niches in the wall; but would hold a great number of persons:—inferior officers, and military men, on the first floor;—*the Lords of the Philistines*, on the upper floor, (the State Apartment);—and a multitude of men, and women, on the flat roof, to behold the sport that was made, by the mocking of *Samson*, in the open court of the Temple.—And, it is easy to be conceived, that as, on being first brought from the prison house, (or dungeon,) he was placed *between the* (wooden) *pillars,*† that supported the floors of the Tower, or *House of Dagon;* so, that when he was weary, he might be carried to the same spot, in the dark room, at the bottom of the Tower again; and might there desire *to feel those pillars;*‡—when by the pulling of them down with his returning strength, the whole of the interior of the building would give way; and all would fall, with the *Lords of the Philistines;* the officers, and soldiers; on the two upper floors; and the men, women, and children on the flat roof; crushing *Samson*, and all beneath; and destroying all, as effectually, as if the whole Tower had been set on fire, and every floor burnt.

As to the precise number that perished; it is well known to learned commentators, what mistakes have arisen, in many parts of our copies, and translations of Holy Writ, both from the antient way of expressing numbers by letters; and from the general and indeterminate manner in which large numbers of armies, and people, are usually described.—It may be sufficient therefore, to conceive that every floor was crowded.§

* Judges, chap. xvi. † Id. ver. 25. ‡ Id. ver. 26.

§ That the *three thousand* people, mentioned in the Book of Judges, chap. xvi. ver. 27, in our translation, as being *upon the roof*; were neither all *actually upon the roof*, nor *all* killed,

But that the foregoing is the right idea of this piece of history, may be concluded, from what we actually know of the antient Temple of *Mecca;* which ever was, and still is *a small square Tower;*—with its door of entrance at a considerable height from the ground;—with two floors, besides the vault, or dungeon beneath;—and with those floors supported by three wooden pillars in the middle;—and was oiginally, *before* the time of *Mahomet*, an idol temple, like *the house of Berith*, or *the house of Dagon*, having some hundred small idols, within, and upon its walls.*

The *Caaba*, or *Holy House*, of this celebrated temple at *Mecca*, in *Arabia*, is acknowledged† to have existed, as a building, *nearly in its present form*, many centuries before the days of *Mahomet:*—and whatever we may think of the strange tradition, concerning its being nearly coæval with the world; and of its being built by *Adam;*—or of the no less strange traditions, concerning *Seth's* having built an house exactly in the *same form;*—or of its being rebuilt by *Abraham*, and *Ishmael;*—yet these traditions, however false, and the care taken in rebuilding, and repairing it very nearly in the same form, in succeding ages, shew that it was, in a decidedly acknowledged manner, built on the plan of one of the most *original houses* in the world;—and such as had been the residence of some personage of the greatest dignity;—and after *a pattern* that was both

may justly be inferred from the words, as they stand in the Septuagint; where, ἐπὶ τῦ δώματος may much more fairly be translated, that there were three thousand people *at the house*;—than *upon the house*:—and *at the house* is an expression that might at any time have been used, merely concerning such a number of persons assembled *in any great Court of* a Temple, or Castle.—And those words may the rather be thus translated; because ἐπὶ here, is used with the *genitive case*;—whereas when the fall of the house (or rather of its floors) *upon those within*, is mentioned, ver. 30, the same word ἐπὶ is used with an *accusative case*;—and so, as even to intimate, that the persons really killed with Samson, were only *the Princes, and Great Lords, and their attendants*; who were actually *in* the house, and *those people who were upon the roof*:—for there is, in the words, a sort of *distinction* implied, between τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐν αὐτῳ the people *actually in it*, and those on the outside in the Court, who were described as being ἐπὶ τῦ δώματος *at the house, or temple.*

Ἔπεσεν ὁ οἶκος ἐπὶ τὺς σατράπας καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐν αὐτῳ.

" *The house fell upon the* SATRAPÆ, *and upon all those people, that were in it.*

* See the passages referred to before, p. 69.

† See the Preliminary Discourse to *Sale*'s translation of the *Koran*; where the authorities concerning these traditions, from Arabian authors, are cited, p. 116, 117.

prior to the erection of those *Phœnician*, *Median* and *Syrian* structures to which we have been referring; and a pattern from which even the general design of those structures, as to strength, and safety, might first be derived.

According to the Arabic writers, this edifice was twenty-four cubits from north to south;—twenty three cubits from east to west;—and twenty seven cubits high.—And the door, (which is on the east side,) was about four cubits from the ground.

From whence it follows, (if we take this cubit to have been, as the Egyptian cubit was, and as the longest Hebrew cubit was; different from that of the Ark, and about 1 foot, 9 inches, and 8 or 10 tenths,)—that it was on the outside, at most about 43, or 44 feet from north to south;—about 41 or 42 from east to west;—and about 50 feet high;—and, supposing the walls to have been of any considerable thickness, that the apartment within could not be above 25, or 30 feet any way.—Or if the cubit was the same as that of the Ark, then not above 22 feet. Whilst the door being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground, there will remain in height, beside the dark ground apartment underneath, just space for two rooms above, one over another, about 16 or 17 feet high, besides the parapet of the flat roof at the top, and the thickness of the floors.

We have here, therefore, in this, which is affirmed to have been *the form, still continued*, of the most antient *house in the world*, a Tower; with its door of entrance high above the ground, and still to be approached, only by temporary wooden steps.

And we are given to understand, that the floor of the rooms are each supported, on the inside, by *three* pillars in the midst:—and, though there was not here indeed, a well in the centre, between the pillars; yet, as a necessary appendage to all antient towers, we find, near this tower, the celebrated well *Zem-zem*, included within the sacred Court of the Temple, and made no less an object of veneration than the *Caaba* itself.

*Pitts*,* who was actually in the Caaba twice, says, *I profess I found nothing worth seeing in it, only two wooden pillars in the midst, to keep up the roof, and a bar of iron fastened to them, on which hanged three or four silver lamps*. But, as he tells us it was deemed *sinful to gaze about;*

* Pitts's Account of a Pilgrimage to Mecca, p. 128.

and that going in, as a converted Renegado, and Mahometan, he could only just venture to cast an eye during his appearance of devotion, it is very possible the *third* pillar was concealed from him by one of the others, in the position where he stood, near the door: for the Mahometan writers expressly tell us,* there are *three* octangular pillars of aloes wood, which support a double roof:—by which expression we may understand, that there is not only the roof or ceiling of the sacred room itself; but also *that* of another room over it;—to which, as well as to the flat terrass above, we may be well assured, though the writers are silent upon the subject, there is some mode of ascent, either by a staircase in one corner of the Tower, or some other way.

*Pitts* says;†—when, on the two sacred days, once in six weeks, the *Beat Allah*, or *Caaba* is opened, a sort of *ladder stairs* are brought, for that purpose, to the threshold of the door;—and that the door is plated all over with silver.—The floor is of marble;—and so are the walls on the inside;—on which is written something in Arabic. —And they are sometimes covered with silk hangings.

This is its present state; but we are expressly told, from the best authority,‡ that it was an heathen Temple originally, in the same veneration among the Arabs, that the Temple of Delphos was among the Greeks;—and whither all their Tribes, for many ages, came once a year to perform their idolatrous ceremonies.—And that there were, within the Temple, *images* of Angels;—and a figure of Abraham holding in his hand a bundle of arrows;—and, on the outside 360 idols, all of which *Mahomet* destroyed,§—and then

* Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 115.

† Pilgrimage to Mecca, p. 127, 128, 129.

‡ See the Arabic writers cited by Prideaux, in his Life of Mahomet, p. 76.

§ See the Life of Mahomet, written by Dr. Long, Master of Pembroke College Cambridge, and prefixed to Ockley's History of the Saracens, p. 62. There are three well known representations of the Temple of *Mecca*, and of the *Beat Allah*, or *Caaba*; not one of which could, by any possibility, have been drawn on the spot; and therefore have the several errors in them the more excuseable, as they could only be sketches from recollection. The first is, in Dr. Long's Life of Mahomet, from a Drawing, in a manuscript, in the Bodleian library, at Oxford;—where the *Caaba* appears of a proportionable height, but the door by mistake is placed on the ground.—The second is the representation, in *Pitts's* account, which I have no doubt is the best and most accurate of all:—but where, from his want of being able either

performed religious observances of purification, to devote the build- to the worship of God alone.

The accounts therefore, of *the House of Berith;*—of *the House of Dagon;*—and of *the original house of Arabian idolatry at Mecca;*—do all fling light upon the original *Phœnician*, and *Syrian* mode of constructing *Keep-Towers;* and of making *them*, sometimes, both places of idolatrous worship, and Strongholds;—and may even be illustrated from the remains of our *British* Castles, built in imitation of *Phœnician*, and *Syrian* structures.

As the destruction of the *House of Berith*, by burning, was long before the catastrophe of the Castle of *Xanthus;*—so we learn, from the Book of Maccabees,* that long after that event, *Judas* attacking the *Edomites*, and the people called the Children of *Bean*, "shut "them up *in the Towers* (of their country), and encamped against "them, and destroyed them utterly; *and* (just in like manner) "*burnt the Towers, with fire, and all that were therein.*"

And we have similar accounts through many succeeding ages: whilst it ought not to escape notice, that in general wherever an utter and radical subversion, (such as destroyed the walls themselves, as well as the whole inside) was really effected, particular circumstances are added, pointing this out.

Thus in the earliest ages, contemporary with the destruction of the Stronghold, *the house of Berith*, we are told, that when Gideon returned from his great successes, and conquests, he *beat down the Tower of Penuel.*†

And in very much later ages; even in the time of the Croisades; when the people of open towns fled to such kind of Towers for

to take measures, or to judge accurately of measures by his eye, the building is represented as too low. And the third is in *Sale's* Preliminary Discourse to the *Koran*; where every building, and the door of the Caaba is placed on the wrong side; it being plainly, by mistake, *a reversed Copy* of that in the first edition of *Pitts's* account;—with some additional figures of Arabs at their devotions; but with less of the area of the great square, or court. —There is also a view of the Temple of Mecca, given by Niebuhr, in his *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 312;—in which the *Caaba* is still more truly represented as *a Tower.*—But he never was at *Mecca* himself; and professes (p. 310, 311) only to have copied a design from an Arabic book, at *Kahira*;—no Christian being permitted to approach nearer than *Dsjidda*.

* 1 Maccabees, chap. v. ver. 3, 4, 5.

† Judges, chap. viii. ver. 17.

safety,* we are also told, that Baldwin the Second, the Christian King of *Jerusalem*,† returning victorious from fighting with the King of *Damascus*, forced a Tower, in his way home, in which were ninety-six of his enemies; and *undermined* another, in which were twenty.

And William of Tyre mentions another Tower, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, which must have been exceedingly antient, and was built of *unburnt brick*:‡—and which being undermined, fell upon the very prince who was endeavouring to take it, and who very narrowly escaped being crushed to death. §

In the account of the destruction of Jerusalem, by Nebuchadnezzar, even a manifest distinction seems to be designedly made, between what was *utterly razed*, and what was burnt:—for it is said by Esdras, ‖ *they brake down the walls of Jerusalem, set fire upon her Towers.*—And this is confirmed by the words of the Book of Kings, which are,¶—*he burnt the House of the Lord, and the King's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire.—And all the army of the Chaldees that were with the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about.*

And perhaps, that Nebuchadnezzar only burnt the insides of the Towers, and left the walls of several standing, though he broke down the walls of the city; may also be inferred from those words of the 48th Psalm, which seems to have been written *after* the captivity:** —*walk about Sion, and go round about her, and tell the Towers thereof.* And may still further be inferred from the account, given by Nehemiah,†† of the repairing, and rebuilding the walls, and gates of Jerusalem;—wherein, (as there is no mention of *any arch* whatever, but only of laying the *beams* of the gates, and setting up the doors) so it is not a little remarkable, that whilst almost all the gates, as well as almost all the parts of the wall, are particularly described as being rebuilt; with the names of the persons who rebuilt them;

* Harmer's Observations, Vol, II. p. 239.

† Gesta Dei, &c. p. 844. ‡ Ib. p. 853.

§ See also Harmer's Observations, Vol. II. p. 241. ‖ 1 Esdras, chap. i. ver. 55,

¶ 2 Kings, chap. xxv. ver. 9, 10; see also 2 Chronicles, chap. xxxvi. ver. 19.

** Psalm xlviii. ver. 11.

†† Nehemiah, chap. iii.

yet not more than *one*, or at most *two Towers** are described as *rebuilded*, though other well known Towers of the wall are named.

The Strong Fortress of *Mount Zion*, seems only to have been *burnt* by Nebuchadnezzar;—and it is a very curious fact, that this *Fortress of Mount Zion*, must have been originally very nearly constructed on the same original plan with *Ecbatana*, and with *Launceston*:—for the account given of it by the Sacred Writers is,

That it was seated *high upon a rock, deemed to be almost inaccessible;*†—that it was taken, at last, only by climbing valourously up to it;—that it was so strong a fortress, that the *Jebusites* had kept possession of it for ages, notwithstanding the *Israelites* being in possession of the whole surrounding country;—that when King *David* at last had taken this Fortress, he dwelled himself in it, *in the very inmost inclosure*;—and that it was then called *the City of David*;—and that he built a wall *round it*, and the city surrounding it (that is *beyond that wall*.)

All this may fairly be inferred from the *words* made use of by the Sacred Writers.—And it deserves still more particularly to be remarked, that what is called *Millo*; and seems so much to have puzzled our translators, in their endeavours to apprehend *what* it really was; appears manifestly to have been *such a sort of outer surrounding wall*, as is described both at *Ecbatana*, and at *Launceston*; on the outside of which, and around which, the houses of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were placed.

For we are informed,‡ that the very pretence *Jeroboam* made use of, as a means of raising disturbances against *Solomon* was; *that he had built* Millo; *and repaired the breaches, of the City of David* § (that is of this citadel).

The words of the Septuagint are, that he had built τὴν ἄκραν; which plainly means, *a Tower on an high summit*; and had shut up, closed up, *the enclosure*, τὸν φραγμὸν, the surrounding wall, of *the City of David*; that is of the fortress so called. Since we are plainly told,‖

* Nehemiah, chap. iii. ver. 11, 25.

† See 2 Samuel, chap. v. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9; and 1 Chron. chap. xi. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

‡ 1 Kings, chap. xi. ver. 27; see also chap. ix. ver. 24.

§ 2 Samuel, chap. v. ver. 9; and 1 Chron. chap. xi. ver. 7.

‖ 2 Chron. chap. xxxii. ver. 5.

that David caused *the inclosure of this fortress* itself, this Castle in which he dwelt, to be called expressly, *the City of David.**

And in confirmation of this idea, and of this explanation of what is called *Millo;* we find still further, that about three hundred years afterwards, King *Hezekiah,*† in order to strengthen himself against the Assyrians,—"built up all the wall *that was broken down,* and "raised it up to the Towers; and *another wall without;* and repaired "MILLO *in the City of David.*—And we find the word made use of, in the Septuagint, in this place, to describe *Millo,* to be ἀνάλημμα; which expressly means a building on *a very high elevated summit.*—*Millo* must therefore have been the great wall of inclosure, surrounding the Keep Tower.

As to the other, and more exterior Towers of Defence, surrounding the whole city; they do not seem, to have been usual to cities, nor to have been added at all, till the time of *King Asa;*‡—or to have been completed, in any regular manner, in Jerusalem, till 150 years after, in the time of King *Uzziah.*

For we are told,§ that "King *Uzziah* built Towers in Jerusalem, "at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of "the wall, and fortified them.—And that he made in Jerusalem "*engines,* invented by cunning men, to be on the Towers, and "upon the Bulwarks, to shoot arrows, and great stones withal:—"and his name spread far abroad."

In which curious detail, we have surely a most interesting record of the *very first* invention of Balistas, and Catapultas, long before the time of *Archimedes;* and even 800 years before the beginning of the Christian Æra:—and an intimation that, on account of this very

* It is well known that this *Fortress of Zion,* this Keep Tower, and *Dwelling of David,* was perfectly a distinct Fortress from what was afterwards called the *Tower of Antonia*;—and even stood in a different part of Jerusalem;—being situated on the summit of *Mount Zion*; whilst the latter was built on one of the summits of *Mount Acra,* near to *Mount Moriah* on which stood the Holy Temple.—The part of Mount Zion on which this City of David stood, is now even excluded without the present walls of Jerusalem.—See *Pococke's* Travels, Vol. II. part ii. p. 7, and 12.—And still more particularly *Shaw's* Map, p. 277, 4to. edit.; and a very intelligible map of the antient City, in *Basket's* folio edit. of the Bible, 1723.

† 2 Chronicles, chap. xxxii. ver. 5. ‡ Ibid. chap. xiv. ver. 7.

§ Ibid. chap. xxvi. ver. 9, 15.

invention, in his days, *Uzziah's* name was remembered, and spread far abroad.

Previous to this time, we find there appears to have been no idea of fortifying and defending Strongholds, and Towers, otherwise than merely by their outward walls; and by "*putting captains in* "*them, and store of victual, and of oil, and wine,—and shields and* "*spears.*"*—Nor any mode of attacking them, but by scaling, mining, or burning.

As we have before seen so remarkable a coincidence of circumstances, between the general construction of *Ecbatana*, and of

* See 2 Chronicles, chap. xi. ver. 11, 12. It deserves, on this occasion, to be remarked; that King *Uzziah* not only improved fortification, by the addition of *Great Engines of War*; but that he also seems to have prepared, for his soldiers in general, *a fuller, and more complete kind of armour*, than had before been usual.—For we read (2 Chronicles, chap. xxvi. ver. 14,) "that Uzziah prepared for them, *throughout all the host*, shields, and spears, and "helmets, and habergeons, and bows, and slings to cast stones.

In the description of *David's* men of war, (1 Chronicles, chap. xii.) instead of any account of such full supply of arms, and armour, *throughout the host*, we read merely of *some* (ver. 24, 34,) that seem to have born *shield and spear alone*;—of others that were armed with *bows and arrows only*;—of others armed with *bows*, and (like Ajax) *skilful in hurling stones, with right hand, or left*; (ver. 2;) of others armed *with slings*;—and of others that could handle *shield, and buckler*, (ver. 8,) *and were swift footed*;—and of some (but of *some* only,) ver. 33, 36, 38, that *could keep rank*.

And as a proof that *the bow* was not, in the early part of King *David's* time, in *common* use; we are expressly told, that after *David* had obtained peaceable possession of the throne, *he caused the Children of Judah to be taught the use of the bow*. (2 Samuel, chap. i, ver. 18.)

In the account given of the forces of King *Asa*, who lived about one hundred and fifty years before *Uzziah*; we are told, that even *his* army consisted, merely of *some* that bare *targets, and spears*: and of others that *bare shields, and drew bows*, (2 Chronicles, chap. xiv, ver. 8,) and there is not one word said either about *helmets*; or *habergeons*; or any other kind of armour, either offensive, or defensive.

Before the time of *Asa*, even *swords* do not seem to have been *common* to, or in the hands of *every one* of the soldiers.—And as to that more complete kind of armour spoken of, in the instances of the Philistine Champion; and of Saul; such kind of armour seems to have been confined to a very few persons indeed;—whilst, at best, it was very far different from what in these latter days has been considered as *a complete suit of armour*;—and appears to have consisted, merely of a sort of *Haubergeon*, or coat of *Chain Mail*, formed of iron, or brass rings;—*of a target of brass between his shoulders*, (or great plate of brass, to cover the back;)—of Greeves, or *Greaves*; (*i. e.* boots of brass to cover the legs); of an *helmet* of brass;—and of *a shield, sword*, and *spear*.—1 Samuel, chap. xvii. ver, 5, 6, 7.

And in the instance of Saul's armour; which appears to have been of the same kind.—

*Launceston;* though the former was so much more magnificent than the latter.—So upon a candid examination of the truth, we shall find a no less remarkable coincidence, between the precise plan of the *interiour* of Conisborough, and that which must have been the common

The coat of *ring mail*, or *chain mail*, seems to have been *that*, which so encumbered David, that he could not go with it.—1 Samuel, chap. xvii. ver. 38, 39.

A very similar account of antient armour; and shewing how limited it was in the first ages; we have, both in *Homer*, and *Herodotus*.

The armour in the Palace of Ulysses, seems merely to have consisted, of *an helmet*, *a shield*, and *a spear*, for each man. (See Odyssey, B. xxii. l. 126, and l. 158, in Pope's Translation; and (l. 110, 111, and 144, 145, in the Greek.)

And the *complete* armour of *Achilles* seems, after all the pompous description of it, to have been, not quite so complete as that of *Saul*, and of *Goliah*.

*Homer*, after a full description of the glorious shield, tells us, that when it was finished, *all the rest* of the necessary equipment was made.—And, according to Pope's translation, it seems to have been nearly the same with *Goliah's*, only wanting the Coat of Mail.

> This done, whate'er a warrior's use requires
> He forg'd; *the Cuirass*, that out-shone the fires;
> The greaves of ductile tin, the helm imprest
> With various sculpture, and the golden crest. B. xviii. l. 705.

But it is to be remarked, that what Pope translates *the Cuirass*, is in the original only Θώρηκα: and plainly means no more than *a large breast plate*. Lib. xviii. l. 609.—So that, unless Achilles was to be supposed to wear this armour *over* some Coat of Chain Mail, which he *previously* had, his equipment was inferior to that of the Philistine.

Herodotus describing the arms of the *Massagetæ*, and *Scythians*, says they have *spears*, *arrows*, and *battle-axes*, made of brass.*—And of the Medes he tells us, that *Cyaxares*, the Grandson of *Dejoces*; was the first who introduced regular discipline; and formed the people of Asia into distinct bodies, of *Lances* (or Spearmen); *Cavalry*; and *Archers*.†—And of the Persians, ‡ that they used a *slight bow*, with *short arrows*, and engaged in battle dressed in a long vest, and wearing a turban.—Even in the army of *Xerxes*, we find those who carried spears, or javelins, were principally such as were about the body of the King.§

And though, in one instance, we find one of their Great Officers, *Masistius*, so well armed, that when he was thrown from his horse, the Athenian soldiers could not easily kill him; yet it appears that this was merely because he wore a sort of *plated mail breast plate*, covered thick with laminæ, or bosses of gold,‖—Θώρηκα χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν,—and a purple cloak for his upper garment.—*His* armour therefore was, in reality, (saving the bosses of gold,) much of the same kind with that of *Saul*; and far unlike the *lobster armour* of later Norman ages.

It may not be amiss just to add, whilst speaking of these antient military means of offence,

* Herodotus Wesselingii, lib. i. 215. p. 101.
† Ibid. lib. i. 103. p. 52.
‡ Ibid. lib. v. 49. p. 394.
§ Ibid. lib. vii. 41. p. 530.
‖ Ibid. lib. ix. 22. p. 701.

plan of many antient *Syrian Castles*, according to several minute particular circumstances of history, relating to them:—though indeed, (for reasons already mentioned in the former Volume,) we must be aware that there were *not* any *arches* in *them;* but that the windows, and doors, were flat at the top;—like the upper windows in the Tower at *Brunless*, and in many other Welsh Castles.

Every circumstance of the history, of *Ramoth Gilead, in Palestine*, shews it to have been both a strong Fortress, and *a Tower of Residence*, somewhat of the same kind with *Conisborough*.

For when the *young man of the Prophets*, by the command of *Elisha*, had gone to that Fortress, to anoint *Jehu*;*—he found the council of war sitting:—and when, (according to the direction of *Elisha*,) he had called forth *Jehu*, and had *carried him to an inner chamber*,—*(a chamber, in a chamber*, as it is called in the Septuagint);—and had poured the oil on *Jehu's* head;—we find that he *descended*, without being noticed, and fled out at the door:—after which, when the captains of the host had resolved to proclaim *Jehu;* we find, that "they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put "it under him, *on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets, saying* "*Jehu is King*."—Which description of their station, conveys exactly an idea of such an *outward* landing place, of an *external flight of steps*, at the door of a *Keep Tower*, as that at the top of the steps leading up to the entrance of the Keep at *Conisborough*.—A station exposed, not only to the view of all within the Castle Area; but,

and defence;—that the *Persians* seem sometimes to have fortified their camps with walls, and towers *of wood*. †

And that as to the mode of attacking fortified places, it seems sometimes to have been, by throwing up earthworks, so as to reach up to the top of the walls, to enable the besiegers to march directly over them; and sometimes by mining, which was in very early use. —And the application of such engines of war, either for defence, or attack, as are said to have been invented by *Uzziah*, was very rare indeed, even long after that invention.

It may not be improper just to add, concerning what we so often read relating to *the chariots of war*, in those most antient days;—that the very greatness of their number, shews they could not be of much more importance, or magnitude, than the cars of the antient Britons.—We cannot think in any other light, of the *nine hundred* chariots of iron of *Sisera*, mentioned in Judges, chap. iv. ver. 3:—nor of the *two thousand* chariots, hired by the Ammonites, out of Mesopotamia, and Syria, and Zobah, to fight against *David*, 1 Chronicles, chap. xix. ver. 6, and 7.

† Ibid. lib. ix.. 65, 70. p. 722, 723.

* 2 Kings, chap. ix. ver. 1, 5, 10, 13.

from its height, even to such part of the host as might be without the walls.—No landing upon the top of any flight of stairs whatever, *within any building*, could have answered such a purpose:—whilst no apartment whatever could more accurately answer to the description given, *of a chamber in a chamber*,—to which *Elisha* had directed* the messenger to conduct *Jehu*,—than the small hexagon room in the buttress of the Tower at *Conisborough* does.

In still earlier days; when *Ehud* slew *Eglon;* we read,+ in the history of that event, that *Eglon* had taken, and possessed *the City of Palm Trees;*—and therefore most probably he was dwelling there, in the *Keep Tower* itself.

We read further, in our translation of the Scriptures,‡—*that Ehud came to him, and he was sitting in a summer parlour which he had for himself alone.*—But these words are too much modernized;—for the translation of the LXX. explains the matter more plainly, and fully; by saying—*καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθητο ἐν τῳ ὑπερῴῳ τῳ ψυχινῳ αυτου μονώτατος—that he was sitting in the summer, upper chamber, which he had for himself alone*,—which words are nearly, as precisely as possible, descriptive of just such an apartment, at the top of a Tower, as that at *Conisborough*, destined for Royal residence; with its great window, for air, and light, and prospect, the only one in the building.—And the remaining part of the history corresponds exactly with the idea of such a sort of Tower, and of such an apartment, with its usual appendages of *small closets*, in the wall.

For we then read,§ that when *Eglon* was slain, *Ehud went forth through the porch*, (into which the staircase of such a kind of Tower would directly descend);—*and that he shut the doors of the parlour*, (or rather of the upper chamber) *upon him, and locked them.*

And it is intimated, that he went away, without much notice being taken of him by the attendants.—For it is said,‖ *that when he was gone out, Eglon's servants came;*—and then the account goes on, and says, *that when they saw, that behold, the doors of the parlour, (or upper chamber,) were locked, they said, surely he covereth his feet*, (or as the marginal translation in the Bible has it, *doeth his easement,*) in

* 2 Kings, chap. ix. ver. 2.
+ Judges, chap. iii. ver. 15.
‡ Ibid. chap. iii. ver. 20.
§ Ibid. chap. iii. ver. 23.
‖ Ibid. chap. iii. ver. 24.

*his summer chamber*.—Which part of the history is more clearly explained by the translation of the LXX. in the most perfect consistency with the plan of just such a Tower, as that at *Conisborough*; for there the words are,—*μήποτε πρὸς δίφρους κάθηται ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τοῦ κοιτῶνος*—*perhaps he is sitting down, on the seat, in the recess of the bed chamber*;—words that obviously seem to describe some recess, or closet in the wall, for easement; to which the passage was, even through, or near the inner bed chamber; and to which they conceived he had retired; and therefore waited some time, before they broke open the doors, leading from the staircase to the great (audience) or state chamber, that had been fast locked by *Ehud*.

Again, when we read,*—*that Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria*,—every word speaks, as strongly as possible, the description of an apartment for Royal abode, at the top of a Keep Tower, with an aperture in the middle of the floor, (as there probably was at *Conisborough*,) covered with a lattice.—Nor, indeed, can it well be conceived, how he could fall through any other sort of lattice whatever,—in what is declared to have been *his upper chamber*.—The words the LXX. use, expressly mean, *through a grating, (or net-work covering,) in the principal upper room*,—*διὰ τοῦ δικτυωτοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ*.

Further;—the whole account of what passed at *Jezreel*, where *Joram* had returned to be healed of his wounds, conveys in like manner the idea of a *Keep Tower*, surrounded by an area, or court, which was entered by *a great Gateway under another Tower*; and leads us also to apprehend, that the room in which *Joram* dwelt, was the uppermost room in the Keep Tower, and not far beneath *the post of a watchman*, placed on one of the highest turrets of a building, such as at *Conisborough*.

For we read;†—that even whilst *Jehu* was far distant from *Jezreel*, *there stood a watchman on the Tower in Jezreel; and he spied the company of Jehu as he came, and said I see a company, and Joram said, take an horseman and send to meet them*;—from this moment *a ready* communication of questions, and answers, from the watchman, to the apartment where King *Joram* was, (concerning what visibly passed on the road at a distance,) manifestly took place for some time.—

* 2 Kings, chap. i. ver. 2. † Ibid. chap. ix. ver. 17.

Until at last the King, greatly alarmed, went forth himself.—After *Joram* was slain, *Jehu* entered the fortress in his chariot.*—and as he was about to enter, *Jezebel* must have looked out from a window, at a great height, *in a smaller tower*, directly over the gate, which was the entrance to the court wherein the Keep Tower stood; because on her being thrown down, the carriage, and his horsemen, directly went over her, and trod her under foot.

As the Kings of *Israel, and Judah*, frequently dwelt themselves in such *Keep Towers;* so their nobles also, had in many instances, *Towers* for Palaces, both in Jerusalem, and in the regions round about.

This appears from a variety of passages in *Sacred Writ;*—and still more from a number of passages in the History of *Josephus;* which there would be no end of citing, in order to do justice to them.—Suffice it to say, that it seems, even to have been a custom in Palestine, for every *great*, or *rich* man's territorial possession, in the country, to have had *a Tower in it*, as his place of residence.—And that some of them had such even in Jerusalem.

Hence seems to have arisen the familiarity of that expression, in our Lord's Parable;†—*which of you intending to build a Tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he hath sufficient to finish it?*—Hence also, the completeness of the description of a great man's domain, in the country, in that awful parable addressed to the Jews;‡—*there was a certain householder which planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine press in it, and built a Tower.*—And hence the same sort of description, in one part of the Prophesy of *Isaiah.*§—*My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill;—and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a Tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine press therein.*

And it should seem also that *the Prophet Elisha* himself, in the country, *dwelt in a Tower.*—For it is a very remarkable expression, concerning his servant *Gehazi*, when he returned from receiving the present, which he had obtained in such a guileful manner from

* Ibid. chap. ix. ver. 30, 32, 33.
† Luke, chap. xiv. ver. 28, 29, 30.
‡ Matthew, chap. xxi. ver. 33. Mark, chap. 12. ver. 1.
§ Isaiah, chap. v. ver. 1, 2.

*Naaman* the *Syrian*,*—*who had bound two talents of silver in two bags, and two changes of garments, and laid them upon two of his servants: and they bare them before* (Gehazi,)—*that when he came to the Tower, he took them from their hand, &c.*

It should seem also, that the *rich Shunamite*, the friend of *Elisha*, dwelt, in the country, *in a Tower*.—For the proposed mode of preparing *a little chamber on the wall*,+ for his more easy and usual accommodation, on his frequent passing by that domain, cannot so well be reconciled with any idea of the *Shunamite's* mode of dwelling whatever, as with that of its being, *in a Tower*, built in the true *Syrian* style; with an *inner surrounding wall*;—on which wall *a little chamber*, in a little turret, would not only be a respectful accommodation for the holy Prophet, but even an ornament to the building.

Further, in adverting to minute circumstances of history, relating to Towers in *Palestine;* it is scarcely possible to avoid taking notice of the remarkable resemblance, of the situation of the dungeon *under the King's Treasury*, into which the Prophet *Jeremiah* was cast, and that at *Conisborough*.

For on putting the whole of the circumstances of the narration carefully‡ together; it seems plainly to appear, that the dungeon was *under the treasury*;—that there was no way of letting a prisoner down into it, or of drawing him up again, but as through the mouth of a well, by ropes:—that there was no water in the dungeon, but mire; and that *Jeremiah* sunk in the mire,—and would soon have perished there;—and that the merciful provision afforded him, by *Ebed-melech*, of a few old rags to put under his arms, saved him from much pain, and hurt, from the ropes by which he was drawn up.—To understand the account otherwise; and from the general words used, of *the Court of the Prison*, as a mere common description of the place of confinement, to conceive that the dungeon was in an *open court;* and that the place, or room *under the treasury*, was reserved for keeping *old cast clouts, and old rotten rags*, conveys ideas both inconsistent with antient usages, and with the dignity of any history; and surely beneath that of Sacred History.

* 2 Kings, chap. v. ver. 23, 24. + 2 Kings, chap. iv. ver. 10.

‡ Jeremiah, chap. xxxviii. ver. 6, 11, 12, 13.

Many other little circumstances, both of sacred, and of Profane History, might be referred to, that plainly indicate the close resemblance between the style of architecture of *Syrian* Castles, and of those *British* Castles which we have been describing; and between the mode of dwelling, both in the one, and in the other;—but these may be sufficient.

It only deserves to be added; that in the surrounding lesser Towers of the outward walls of such Fortresses; the soldiers appear, from many descriptions, to have dwelt crowded together as in Barracks. And upon the surrounding walls, in time of peace, and when not upon immediate duty, they *hung up their shields*, as trophies, and ornaments.

Thus we read in *Ezekiel's* Prophecy,* concerning Tyre.—"They "of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut were in thine army, thy men "of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee, they set "forth thy comeliness.

"The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round "about, and the Gammadims *were in thy Towers;* they hanged their "shields upon thy walls round about: they have made thy beauty "perfect."†

In further confirmation of the resemblance between *Syrian* and *British* Castles, we may remark, that there have been some other peculiar remains taken notice of by modern travellers, as frequently met with in *Syria*, which it is almost impossible to read the account of, without bringing to our remembrance, in some degree, *Conisborough*, *Carisbrook*, *Launceston*, and *Brunless*.

Pococke speaks of "hillocks in *Syria*, not very small, *cased with* "*stone*, that have Castles built on them."‡

And in another part, he also tells us,§ that "the Castle of *Hems*, "in *Syria*, is built on an high round mount, encompassed with a "fosse about twenty feet deep, and thirty paces broad." And that "*the whole mount, is faced with stone;* and has a part of a bridge "rising up a considerable way on one of its sides."

* Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. ver. 10, 11.

† See also Harmer's Observations, Vol. II. p. 517, 518.

‡ Pocoke's Travels, or Description of the East, Vol. I. p. 50.

§ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 141.

Here *Hippocrates* is said to have resided; and from hence he went often to Damascus.

So again, at *Antab* * in Syria, " there is a strong Old Castle on a " round hill, with a deep fosse about it, cut out of the rock."—And here also the hill is, *cased all the way up with hewen stone;* †—only there is, at the bottom, within the fosse, *a covered way*, which most probably is a more modern work.—The medals, however, that have been found here, of the old Syrian Kings, are a manifest proof of the real high antiquity of the Fortress.

Nor are we without intimations of several great personages, besides *Dejoces*, having usually *resided* in such Towers.

*Mæandrus*, we are expressly given to understand by *Herodotus*,‡ dwelt in a Tower, in the island of Samos; wherein was a dungeon at bottom;—from a loop hole of which, the imprisoned *Charilaus*, could both see, and hear, what was passing in the Castle area;—and could even speak to the Persians that were there.—And from a part of this Tower there was also a secret subterranean passage, leading to the sea; that had been made by the orders of Mæandrus.§

*Smerdis*, the Magian Usurper, the pretended Son of Cyrus, and

* Pococke's Travels, or Description of the East, p. 154. † Ibid. p. 155.

‡ Herodotus Wesselingii, lib. iii. 146. p. 272.

§ As the custom for persons of dignity, to dwell in an apartment, *near the top of a Tower*, seems, in some of the instances that have been mentioned, to have been derived from the highest antiquity; and whilst it was, in the *Britons*, an imitation of the *Phœnicians;* to have been in the *Phœnicians* themselves, an imitation of the usage of still earlier days;—and as the most primæval customs, are the longest preserved in the most sequestered parts of the world, and in mountainous countries; and especially in such as were nearest to the regions first peopled; it may not be an improper digression, to remark, that we have lately found this custom still preserved, in the remote country of *Bootan*, near *Tibet*.—And the account of a great Chieftain's mode of dwelling *there*, at *Tassisudon*,—*in a room with one window only*,—becomes, (without any forced construction,) a most interesting illustration of the mode of dwelling in these upper apartments of *Keep Towers*;—in *Media*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Greece*, and even in *Britain*.

Captain *Turner's* reception by the Rajah, or Lama of Tassisudon, in his citadel, in 1783, is thus described.‖—" We were first conducted to a large apartment, on the west side of " the great square of the palace, where the three principal officers, Zoompoon, Zoondonier, " and Zempi, had assembled to receive us.—Here we rested until Zoondonier, who went to " announce our arrival, returned to usher us into the presence of the Daeb.—We followed " him, the other officers with many Zeenkaubs accompanying us, through several passages,

‖ Turner's Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, p. 66.

successor to Cambyses, we are in like manner given to understand by Herodotus,* dwelt in a strong Castle, (or Keep Tower); his never going out of which, was the cause of the first suspicion concerning his being an impostor.—And the description of this stronghold seems greatly to agree with that of such Towers as we have been describing:—for every passage was narrow; and every passage was defended by guards;—and *a chamber filled with guards*, was to be *passed quite through*, on the way, before they could ascend up any further, to approach the *upper chamber*, were *Smerdis* was.—And in the side of that very chamber was another *small inner chamber;* where he was slain.—We find also, in the account, a description of an high Tower, from the top of which *Prexaspes* had been directed by the *Magi*, to harangue the Persians in the Court beneath, in

" and up a number of lofty ladders, which connect the different floors, till at length we " arrived at the elevated station occupied by the Raja, near the summit of the citadel.

" After a short pause upon the landing place, the door was thrown open, and we were " ushered into a small, but well proportioned room, having on the west side an arched " balcony, with sliding curtains, being the only aperture for the admission of light, " immediately opposite to the door by which we entered, and before which a skreen pro- " jected nearly one-third of the breadth of the room. The remaining space on the wall, " beyond the skreen, was decorated with the portraits, wrought in silk, of some champions of " their faith, as stiff and formal as any heroes that ever appeared in tapestry.—The walls " of the room were coloured with blue, and the arches of the balcony, pillars, doors, &c. " were painted with vermilion, and ornamented with gilding.—The Raja was habited in a " deep garnet-coloured cloth, and sat cross legged upon a pile of cushions, in the remote " corner of the room, with the balcony upon his right hand; upon his left side stood a " cabinet of diminutive idols, and a variety of consecrated trinkets;—close upon his right " was placed an escrutoir, for the deposit of papers required to be at hand; and before him " was a small painted bench, to place his tea-cup on, and answering all the other purposes " of a table."

It is almost impossible to read this account, and not to call to mind, *the lofty situation* of the state chamber at Conisborough;—its *one large window*; —and *its niche*, (or sort of cabinet) where diminutive idols might be placed.—And at the same time, when we read the account of the pillars and doors *painted with vermilion*, we are insensibly led to recollect the words of the prophet, Jeremiah, chap. xxii. ver 14, addressed to the King of Judah; who unquestionably dwelt occasionally in such a sort of *Keep Tower* in Palestine.—To the very time of *Nebuchadnezzar's* destruction of Jerusalem, the Fortress of Mount Zion seems to have been much more usually dwelt in, than the houses built by *Solomon*. And something of reference to both, seems to be contained in the prophet's rebuke, concerning the chambers, *cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion*.

* Herodotus Wesselingii, lib. iii. 68, 72, 75, 77. p. 234, 235, 236.

order to support *the Magian* cause:—but from whence, (having instead thereof declared the truth, and discovered their impostor,) he directly precipitated himself headlong.

It now perhaps may deserve some attention, that by putting together all these circumstances, relating to *Syrian*, and to *British* Castles, we may perfectly understand, of what kind was the habitation of *Ulysses*, in *Ithaca;* according to the idea of *Homer;*—who, whether his *Odyssey* was altogether a Romantick Tale, or whether he intended to describe partly a real History, we may be assured would tenaciously adhere, in his descriptions, to the known customs, of the country; and to a faithful reference to such kind of Princely habitation, as became a *Grecian Hero* dwelling there.—And as *Ithaca* must needs have had some intercourse with *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, as well as with *Asia Minor*, it is not at all surprising, that we find his intimations, with regard to every minute part of the Palace, would exactly accord, either with a *Syrian*, or *Median*, or a *Mingrelian*, or an old *British* Castle.

We find, from the whole tenor of every circumstance mentioned in the *Odyssey*, that the *Palace of Ulysses* consisted,

1st.—Of a great outward court, or open Area,*—surrounded with high walls;—and having a great strong gate-way of entrance, secured

* It is almost needless to repeat, that although we read in Pope's translation of Homer, of Domes, of Halls, of Pavillions, of Portals, of sculptured Pillars, and polished marble floors;—yet when we come to search the passages in the original, which are translated in such lofty words, we uniformly find, without exception, no such things mentioned; but much plainer descriptions.

To run through all those various passages, for the sake of detecting the error, would be on this occasion needless; although, in order to ascertain the fact, I have myself taken the trouble of doing so; I believe very nearly without excepting one.

It will be only requisite here, to examine *those* passages from whence we are able fairly to extract the whole of the description given above.—And they will be found to support it very fully: and

1st.—As to the *Outward gate*;—we find an intimation of such an appendage to this Palace or Fortress of Ulysses on the Isle of Ithaca, in the very outset of the Poem;—and in words strongly descriptive both of the *open space*, or plain, formed before it; and also of the brutal rudeness of the manners of that early age, even in the midst of what was deemed the utmost profusion and luxury.

Pope says, (B. i. l. 140.)

> On hides of Beeves, before the palace gate,
> (Sad spoils of luxury,) the suitors sate.

by a strong folding gate, fastened with bars, and ropes; but without any mention either of an arch at the top;—or of machicolations;—or of a Portcullis:—no such things having, at that time, been invented.

2dly.—That this open court, (as well as the plain before the

With rival art, and ardor in their mien,
At Chess they vie, to captivate the Queen. Book i. l. 140.

And the original expresses the matter more grossly still; saying plainly, that

"*The Suitors diverted themselves, with gaming dies, before the palace gate; sitting on the hides of the very oxen, which they themselves had slain; whilst the servants were cutting up the flesh, wiping the tables, and preparing the dinner.*"

And, in the latter end of the Poem, we find this *outward gate* mentioned again; with circumstances, that both shew its situation, and construction; and that it had no herse, or portcullis; nor any of those means of defence, which have been invented in these subsequent ages;—nor indeed had it any arch;—for (as has been shewn in the former part of this work) no arch is ever mentioned by Homer.

When with great caution, and with doubtful apprehensions of some attack from without, Ulysses was preparing to take vengeance on the Suitors; we find him directing his most faithful, and trusty servant, in these words, as translated by Pope,

To thy strict charge, *Philœtius!* we consign
The *Courts' main gate:* to guard that pass be thine. Book xxi. l. 256.

And in obedience to this command we are told,

In the same moment forth *Philœtius* flies,
Secures the court, and with a cable tyes
*The utmost gate*, (the cable strongly wrought,
Of *Byblos'* reed, a ship from Egypt brought.) Book xxi. l. 421.

And the original points out the simple construction of this gate in still plainer terms;—for there we read, that Ulysses directed *Philœtius*,

"*To lock the doors of the Court with a key; and quickly to put a band upon them.* And that, "*There lay under the gate-way, a Bybline rope, of a ship, and with that he bound the gates fast.*" Lib. xxi. l. 240—390.

From all which, we may understand, that this gate was formed of *two leaves*, like that which Sampson carried away from *Gaza*; that it had a lock, and bars; but no further means of security, except the rope.—And that it was, in a building by itself, at the extremity of the Court of the Castle, that formed a sort of porch, or portico.

It is particularly distinguished also from the other *interiour* doors of the Palace, or Tower;—which are in like manner ordered to be locked; and at each of which *Euryclea*, is desired to place some old maid servant, to keep them fast shut; and not to stir, whatever groans, or noises they should hear.

Pope, Book xxi. l. 252. In the original, Lib. xxi. l. 235.
xxi. l. 413. xxi. l. 382.

It may be added also, that the circumstance of the gate having *two leaves*, is particularly mentioned, lib. xvii. l. 268: where the word Διπλίδες is purposely used.

gate), was the place of recreation, and amusement; where various games and pastimes were carried on, for the diversion of the inhabitants, and the guests, at the Castle.*—And that it had some sort of rude pavement.

3dly.—That *within* the inmost part of it, and in a second smaller inclosure, stood *a round Keep Tower;* three or four stories high.†

4thly.—That this Keep Tower had an *Inner Wall*‡ surrounding it; and very near to it; even at the distance only of a few feet:—between which, and the Tower, small lodges, or pent houses, were

* 2dly.—As to *the Great Court of the Palace*; or, as we should call it, the *outer Ballium*, or Great Castle Area. We read of this in very descriptive words.

> Thus commun'd they: while in the marble court
> (Scene of their insolence) the Lords resort;
> Athwart the spacious square each tries his art
> To whirl the disk, or aim the missile dart. Book xvii. l. 190.

In which translation the original idea seems to be well conveyed throughout,—except merely, that in Homer we are simply told, that there was an artificial pavement: without one word being said about *marble*.—See lib. xvii. l. 169, the words are Ἐν τυκτῷ δαπέδῳ.

† 3dly.—As to *the Keep*, or *Main Tower*; we read the following full description.—And I am not aware that any *other* Tower, in the whole Palace, is at all mentioned.

> Stage above stage, th' imperial structure stands,
> Holds the chief honours, and the town commands:
> High walls and battlements the courts inclose,
> And the strong gates defy a host of foes. Book xvii. l. 316.

A little lax translation unavoidably appears in these lines.—But Homer clearly tells us, *that there were stories one above another*; *and that it might be seen a great way off:*—*and that there was a strong wall, with battlements surrounding it.*—Lib. xvii. l. 265.

‡ 4thly.—As to the inner wall, surrounding this Keep Tower, and near to it;—the existence of this is plainly enough intimated, even in Pope's translation; and still more clearly expressed in the original;—where the wretched women, who were to be *put to death*, are described as *going down* from the Keep Tower, to the *narrow space*, *walled round*, *that inclosed it*;—wherein they were confined *in a close compass*, before the execution;—and *from whence they could by no means make their escape*.—The word Homer uses to describe this innermost *round foundation wall* of the Tower is—θολὸς—which expresses both its *roundness*, and *central* situation. Lib. xxii. l. 459.

And Pope's words are,

> To the base Court the females take their way;
> There compass'd close, between the dome and wall,
> (Their life's last scene) they trembling wait their fall. Book xxii. l. 492.

And though, in this translation he makes two mistakes; by naming it *the base Court*; and by describing *a dome*; whilst there is no authority for either expression in the original; yet the smallness of this Court, and the roundness of the basement of the Tower, is

built, for the lodging of the female slaves, or maid servants; and for their laborious works, such as grinding the corn, and making of bread.

5thly. That the Keep Tower, was entered, by means of an ascent of a steep flight of steps, on the outside, as at *Conisborough*.*

6thly.—That over the steps ascending on the outside from the ground to the first story,—and over the door of entrance,+ which

properly intimated, in his account of the execution itself.—Where it is added, that when Telemachus had deemed these poor wretches not worthy to be slain by the sword;

Thus speaking, on the *circling wall* he strung
A ship's tough cable, from a column hung;
Near the high top he strain'd it strongly round,
Whence no contending foot could reach the ground.
Their heads above, connected in a row,
They beat the air with quiv'ring feet below. Book xxii. l. 499.

The words in the original, lib. xxii. l. 465, convey, more intelligibly still the idea, *of the Cable being carried quite round the circular base of the Keep Tower, within the little inner Court; and of its being fastened thereto at such a proper height, as to tie up these poor wretches to it in a row, so that their feet might not reach the ground;—where they hung quivering like doves in a net.*

* 5thly.—As to the ascent to the Keep Tower itself, in the centre of this inner area, having been by a steep flight of high steps on the outside; something, like those at *Conisborough*;—we cannot but conclude this, from what is said of the manner of the disposal of the dead bodies, of the Suitors, after the slaughter;—which we are told were carried out of the hall where they were slain, by the maid servants, and heaped up beneath the porch, or great entrance of the Tower, within the narrow surrounding Court; whilst Ulysses stood above (*i. e.* at the head of the steps of ascent) urging their mournful labour.

The lamentable train appear,
Each vents a groan, and drops a tender tear;
Each heav'd her mournful burthen, and beneath
The porch, depos'd the ghastly heaps of death.
The Chief severe, compelling each to move,
Urg'd the dire task imperious from above. Book xxii. l. 482.

The translation here conveys exactly the sense of the original. Lib. xxii. l. 446.

+ 6thly.—In the next place we find, that high above, and *immediately over these steps*, there was (just as at *Conisborough*), an open window, *overlooking the Town*.

This is described, in the fullest and plainest terms; at the same time that we are informed the approach to it, was *up the narrow high steps, in the front, and through the folding doors at the entrance of the Tower*, and that the suitors seeing this high window in the Tower, from the windows of the hall beneath, where the slaughter commenced, were desirous to reach it, on purpose to alarm the town.

There stood *a window near, whence looking down*
*From o'er the porch*, appeared the subject town.

was at the top of them; (just as at Conisborough,) was an open window; divided into two parts; and almost resembling therefore a gate of entrance; and overlooking the town, which was placed on the outside, without the walls.

7thly.—That under this window; at the entrance of the Tower; and just within the great door of the Tower; was a vestibule, or porch, (as at Conisborough;) in which, *Ulysses*, as a stranger, slept,*

> A double strength of valves secured the place,
> *A high and narrow*, but the only pass:
> The cautious King, with all-preventing care,
> To guard that outlet, plac'd *Eumæus* there:
> When *Agelaus*, thus:—Has none the sense,
> *To mount yon window*, and alarm from thence
> The neighbour town? the town shall force the door,
> And this bold Archer soon shall shoot no more. Book xxii. l. 142.

In which words it is plain, that the door the townsmen were expected to force, was not the door of the Tower, but *the outer great Gate*, which we first described.—And that the spot where *Eumæus* was placed, was not a door, but a window, from whence the Town might be alarmed. In the original, there is not a word about its being *any pass*.—

And it is very remarkable, that the expression Homer himself uses to describe this window, is Ὀρσοθύρη; which indicates its having almost the appearance of an open gate, placed at a great height: whilst the word λαύρην, well describes the narrow passage leading to it; and the words ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' αὐδὸν, do much rather express *the high ascent to it, from the threshold of the Tower door*, than its being in any *extreme part* of the building, as the Latin translation (I think) very erroneously has it. Lib. xxii. l. 126, 127,

* 7thly.—Ulysses, the night before the slaughter, is described as sleeping upon skins, (according to the rude usage of the times,) in the little vestibule, or porch, at the top of the steps;—a room which seems to have corresponded very exactly with that at the entrance of the Tower at Conisborough:—and which accounts for the circumstance mentioned; that from hence he both heard the wailing of Penelope, (who lodged in one of the small rooms of the Tower above,) and also the mournful prayer of the maid-servant grinding corn, in some small building, within the little surrounding inner court beneath, which has been just described.—And as the maid-servants had, (according to Homer) their proper abode, in small sheds, in this little surrounding Court; just in the manner that Chardin describes the domestic huts as being placed round the Tower of the Mingrelian Princes; therefore, from the porch, and vestibule above, Ulysses plainly saw those maid-servants, when in the night they were stealing away from their own apartments, to visit the suitors.—All this is expressed in the following lines.

> An ample hide divine Ulysses spread,
> And formed of fleecy skins his humble bed.
> As thus pavilion'd in the porch he lay,
> Scenes of lewd loves his wakeful eyes survey.

on skins, and hides, spread on the floor at night.—And that, in the Tower above, was some small retired apartment;—most probably a little chamber in one of the buttresses;—in which the Queen had her abode;—and from which her complainings, and lamentations could so easily be heard by *Ulysses*, when going to rest in the vestibule beneath.

8thly.—That within the Tower, (as at Conisborough), was also a

> Whilst to nocturnal joys impure, repair
> With wanton glee, the prostituted fair. Book xx. l. 9.

Afterwards we read,

> An omen'd voice invades his ravish'd ear.
> Beneath a pile that close the dome adjoin'd,
> Twelve female slaves the gift of *Ceres* grind;
> Task'd for the royal board to bolt the bran
> From the pure flour, (the growth and strength of man)
> Discharging to the day the labour due
> Now early to repose the rest withdrew;
> One maid, unequal to the task assign'd,
> Still turn'd the toilsome mill with anxious mind;
> And thus in bitterness of soul divin'd. Book xx. l. 131.

And before he heard this complaint of the female slave, we are told with regard to the mourning of *Penelope*.

> In audible laments, she breathes her moan:
> The sounds assault Ulysses' wakeful ear;
> Mis-judging of the cause, a sudden fear
> Of his arrival known, the Chief alarms;
> He thinks the Queen is rushing to his arms.
> Up springing from his couch, with active haste,
> The fleece and carpet in the dome he plac'd. Book xx. l. 111.

It is only needful, with regard to the original, to observe, that the words οἶκοιο and μέγαρον which, in these lines, Pope translates *dome*, merely signify, *the dwelling or habitation*, and convey no idea of *a dome* properly so called: but that the word which Pope translates portico—προδόμω,—plainly means a *vestibule*, or a little *ante-room*. See Homer, Od. lib. xx. l. 1, 96, 105.

8thly.—That, besides the high ascent of steps, on the outside of the Tower, at its entrance, there was, within it, a staircase winding up through the wall to the upper apartments, appears most evident, from many passages;—for when Penelope went to fetch the bow and arrows; we are told,

> The prudent Queen the lofty stair ascends,
> At distance due a virgin train attends; Book xxi. l. 7.

And again,

> Now gently *winding up* the fair ascent,
> By many an easy step, the matron went. Book xxi. l. 41.

staircase, from the door of entrance, winding gradually up through the thickness of the wall.

9thly.—That, in the upper story of the Tower, (as at Conisborough,) was also one large State apartment;—a sort of sacred room; where also the idols were placed.

And so again, when Melanthius stole up to fetch armour for the suitors, we read,

He said; and mounting up the lofty stairs,
Twelve shields, twelve lances, and twelve helmets bears.
Book xxii. l. 158.

And the words to describe these stairs, in the original are,—

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν προσεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.
*She climbed the lofty staircase of her chamber.* Lib. xxi. l. 5.

And, Lib. xxii. l. 142,

—— ἀνέβαινε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος αἰγῶν,
Ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσῆος, ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο.
—— *Melanthius, the Keeper of the goats, ascended*
*To the chamber of Ulysses, along the narrow stairs of the mansion.*

Or *along the steps of the passage, formed within the walls of the mansion*, as it might be translated from the peculiarity of the word ῥῶγας; which intimates the steps being in something like a fissure in the wall, (or *within the thickness of the wall.*)—See the difficulties occuring to commentators, in Clarke's Homer, Vol. II. p. 286.

9thly.—The upper story of the Tower, is expressly described as containing one room, that was deemed sacred above the rest;—where Penelope went, by the desire of Telemachus, to perform her superstitious rites; and where therefore *her idols* were;—which reminds us unavoidably of the *niches* in the State Chamber, and adjoining hexagonal little chamber, at Conisborough.

When *Medon* had told Penelope of the suitors' plot against her son, and when *Euryclea*, had advised her to suplicate the aid of *Minerva*, we read, that she ascended to the upper apartment for that purpose.

The words of Pope are,

She bathes, and rob'd, the sacred dome ascends;
Her pious speed a female train attends. Book iv. l. 1001.

Whilst the words of the original are much more simple, and express; and without the least mention of *a dome*.

Εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀνέβαινε σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν·
She ascended to the upper apartment, with her domestic women.
Lib. iv. 760.

Again, when Telemachus, on his safe return, exhorts her to render thanks, his words, according to Pope are,

Go bathe, and rob'd in white ascend the Tow'rs;
With all thy handmaids; thank th' immortal pow'rs; &c. &c.
Book xvii. l. 60.

But in the original, instead of the words *ascend the Tow'rs*,—we read only plainly;

10thly.—That adjoining to this, was a distinguished little bed-*chamber;*—which was also made use of as a sort of treasury;—and where the gold and silver vessels,—the rich *old scented garments,*

*ascending to the upper best apartment,* (or as we should now call it, to the State chamber,) *vow whole hecatombs, &c.*

Εἰς ὑπερῷ ἀναβᾶσα, σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶν,
Εὔχεο πᾶσι θεοῖσι, τελησέσας ἑκατόμβας. Lib. xvii. l. 49.

10thly.—Further; in the upper part of the Tower, we find, was not only this State apartment; but also *a little private chamber:—which chamber*, we are expressly told, was the identical place called *the Treasury of Ulysses:* and where both his gold, and silver vessels, and his celebrated bow and arrows were kept;—the latter laid upon the top of an high old wooden press; which formed a sort of table, and contained the rich scented garments.—And as we are further told there were other bows also laid on the top of the press, the whole account conveys, in the clearest manner, a perfect idea of antient simplicity, as to the mode of dwelling in these Keep Towers, that is very intelligible; and exactly corresponding with all that has previously been said concerning the sort of accommodation in British Castles.

All this appears indeed sufficiently, even from the following lines of Pope, notwithstanding the laxness of the translation; and notwithstanding the additional pomposity of description.—But appears more fully still from the original Greek.

After a description of the Queen's ascending an *high steep* staircase, to fetch the bow; her entrance into the treasury chamber above, is fully described in these words, by Pope,

A brazen key she held, the handle turn'd,
With steel and polish'd elephant adorn'd:
Swift to the *inmost room* she bent her way,
Where safe repos'd the royal treasures lay;
There shone, high-heap'd, the labour'd brass and ore,
And there the bow which great Ulysses bore,
And there the quiver, where now guiltless slept
Those winged deaths that many a matron wept. Book xxi. l. 9.

And a little further on we are told, that the Queen

Then o'er the pavement glides with grace divine,
(With *polish'd oak* the level pavements shine,)
The folding gates a dazling light display'd,
With pomp of various architrave o'erlay'd.
The bolt, obedient to the silken string,
Forsakes the staple as she pulls the ring;
The wards respondent to the key turn round;
The bars fall back; the flying valves resound
Loud as a bull makes hill and valley ring,
So roar'd the lock when it released the spring.
She moves majestic thro' the wealthy room,
Where treasur'd garments cast a rich perfume.

—and the best arms of *Ulysses*, were deposited; partly in, and partly upon the top of an old wooden press, or locker.

11thly.—That under the *State chamber*, and just above the porch, was an apartment that was sometimes used as *a bed chamber*, (and

There, *from the column, where aloft it hung,*
Reach'd, in its splendid case, the bow unstrung.

Book xxi. l. 43 and 53.

But here it is to be observed; that what Pope translates merely by these words, *the inmost room*, is called expressly in the original poem Θάλαμόν Ἔσχατον, *the inmost bed-chamber*,—see lib. xxi. l. 8, 9.

And what Pope describes, as being *a polished oak floor*; is found in the original merely to mean *an high steep threshold, at the entrance, formed of oak.*

Whilst, instead of giving a description of any *pompous architrave*, Homer simply gives an account of the construction of a strong door, with its wooden posts fixed firm in the threshold, and with its large leaves.

Οὐδόν τε δρύϊνον προσεβήσατο, τόν ποτε τέκτων
Ξέσσεν ἐπισταμένως, καὶ ἐπὶ σταθμην ἴθυνεν,
Ἐν δὲ σταθμυς ἄρσε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς. Lib. xxi. l. 43.

*She climb'd the oak threshold, which formerly a workman had skilfully made smooth, (or polished,) and had placed rightly in its situation, and into it had fitted posts, and there placed splendid folding doors.*

And as to the manner in which the bow was placed, and kept;—we are positively told by Homer, that (instead of being *hung upon a lofty column*) it merely lay, or stood, upon the top of an high wooden table, or sort of press, or chest, together with other bows;—in which press, or under which wooden platform, lay the scented garments. The word first used, (l. 11,) to describe the manner in which the bow was placed is—ἔκειτο—and here the words, (l. 51,) are

Ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς σανίδος βῆ εὖθα δὲ κηλοὶ
Ἔσταασαν· ἐν δ' ἄρα τῇσι θυώδεα εἵματα κεῖτο.

by which the Queen is described, as *climbing up*, or reaching up to the top of a table, or press, σανίδος, on which the *bows stood*, and *within which lay the perfumed garments.*

11thly.—With regard to the room, to which the armour was removed, that hung round the sides of the building in the Court where the Suitors revelled, and banquetted; it appears plainly to have been above stairs in the Tower;—and yet could not be either the sacred State room, or the small treasury chamber.—For as to the removal of the old rusty armour, we find the very *filthiness of it*, was even made the alledged pretence for removing it;—which on the one hand gives us no exalted idea of the magnificence, or elegance, of the feasting room, or hall in which it hung; and, on the other hand, may convince us that, the room *such things* were conveyed to, was neither the state sacred room, nor the little bed-chamber, where the rich garments were.

Ulysses directs his son, Book xix. l. 5, according to Pope's translation,

Instant convey those steely stores of war
To distant rooms, dispos'd with secret care:

corresponded with that which we have called the guard-chamber at *Conisborough*),—and to which *Telemachus* ordered the old armour to be carried up.

The cause demanded by the Suitor train,
To sooth their fears a specious reason feign:
Say, since *Ulysses* left his natal coast,
*Obscene with smoke*, their beamy lustre lost,
His arms deform'd the roof they won't adorn:
From the glad walls inglorious lumber torn.

And then the prince gives direction to *Eurycles*, the old nurse, and house-keeper, (l. 20.)

These swarthy arms among the covert stores
Are seemlier hid; my thoughtless youth they blame,
Imbrown'd with vapour of the smould'ring flame.

After which as to the removal we read, (l. 35) that

Auxiliar to his son, *Ulysses* bears
The plumy-crested helms, and pointed spears,
With shields indented deep in glorious wars.

And as to the apartment to which they were conveyed; we find it was not only in the upper part of the building;—but that it is described as being a bed-chamber, where persons might sleep;—and where the arms seem to have been flung down loose upon the floor:—for when Ulysses had, during the slaughter, consented that *Telamachus* should fetch additional arms, for himself, and his two faithful servants; we read,

With speed Telemachus obeys, and flies,
Where pil'd on heaps the royal armour lies;
Four brazen helmets, eight refulgent spears,
And four broad bucklers, to his Sire he bears. Book xxii. l. 126.

And when the traiterous *Melanthius*, undertook to steal some also for the Suitors, we read, (Book xxii. l. 158) the words that have already been referred to, at the bottom of p. 105.

And when he was detected, and secured by the two faithful servants, the description is thus, (Book xxii. l. 176.)

While yet they spoke, in quest of arms again,
To the *high* chamber stole the faithless swain.

And is continued thus,—(l. 194.)

The ready swains obey'd, with joyful haste,
Behind the felon unperceiv'd they past;
As round the room in quest of arms he goes;
(The half-shut door concealed his lurking foes)
One hand sustain'd a helm, and one a shield,
Which old *Laertes* wont in youth to wield,
Cover'd with dust, with dryness chapt and worn,
The brass corroded, and the leather torn:

12thly.—That there was in the uppermost part of the Tower,* (and probably in the thicknes of the wall, or partly in a buttress

> Thus laden, *o'er the threshold* as he stept,
> Fierce on the villain from each side they leapt,
> Back by the hair the trembling dastard drew,
> And down reluctant on the pavement threw.
> Active and pleas'd, the zealous swains fulfill
> At every point their master's rigid will:
> First, fast behind, his hands and feet they bound,
> Then streighten'd cords involved his body round;
> *So drawn aloft, athwart the column ty'd*
> *The howling felon swung from side to side.* Book xxii. l. 195.

Although it may possibly appear tedious, to have given this whole description at length; yet it is somewhat interesting to do so; because there seems to be a material error in Pope's translation.—For the original words of Homer, (l. 176, and 190) describe a much easier and shorter process, and what also is more consistent with any idea that can properly be formed of this upper chamber, and of its *pilasters* against the wall; one of which we may plainly perceive, by the account of the servants' management, must have been meant by the word *column*.

Homer merely says, that when they had bound him fast, they *dragged him to a high column (or pilaster) and propped him up with spears*;—which they might easily do, in the sort of corner formed between a rude stone pilaster, and the wall.—But it is difficult to conceive, where they should find a board, or plank, to tie him to; and much more to conceive, how they should be able, in so short a space of time, (if at all), to get the rope to the top of any column, and either to fasten it there, or to drag him up there, so as *to swing from side to side*.

It was also interesting to give these lines at length, because they inform us, in so very exact and curious a manner, of what the old armour consisted.—And because Pope, though he has extended his translation a little beyond the precise words of his author, yet has very fully represented the confused manner, in which the old armour lay upon the floor;—and fairly calls the room *a chamber*.—In the original it is repeatedly, and without variation, called a *bed-chamber*—θάλαμον. B. xxii. l. 109, 140, 143, 155, 157 161, 174, 179.

* 12thly.—That *the Queen's* own apartment was in the very highest part of the Tower;—and that from the loop, or window of it, she might hear what passed in the hall of revelling, in the court beneath, appears from many passages.

Even on the very first mention of it, we find her greatly affected with grief, on overhearing the distant sounds, and words of *Phemius*, singing to his lyre the return of the Grecians.—And she is then described, as *descending*, to stop the mournful strain.

We read in Pope's words, B. i. l. 425,

> The shrilling airs the vaulted roof rebounds,
> Reflecting to the queen the silver sounds.
> With grief renew'd the weeping fair descends,
> Their sovereign's step a virgin train attends.

as at Conisborough) a small, private, retired chamber, in which *the Queen* usually dwelt;—and from the loop windows of which, she

After which it is only said (l. 460,)

——————the queen admires
His sage reply, and with her train retires.

But in the original, whilst there is not one word concerning any *vaulted roof*, the words are much more precisely descriptive,

Τῆ δ' ὑπερῴοθεν φρεσὶ σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν
Κέρη Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·
Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο,
Οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῆ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο. Lib. i. l. 328.
*From on high, deeply felt she in her mind the divine song,*
*The daughter of Icarus, the prudent Penelope;*
*And by the high flight of stairs, leading to her abode, she descended;*
*Not alone; but with her two domestics followed;*

And on her return it is said, (lib. i. l. 362.)

Ἐς δ' ὑπερῷ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶ
Κλαῖεν ἔπειθ' Ὀδυσῆα φίλον πόσιν,
*Ascending to above, with her two domestic women,*
*She then bewailed Ulysses her dear husband.*

Again, on her being informed, by *Medon*, of the Suitor's plot, against her son Telemachus; Pope only says, (B. iv. l. 1037.)

Mean time the Queen without reflection due,
Heart-wounded to the bed of state withdrew.

But the original words describe, just as before, *the lofty situation* of her chamber.

Ἡ δ' ὑπερῷ' ἀναβᾶσα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια
Κεῖτ' ἄρ' ἄσιτος, ἄπαστος, ἐδητύος ἠδὲ πόσῆτος. Lib. iv. l. 787.
*But she ascending high the pondering Penelope,*
*Lay fasting, without relish either for food, or cordial drink.*

And when directly, a Phantom was sent to comfort her by *Minerva*: Pope says, (lib. iv. l. 1055.)

Swift on the regal dome descending right,
The bolted valves are pervious to her flight.

But in the original, without a word mentioned of *any dome*, we read, simply of *a chamber*, and fastened door.

Ἔσ θάλαμον δὲ εἰσῆλθε παρὰ κληῖδος ἰμάντα
Στῆ δ' ἄρ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν. Lib. iv. l. 802.
*And that the Phantom entered the chamber, notwithstanding the restraint of the lock, and stood at the head (of Penelope), and in her speech thus spoke.*

Again *Penelope* herself describes the chamber as being quite in the upper part of the building, when speaking to her son she says,

Τηλέμαχ, ἦτοι ἐγὼν ὑπερῴϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα
Λέξομαι εἰς εὐνὴν ἥ μοι στονόεσσα τέτυκται,
Αἰεὶ δάκρυς' ἐμοῖσι πεφυρμένη. Lib. xvii. l. 101.

might both see the out-buildings, in the court beneath;—and over-hear what passed there.

*Telemachus, shall I ascending to my upper chamber*
*Lay me on the bed, which is become my mourning place,*
*Ever water'd with my tears?*

And when she comes down, to receive the presents of the Suitor's, in order to gain time, and to escape their plots, we read,

Ὣς φαμένη, κατέβαιν' ὑπερῴϊα σιγαλόεντα. Lib. xviii. l. 205.
*Thus saying, she descended from the quiet upper room.*

Her return to the chamber, is also mentioned in words descriptive of its situation, (in lib. xvii. l. 501.)

Again it is called—ὑπερῴια σιγαλόεντα—*the splendid upper chamber*, or as I should rather be inclined to translate the words, *the quiet upper chamber*, (lib. xix, l. 600.)

And we have two proofs, of Penelope's being supposed to over-hear, in this secret upper chamber, what passed in the hall, or large outer-building, in the court beneath, in a manner that exactly agrees with the situation of the *small hexagonal chamber, and of its loop-windows, at Conisborough*;—one,—that of her over-hearing the song of *Phemius*,—has been already given:—and another we have, when she is said to have over-heard the Suitors insolent conversation, and their rude treatment of Ulysses, as the supposed beggar, during their revellings.

Pope says, lib. xx. l. 463.

Nigh in her bright alcove, the pensive Queen
To see the circle sat, of all unseen.

But Homer himself says not a word about any *bright alcove*,—nor about her *seeing* what passed;—but plainly says, that she moved her seat, so as to over-hear their conversation;—which she may easily be supposed to have heard, through the open windows of the hall beneath, and through the loop windows of her chamber above.—His words are,

Ἡ δὲ καλὸν θεμένη περικαλλέα δίφρον
Κέρη Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,
Ἀνδρῶν ἐν μεγάροισιν ἑκάστου μῦθον ἄκουε. Lib. xx. l. 387.
*But having placed just opposite her neatly adorned stool,*
*The daughter of Icarus, the prudent Penelope,*
*Heard the discourse of each one of the men in the building.*

And unquestionably from the same loop-windows, of her retired upper chamber, it was that *Ulysses* is supposed to have over-heard her mournful complainings, when he was resting on his humble bed of skins in the porch beneath: and when Pope says,

In audible laments she breaths her moan:
The sounds assault *Ulysses* wakeful ear. Book xx. l. 111.

Or as the original has it,

Τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαυθμοῦ ὄπα σύνθετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.
*The voice of her bewailing well heard divine Ulysses.* Lib. xx. l. 92.

I cannot omit adding, that in Lib. xxi. l. 356, where she is described as returning to her chamber, at the entreaty of her son, when she had delivered the bow, and there bewailing *Ulysses*; the very same lines are repeated describing its lofty situation that have already

13thly.—That in addition to these apartments, in the Keep Tower; there were also, (as in the *Mingrelian*, and *Circassian* Castles,) some* rudely constructed edifices, and wooden buildings, in the outward court; for, various domestick purposes.—Amongst which was, an

been cited from (Lib. i. l. 562.)—An instance, amongst many others, of that singular fact, how often *Homer*, (though so sublime a Poet,) both in the *Iliad*, and in the *Odyssey*, repeats his own lines, over and over again.

* 13thly.—But though the room to which the arms were removed is so very precisely described as *a bed-chamber*; and there is also a plain intimation, that some other smaller room, high up in the Tower, was used as the bed-chamber of the queen; yet it is very obvious, there were very few other apartments for such purpose in the Tower.—And besides what has been said of *the maid servants dwelling in little hovels*, in the small inner court, it is very remarkable, that even *the Bridal bed-chamber*, as it is called, was not in the Tower;—but was merely a sort of low building, or shed, in the court beneath; fixed to, and built round an old olive tree;—and exactly corresponding with the idea, which *Chardin* gives us, of the Mingrelian Princes having such kind of rude wooden apartments, built for domestic purposes, in the space adjoining to their Keep Towers.

When *Penelope* still doubted, from her excess of caution, whether it really was Ulysses himself;—she said, *to try him*,

" Haste, from *the bridal bow'r* the bed translate,
" Fram'd by his hand, and be it drest in state! Book xxiii. l. 181.

And the full description Ulysses gives, as a proof of his being no impostor, deserves the utmost attention, as conveying a perfect idea of the simplicity both of the building itself; and of the plain manners of the age; notwithstanding all the endeavours of Pope to annex ideas of elegance, and magnificence.

Thus speaks the Queen, still dubious, with disguise:
Touch'd at the words, the King with warmth replies.—
Alas for this! what mortal strength can move
Th' enormous burthen,—who but heav'n above?
It mocks the weak attempts of human hands;
But the whole earth must move, if heav'n commands.
Then hear sure evidence, while we display
Words seal'd with sacred truth, and truth obey:
This hand the wonder fram'd; an olive spread
Full in the court its ever verdant head.
Vast as some mighty column's bulk on high,
The huge trunc rose, and heav'd into the sky;
Around the tree I rais'd *a nuptial bow'r*,
And roof'd, defensive of the storm and show'r;
The spacious valve, with art inwrought, conjoins;
*And the fair dome with polish'd marble shines.*
I lopp'd the branchy head; aloft, in twain;
Sever'd the bole, and smooth'd the shining grain;

odd, but favourite large round hut, or tent, called his *bridal chamber;* built on the ground, *by the hand of Ulysses himself;*—and even obviously reared merely as a sort of *pent house,* round a great old Olive Tree.

14thly.—That there was also, in this court, as the principal place* for the entertainment of guests; a sort of large hall, built of wood;—

> Then posts, capacious of the frame, I raise,
> And bore it, regular from space to space:
> Athwart the frame, at equal distance lye,
> Thongs of tough hides, that boast a purple dye.
> Then polishing the whole, the finished mold
> With silver shone, with elephant, and gold.
> But if o'erturn'd by rude, ungovern'd hands,
> Or still inviolate the olive stands,
> 'Tis thine, oh Queen, to say: and now impart,
> If fears remain, or doubts distract thy heart. Book, xxiii. l. 183, &c.

In the plain words of the original of *Homer,* (l. 178,) what Pope, in the language of modern poety, calls, *the Bridal bower* is simply—εὐσταθέος θαλάμυ— *the strongly founded bed-chamber*;—exactly consistent with the subsequent account of the massy bulk of the materials, of which both the chamber, and bed itself were composed, in the Court of the Castle.

And instead of a description, corresponding with those words of Pope,

> And the fair dome with polished marble shines,

We read not a word in Homer either of *a dome,* or *of polished marble*; but merely, in very plain, and positive terms, (l. 192, 193, 194,) that *round the huge trunk of the olive, as it grew, he constructed the bed-chamber with stones set thick and close together, till he had finished the whole: and that he covered it well over at top,—that he placed well jointed doors to it*;—*And when he had cut off the branches of the olive,* (l. 197, 198) *that he well and skilfully covered the whole trunk with brass, from the root to the branches, boring every part with an auger;—and that from the trunk he extended the bed; artificially adorning it with gold, and silver, and ivory, and stretching the skin of an ox upon it.*

A description which conveys the clearest idea of the very rude simplicity of the whole little edifice, notwithstanding the finery bestowed upon it;—and of the manner in which the whole Chamber was constructed round, and the bed fastened to the old olive tree, by the hands of Ulysses himself, leaving the tree standing just as it grew.—His question afterwards, *whether any one had cut up the olive by the root?* confirms the idea here given of the real nature of the structure.—And it ought to be remarked, that the artificial adorning of the bed with gold, and silver, and ivory,—does much rather imply that such ornaments were added, somewhat in the same manner in which the canoes of the south sea are adorned, than that there was any such work as deserved to be styled *inlay.*

* 14thly.—As the huts for the maid servants, stood in the innermost small Court;—and this strange bed-chamber, stood in the greater court of the Castle,—so there seems plainly to have been, also, in the Great Court, according to Homer's idea of this sort of palace, a

and supported by wooden pillars;—with windows, or openings in its sides, *so high up*, that no one could get out at them.—The floor of this room, seems to have been nothing more than the natural soil, made

spacious room, built on posts of wood, smooth'd and polished;—with a porch at its entrance;—and round which apartment the guests, the Suitors, sat, as it should seem, with each one a small table before him.—A room, in short, that gives us much more the idea of one of those places of entertainment described in Wallis's, and Cook's Voyages to the South Sea, at Otaheitee, and in the Friendly Isles,* than of any of those Great Norman Halls that were so magnificently brought into use, in the Courts of Castles, in this Country, in the age of the Edwards, as shall be hereafter shewn.

There is not, in any one part of the Odyssey, an entire complete description of this room;—but we are left to form our idea of it, from short intimations, in a variety of passages. —These are so very numerous; and each so trifling; that there would be no end hardly of enumerating them, nor any excuse for fatiguing the attention with the perusal of them. —But it is proper to observe, that although Pope, in his translation of those passages, speaks of domes; marble pillars; inlaid floors; and of porticos:—no such things are found mentioned in the original: but on the contrary, Homer speaks of mere wooden posts; of a floor that might have a trench easily cut along it with a sword; and of an high wooden threshold, at the entrance, on which a man might even sit.

A very few passages, just to shew this, are subjoined.

The entrance of *Ulysses*, into this place of entertainment, is thus described,

> Next came *Ulysses*, lowly at the door,
> A figure despicable, old, and poor,
> In squalid vests with many a gaping rent,
> Propt on a staff, and trembling as he went.
> *Then, resting on the threshold of the gate,*
> *Against a cypress pillar lean'd his weight:*
> (Smooth'd by the workman to a polished plain),
> The thoughtful son beheld, and called his swain. Book xvii. l. 410.

And, on another occasion, afterwards, the entrance of Penelope is thus described,

> Full *in the portal* the chaste queen appears,
> And with her veil conceals the coming tears. Book xxi. l. 65.

But in the original we more plainly read, that Ulysses coming to the place,—*sat himself down upon the* ASHEN *threshold, just within the door; and leaned himself against a Cypress post,—which a workman had polished skilfully, and set upright in its place.*

> Ἵζε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνε οὐδὸν ἔσω θυράων,
> Κλινάμενος σταθμῷ κυπαρισσίνῳ, ὃν πρὸ τέκτων
> Ξέσσεν ἐπισταμένως, καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνε. Lib. xvii. l. 339.

And as to the Queen's standing,—*in the portal*,—as Pope calls it;—we merely read, in Homer, in like manner, *that the Queen stood by the post*,—παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,

* See Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 462; Pl. No. XXII. Vol. II. p. 265; Pl. No. VII; and Cook's last Voyage, Pl. No. XX.

smooth, and level.—And there seem to have been placed a number of small wooden tables; (nearly one before each guest):—and also a number of low benches, (or *Triclinia*), covered with carpets.

15thly.—Either standing against the *wooden walls* of this hall, or else hung up all round upon them, were many old spears, shields, and helmets.*

—*of the well built shed*:—for that is what the word most properly signifies:—τεγος, being merely radically, *tectum*,—*a covered building*. Lib. xxi. l. 59.

And, in like manner, in another place, we find the very same plain expression used by Homer; (lib. xvi. l. 415,) where Pope translates it, without the least authortiy,

Full where the dome its shining valves expands,
Sudden before the rival pow'rs she stands. Book xvi. l. 430.

And so again, (Book xviii. l. 247.) And in Homer, (Lib. xviii. l. 208,) where the antient Bard repeats exactly the same words.

As to the floor of this building;—Pope indeed says, describing the baffled *Leoides* as setting down the bow,

Thus speaking, on the floor the bow he plac'd,
(With *rich inlay the* various floor was grac'd.) Book xxi l. 171.

But this fine description *of inlay*, is flatly contradicted, by Pope's own previous account, of the manner in which *a trench* was cut in this floor, by Telemachus, to place the rings for shooting.

He spoke; then rising, his broad sword unbound,
And cast his purple garment on the ground.
A trench he opened; in a line he placed
The level axes, and the points made fast. Book xxi. l. 125.

And in the original, instead of reading of any *rich inlaid floor*, we are merely told, (Lib. xxi. l. 164,) that *Leoides* (or rather *Leiodes*) *set down the bow, leaning against the well glued, well polished tables*.

Κλίνας καλλητῆσιν εὐξέστης σανίδεσσιν.

And as to the digging the trench we are told, that he not only dug τάφρον *a trench;* but that γαῖαν ἔναξε, *he made the earth, or ground, smooth and level*. Lib. xxi. l. 122.

And yet that the whole was done *within* this shed, or building, and not on the outside; is obvious; because the Suitor's sat still in their places, to view the contest, and trial of skill: and most of them remained sitting in their places, to look on, when Ulysses himself shot through all the rings, and fixed his arrow in the door, which was shut; and when, immediately afterwards, he began the slaughter. See in Pope, Book xxi. l. 458, 464: in Homer, Lib. xxi. l. 420, 422.

* 15thly.—In this large room, or shed, we find were *laid*, or hung up, all the old javelins, shields, and helmets, till they were purposely removed by Telemachus, by the command of Ulysses.—Pope says,

These glittering weapons, ere he sail'd to Troy,
*Ulysses* view'd with stern heroic joy;

And 16thly.—This outer building, and sort of hall, seems to have been placed in the court, *so near the Keep Tower*,* that in consequence of the open windows in this hall, and of the loop windows in her

> Then, beaming o'er th' illumin'd wall they shone:
> Now dust dishonours, all their lustre gone. Book xvi. l. 308.

And again,

> The scatter'd arms that hung around *the dome*
> Careful he treasur'd in a private room. Book xxiv. l. 195.

But Homer merely says, that Ulysses directed Telemachus, to remove *to the upper bed-chamber, whatever martial arms lay about the buildings*, Lib. xvi. l. 284,—and that Telemachus *had taken away the beautiful arms, and put them in the bed-chamber*, Lib. xxiv. l. 164;—and there is not a word said, either of their *hanging against any wall*;—or of their *hanging around any dome*.

* 16thly.—Lastly, it deserves to be remarked, as a proof that this room of entertainment built of timber, had large open windows, and was *near* the Keep Tower;—that Penelope is described, as over-hearing, in her apartment above, where she sat concealed, what the Suitors said below.—For she must evidently have heard, by means of some small loop window, in her apartment in the Keep Tower; and by means of such large open windows in this room beneath:—or else by means of its being built, as a large shed, open all round near the top:—Pope says,

> Nigh, in her bright alcove, the pensive Queen
> To see the circle sat, of all unseen. Book xx. l 463.

But, as has been already remarked, (p. 112,) Homer only says, (Lib. xx. l. 387,) *that when the Queen had placed her neatly adorned stool properly, she over-heard all the men said in the building*.—A very simple, and almost a ludicrous description of the whole rude scene;—and exactly consonant to such gratification of curiosity, as might sometimes take place, in one of the Castles of *Mingrelia*, or *Circassia*, described by Chardin.

It only remains, in justice to add, that where Pope describes the Suitors, on the beginning of the slaughter, as running through *various rooms*,—(as if there were *some such* rooms adjoining,—we find no such intimation in the original.

Pope indeed says,

> The dreadful *Ægis* blazes in their eye;
> Amaz'd they see, they tremble, and they fly:
> Confus'd, distracted, *thro' the rooms* they fling,
> Like oxen madden'd by the breeze's sting. Book xxii. l. 332.

But Homer only says, (Lib. xxii. l. 299, and 307, 308,) that they *trembled throughout the whole building like frightened oxen*; *and rushing, beat about every way*, to find if they could get out.

Having gone through this description of the whole palace; it will be somewhat curious, on the present occasion, to attend a little to Homer's description of the very rude mode of feasting, and dwelling therein;—which we shall find to have been not very unlike to that of the antient Britons.

We are told, by Mr. Pope, that the seats or benches, were covered with purple coverings.

small chamber, in the Tower, Penelope could over-hear the conversation.*

The seats with purple cloathe in order due;
And let th' abstersive sponge the board renew. . . Book. xx. l. 188.

And still more expressly by Homer himself, (Lib. xx. l. 150,) that *the Thrones*, or rather *Triclinia*, were covered *with purple tapestry, cast upon them.*

And we are further given to understand, (consistently with the Eastern custom which Chardin represents as still prevailing in his time, Vol. I. p. 141, Pl. V.) that there was *a small, low table,—or sort of stool,*—placed before each guest, on which viands were successively placed.—For we find *Antinous*, on one occasion, flinging that which stood before him, at the head of Ulysses.—And the next day, when he was shot through with the arrow, spurning his little table, with all its load, from his feet. As to the former instance, we read,

Take that, ere yet thou quit this princely throng:
And dumb for ever be thy sland'rous tongue:
He said, and high the whirling tripod flung. Book xvii. l. 545.

The original words in Homer, however, (Lib. xvii. l. 462,)—Θρῆνυν ἑλὼν βάλε δεξιὸν ὦμον —may perhaps only imply, that *Antinous took up the stool, and struck Ulysses on the shoulder*; but this equally shews the smallness of this sort of table:—as does its being so easily spurned away afterwards, though loaded. (Lib. xxii. l. 20)

Grim in convulsive agonies he sprawls:
Before him spurn'd, the loaded table falls. Book xxii. l. 24.

And that there were *many* of these little tables; even one to each seat, and guest;—appears from the orders given by *Ulysses* after the slaughter, (Lib. xxii. l. 438,) *to have all the thrones, and tables cleansed with water and sponges.*

Th' offending females to that task we doom,
To wash, to scent, and purify the room.
These *(every table* cleans'd, and *every throne*,
And all the melancholy labour done),
Drive to yon court. Book xxii. l. 474.

In confirmation also, of its being the antient usage to have one couch, or seat, and one table to each guest, I may add; that Herodotus manifestly seems to speak of it as an extraordinary, and rather unusual thing; that, at the entertainment given by *Attaginus* the *Theban*, to the Persians,—*each person had not a couch, and table to himself*; but that *a Theban and a Persian were placed at each.* (Herodotus, Lib. ix, 16. p. 698, Ed. Wesselingii.)

Finally;—notwithstanding all the pompous expressions, both in the original, and in the translation of Homer, concerning the entertainments of the Suitors;—we find, in reality, that nothing could be more gross, rude, and filthy.

For besides what is said, in the beginning of this long Note;—of the Suitors sitting before the Palace gate, to divert themselves, upon the raw hides of the beasts that had been lately slain; we also find that each day, previous to their entertainment, they slew the beasts, with their own hands:

Swift to the hall they haste; aside they lay
Their garments, and succinct, the victims slay.

The preceding long chain of evidence from corresponding facts, related in history both sacred and profane, is surely sufficient to

Then sheep, and goats, and bristly porkers bled,
And the proud steer was o'er the marble spread. Book xvii. l. 199.

And again,

From council strait th' assenting peerage ceas'd,
And *in the dome* prepar'd the genial feast.
Dis-rob'd, their vests apart in order lay,
Then all with speed succinct the victims slay;
With sheep and shaggy goats the porkers bled,
And the proud steer was on the marble spread.
*With fire prepar'd they deal the morsels round.*
Wine rosy bright the brimming goblets crown'd;
By sage Eumæus born: the purple tide
Melanthius from an ample jar supply'd:
High canisters of bread *Philætius* plac'd;
And eager all devour the rich repast. Book xx. l. 310.

The lines, in the original, in both these passages, (Lib. xvii. l. 177, and Lib. xx. l. 248;) agree very well with the translation; except, that there is not a word about any *dome;* and that Homer further intimates, that *the broil'd entrails of the beasts*, were given about to the guests, previous to the feast itself.

We find also, that, for this purpose, *the Cook* had a seat in the middle of the room;—where, Homer says expressly, (Lib. xvii. l. 331,) *he sat dividing, and giving about much flesh to the Suitors*; though Pope glosses the matter over, by saying, in a more refined manner,

There stood an empty seat, where late was plac'd,
In order due, the steward of the feast. Book xvii. l. 404.

And in the midst of this sort of entertainment;—where the lordly Suitors had stripped, and killed the beasts for themselves;—where the cook sat at the fire, in the midst of the room, broiling the meat, and giving it round to the guests;—where stood a great jar of wine, into which the goblets were *dipped*;—and where stood several chests, or canisters of bread;—we find the wealthy, and polite *Ctesippus*, hurling a greasy ox foot at the head of the poor apparent beggar *Ulysses*; and with great mirth and wit, setting an example to the rest of the noble guests to do the same.

The sentence I propose, ye peers, attend:
Since due regard must wait the Prince's friend,
Let each a token of esteem bestow:
This gift acquits the dear respect I owe;
With which he nobly may discharge his seat,
And pay the menials for the master's treat.
He said; and of the steer before him plac'd
That sinewy fragment at Ulysses cast,
Where to the pastern bone by nerves combin'd

evince, from whence old *British Castles*, so totally unlike any thing either *Roman*, *Saxon*, or *Norman*, must have derived their origin.

The well-horn'd foot indissolubly join'd;
Which whizzing high *the wall unseemly sign'd*. Book xx. l. 359.

Such was the mode of feasting, in this great room, built on tall posts, in the court of the Castle; where, besides *the unseemly mark* just mentioned on the wall, we may perceive there was as much filthiness, and nastiness, apparent in every respect, as could well be contrived.

Well therefore might poor old Nurse *Euryclea* have exclaimed, as Pope has it,

What marks of luxury the marble stain; Book xx. l. 186.

though, to say the truth, there is no such exclamation, nor any such words, in Homer.

It deserves only to be observed, as a further proof of the simplicity of the household establishment of *Ulysses*, and of the plain manners of the age; that the maid servants were all employed, in spinning, and similar works.—Old *Euryclea*, who had the charge of them, gives this account of their number, and employment, to *Ulysses*, according to Pope.

Then she. In these thy kingly walls remain
(My son) full fifty of the handmaid train,
Taught, by my care, to cull the fleece, *or weave*,
And servitude with pleasing tasks deceive. Book xxii. l. 458.

But Homer says merely, that she taught them *to work works*; and to spin wool, (lib. xxii. l. 422, 423.)

And of these damsels, those who had not behaved amiss, and who were therefore spared; were, after the execution of the rest, ordered by Ulysses, to dress and adorn themselves; and to dance to the sound of *Phemius's* harp;—in order to deceive, by the joyful noise, the inhabitants of the town; and to prevent their rising in sedition to avenge the death of those who had been slain.—Pope translates the passage,

And bid *the dome* resound the mirthful lay;
While the sweet Lyrist airs of rapture sings,
And forms the dance responsive to the strings.
That hence th' eluded passengers may say,
Lo! the Queen weds! we hear the spousal lay.
Thus spoke the King: th' observant train obey,
At once they bathe, and dress in proud array;
The Lyrist strikes the string; *gay youths advance*,
And fair-zon'd damsels form the sprightly dance.
The voice, attun'd to instrumental sounds,
Ascends the roof; *the vaulted roof rebounds*;
Not unobserved: the Greeks eluded say,
Lo! the Queen weds! we hear the spousal lay! Book xxiii. l 152, 158, &c.

But it is to be observed, that, in the original, there is not one word either about *any dome*, or any *vaulted roof*;—or concerning any *gay youths* joining in the performance.—For Homer only intimates, that the damsels made a noise, by the beating of their feet, to resemble the sound both of men and women dancing: (Lib. xxiii. l. 146.) And the whole description may well bring to mind, even the old Welch mode of footing it to the harp.

There can scarce be a doubt, but that other Castles, besides those already referred to, must have been reared by the *Britons* upon this plan, both in Cornwall, and in some other parts of this Island.

And indeed, such seems to have been *Tintagel*, or *Tindagel* Castle, in Cornwall;—where tradition affirms *King Arthur* was born;—and where he resided about the latter end of the fifth Century.

It stood towering on a lofty insulated rock, separated from the main by a deep chasm.—And amongst its ruins the most remarkable *still* are,—a circular garreted wall pierced with small *square holes* (as at *Karnbre*) for discharging arrows, surrounding a small court;—and (as I have been well informed by a most intelligent eye witness) the lower part of *a circular Tower*, with very thick walls, built originally of slate, and containing a space within of not above 20, or 22 feet in diameter.—Until near *Leland's* time, also, there still remained to this insulated part of the rock, a Postern door of iron;—the only possible outlet, or means of descent, to the surrounding ocean.

The cliffs all around it are hideous;—and it was joined to the main land, only by a draw-bridge over the frightful chasm of separation.—But, in later ages, on the main land, an addition was made of two other courts.—And it continued to be a place of residence for the Dukes of Cornwall, to the time of Richard King of the Romans, son of King John; who entertained here his nephew, David Prince of Walés, about A. D. 1240, or 1250.

There is a natural cavern under this Castle, from one side of the

Τοῖσιν δὲ μέγα δῶμα περιστοναχίζετο ποσσὶν
Ἀνδρῶν παιζόντων, παλλιζόνων τε γυναικῶν.

The translation of all these passages has been given from *Pope*;—both for the sake of correcting fairly the errors therein; and for the sake of rectifying those mistaken ideas, which his Poem might convey to the minds of many:—ideas so inconsistent with the history of antient manners, and of antient buildings.—I shall be exceedingly concerned, however, to have been found at all severe, in any remarks upon the lines of so admirable a Poet.—The world at large, who are not conversant in the original Greek of *Homer*, are unquestionably greatly indebted to our celebrated harmonious translator, for giving them any idea at all of the beautiful compositions of that sublime antient Bard, in a translation which certainly is, in itself, notwithstanding any of its defects, a most elegant, and captivating Epic Poem.—But even *Mr. Pope* himself could not but have wished to have had the accuracy of *Homer's* ideas, and his plain delineation of antient customs, more fully elucidated:—and *that* could not be done, without taking the liberty that has been taken in these pages.

insulated rock, to the other; through which, during storms, the roaring sea dashes furiously; and through which boats might formerly pass, at high water;—but some fragments, fallen down, now obstruct such passage.*

Traces, of such *British Keep Towers*, (and especially when they were of an inferior kind,) can hardly be expected to remain, in parts of the country, where the *Saxon* magnificence of *Alfred's* days, and the *Dano-Saxon* grandeur of *Canute's*, and the subsequent *Norman* prodigious piles, rendered such sort of structures deserted, and insignificant, and only a prey to waste, and ruin;—or even caused them to be pulled down;—but yet, here and there some fragments are found, which may justly be suspected, to have been remains even of some of those *smaller British Towers*, which *Gildas*† so energetically described, as having been burnt, and thrown down, on the inroads of the Saxons.

Amongst these we may perhaps now, without scruple, reckon, a small circular remain, near *Lyme* in Dorsetshire, whose diameter within, is only about 14 feet, and whose walls are near 5 feet thick; —and another small remain, about two miles from *Biddeford*, on the road to *Hartland*, of much the same dimensions;—and in which latter is found a setting in of the wall, somewhat like that at *Conisborough*, for the support of a floor above.

The present appearance in this latter, of a door-way on the ground, when it comes to be examined, proves only to have been a rude breach, or ruin in the wall: for neither in the one building, or the other, does there ever appear to have been originally, any entrance whatever, on the ground.

The one, near Lyme, is represented, Pl. XVI. fig. 1;—and the other, Pl. XVI. fig. 2.‡

I cannot but also entertain the same sort of suspicion, as to its origin, with regard to a singularly curious remain of an old round Tower, near *Saffron Walden* in Essex.

* See Maton's Observations, Vol. I. p. 260; and Borlase's Antiquities, p. 352; and Description of England, Vol. II. p. 234.

† See before, page 49; and Gildas Epist. Sec. xxiii. p. 55.

‡ I was favoured with both these drawings, and the account, by my worthy friend the Rev. *Thomas Rackett*, to whom I am indebted for other very curious communications.

FIG 1



FIG. 2



*Remains near Lyme & near Biddleford.*

Camden seeks no higher for its origin than the time of the *Normans;*—and attributes the building to the *Magnavilles,** to whom the Empress *Matilda* gave this Castle:—but Doctor Stukeley† much more properly, concludes both the choice of the spot, and the structure, to have been *British.*—It is a round building of but small diameter, in comparison of any *Norman* Castle, with exceeding thick walls; but standing without any Mount, and on the level ground, like a *Mingrelian* Castle.

Imitations, of these *Syro-Phœnician, British Castles,* would unquestionably creep gradually into other parts of this Island;—and accordingly, in Scotland, at the very place where *Boethius*‡ says King *Duncan* was murdered, about the year 1040, near *Inverness,* was a very antient Castle, on an high natural eminence, which appears§ to have been surrounded with an inner wall of inclosure, very near to it, and somewhat in the manner of Launceston.

And further, and even more than any other illustrative of the nature and use of *the well,* sometimes found in the centre of such Towers, is one at *Kildrumy Castle,* in Scotland:—where, in a very antient Tower, all the floors were left open in the middle; through which passed a massy chain, suspended at the top, and reaching down to the bottom, for the more commodiously raising the water for the use of the upper apartments;—which chain some old men, who were there when Mr. Cordiner visited it, perfectly remembered, as they did the deep well that was underneath.‖

But, unquestionably, the greater number of remains, in different degrees upon the *Old British,* and *Syro-Phœnician* plan,¶ are most reasonably to be expected to be found in *Wales*; where every British

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 46.

† In a Letter to Roger Gale. See Gale's Letters, p. 112.

‡ Boethius, Lib. xii; and Fordun, Lib. iv. cap. 44, 45; and Buchan. Lib. vii.

§ See a representation, from a drawing by Mr. Tomkins, in Mr. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 160.

‖ Cordiner's Antiquities of Scotland, p. 16.

¶ As so many skilful *British* builders were removed from *Britain* to the Continent, about the time of the Emperor *Honorius,*** it is not at all impossible, but that they might even *there* have helped to rear some Castles, upon their old British plan:—for it is very

** See before, p. 47.

custom, both in mode of building, and in mode of living, was most tenaciously preserved.

Amongst these may be reckoned *Castell Prysor*, in *Meireoneddshire;* which Mr. Pennant* took to be a Roman work, merely because multitudes of coins and urns have been found near it.—This, however, (as has been already remarked in other instances) is only a proof that the Romans at some time or other occupied this strong *British Post*.—The plan, and the kind of building, is as unlike to any thing *Roman*, as it is to any thing *Norman*.

It was placed, as *Launceston* Castle is, on a natural conical rock; which appears, at first sight, like an artificial mount.—And around the summit of this rock was formerly a wall; whose remains are visible in several places.—And in one part is the appearance of a round tower.—The facings of the wall Mr. Pennant says are very regular; but the work is destitute of mortar.—Around the base of the hill also appear the foundations of several buildings, which were placed there, to enjoy the protection of the Castle.

Another instance of this kind may fairly be understood to be met with in *Castell Dolbadern, in Caernarvonshire*.—Its ruins consist of the remains of a round Tower, and of a few fragments of walls;—situated on the loftiest part of a conical rocky hill, overhanging

remarkable, that in many parts of Piedmont, and Lombardy, is often found, as a principal part of an antient Castle, a round, or multangular, tall *Keep Tower*, *standing on a small steep talus of stone work*, something like that at *Conisborough* in Yorkshire;—and, like it, of small diameter.

On the side of the *Danube* also, are several ruins of old Castles, *placed on conical hills*,—or on the projecting precipices of mountains, cut off from the land by deep ditches.—The construction of some of these, and the re-edification of others, we are expressly told, by *Procopius*, was in the time of *Justinian* (*i. e.* about A. D. 520, or 530,) therefore certainly *after* the exportation of the *British* architects. Procopius de Ædif. cap. xiii.

As the introduction of what is called *Gothic* architecture, on the Continent, we shall hereafter find, was subsequent to the introduction of *Gothic* architecture in *Britain*;—and as all the Northern parts of Europe,—Russia,—Sweden,—Norway,— and Prussia,—and most parts of Germany, had regular architecture introduced amongst their inhabitants, long subsequent to the rest of Europe; so there is every reason to conclude, that all these sort of Castles, on the Danube, as well as several of those in Lombardy, and Piedmont, were subsequent to those which have been mentioned, as reared in *Britain* upon the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* plan.

* See Journey to Snowdon, p. 102.

the water, and Vale of *Nant Beris*.*—The whole was constructed with the thin laminated stones of the country, cemented with very strong mortar without shells;—and the inner diameter of the Tower was only 26 feet.—The founder, Mr. Pennant justly observes, is unknown; but was evidently some old Welch Prince;†—(I may add,) whose work was totally unlike to, and could never, by an accurate observer, be confounded with any thing either Roman, or Norman.

*Castell Dinas Bran*, in Denbighshire, may also justly be reckoned as one of the primitive Welsh Castles.‡—The founder is utterly unknown, but it is known that it existed as a Castle, in *British* times.—It stands towering amidst the clouds, on the summit of a vast conoid rock, steeply sloped on every side.—A wall surrounds the summit of the hill, inclosing remains of several buildings; amongst which the most characteristick, are the remains of a strong, small, round Tower. It was the residence of *Griffin ap Madoc*, so late as the reign of Henry III.§

*Hawarden* Castle, in Flintshire, appears also to have been, in its most antient part,—the *Keep Tower*,—somewhat of the same kind.‖ —Its old British name *Penar Lak*, or *Pennardha Lawg*, or *Pennard halawg*, speaks its existence in British times;—and its plan, which Mr. Pennant has given us, shews its narrow circular gallery, or passage, something like that at Launceston, all round the Tower.

The very antient *double Tower* (as it is called) of *Flint Castle*, seems in like manner, to have been of the same kind; and prior in its existence to the rest of the Castle;—from which it even stands insu-

* See Pennant's Snowdonia, Pl. VIII. p. 156, and 157.

† Some of these Castles may very well be conceived to have been prior to the Roman times, notwithstanding the silence of Roman authors concerning them.—For they really were hardly acquainted with any thing about *Wales*.—It is manifest from Strabo's words, (Lib. iv. Vol. I. 201, p. 307,) that he knew little or nothing of *Ireland*; and as little of the Western part of Britain, either *Cornwall*, or *Wales*, or of the *neighbouring islands*.—For speaking both of the one, and of the other, he fairly says,—περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφὲς, —*concerning which we have nothing to say with sufficient knowledge*.

‡ In Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 279, is a very curious representation of it.

§ Gough's Camden, Vol. II. 576, 585.

‖ Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 89, 100; and see the additional plan, annexed to the *Snowdonia*.

lated, and detached, at one corner.—It is circular; and its diameter within is only about 20 feet:—but something like *Launceston*, it has a circular gallery, or passage, 8 feet broad, running all round; only, being built in later days, this is arched over.—Camden says,* *this Castle* was begun by Henry II. and finished by Edward I.;—but this surely can be true only of the other, and more extended parts of the Fortress, from which this Keep Tower even stands separted, and insulated; for in all the well known structures of Edward I. I am not aware of any thing similar to this Tower.

Last of all, to avoid unnecessary enumeration, (for there certainly are others of the kind) deserves to be mentioned, *Castle Gogh*, in Glamorganshire;—which though it retains some traces of the *Phœnician* plan, yet has great deviations, that point out a very much later age than *Launceston*;—but it is in every respect so curious, that it would be an omission not to describe it particularly:—both because of its partial connection with the *Phœnician* plan; and also because it serves to shew how easily those Castles of a later age, may be distinguished from the others, by means of their different kind of arches, notwithstanding any partial similarity of plan.

Leland seems to have seen it only at a distance.†—It stands towering, near the summit, of an high thickly-wooded mountain, frowning on the roaring Taff beneath:—having the best ascent to it, through thick underwood; and by a path so slippery, with soft clay, and trickling little rills, that on advancing one pace, a traveller is in danger of sliding several paces backward; and in truth we should hardly have reached the little plain on which the Castle stands, but by the aid of a bare-footed Welch woman; by whose mantle we were towed along, whilst she trod as firm as the goats on the neighbouring precipices, and derided the use of boots and shoes.

Some idea of the peculiar situation, and appearance of this Castle, is endeavoured to be conveyed in Pl. XVII.

And Pl. XVIII, fig. 1. is a general plan, of what appears on reaching the little plain, where this deserted den of rude greatness stands.—From its apparent remains, at first glance, of three Towers, it has some little distant resemblance of *Tre-twr:* but in reality here

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 588. † Itin. IV. p. 57.



*CASTLE GOGH.*

seem to have been originally four small Towers;—two round, and two square.

At (K) is the Keep, hanging over the steep side of the mountain, and looking towards the river *Taff*, to the west.—And at (L), is another similar Tower; which seems to have been a sort of appendange to the Keep, and to have contained apartments for lodging:—and these two Towers were connected by means of a much lower circular wall (x x x x), surrounding a small inner court (M), 54 feet 10 inches in diameter; which wall had a walk, or covered way on the top, with great battlements still remaining, and with long narrow loops in the battlements themselves, after the old Welsh mode.—The semicircular part (x x x x) remains still almost entire;—but the other dotted part is nearly destroyed, and only to be traced by its foundations.—

From this small circular court, at (R) is a steep descent, by steps, to a subterraneous passage down the mountain, leading to a sally port now choaked up.—And beyond this circular court is another small outward court, almost square; a part of whose walls (s s s s) are now destroyed, and only to be traced by fragments of the foundations;—but a part remains almost entire at (W), as does a small square Tower at (N); whilst the foundations of another corresponding one may be traced at (y).

At (T T) are remains of a building, which appears to have served as a sort of hall; but in latter days has been divided into lesser apartments.—And the original gate, of the Castle, there is reason to think, was in the ruined wall, about (Q); though no traces of it now remain.

Such was the general plan of this Welsh Stronghold, so truly situated like a Falcon's nest:—but the most curious parts were the two round towers, manifestly designed as the apartments for residence.—And of these, that marked (K) hangs over the steep part of the mountain, and is supported by a great triangular buttress.

Pl. XIX. fig. 1, shews the ground plan of this Tower.—Its diameter within, is only 18 feet 7 inches; but its walls are 9 feet thick, the rest of the dimensions are added, as I took them, with as much exactness as possible.—The door of entrance, to the ground apartment, is at (b):—and close to it, on the left hand, is an ascent,

by a very steep flight of steps, on the outside, to the door of the principal apartment above, at (a).—And on the right hand, at (d), is another door, leading down to the dungeon beneath, by another steep flight of steps; having very peculiar *hanging arches*, one behind another, over-head, something in the manner of those at *Caerphilly* Castle, which will be hereafter described.—A sketch, to explain the nature of them, is given, Pl. XVIII. fig. 2.

On entering the door of the apartment on the ground; in the midst of the passage on the right hand, is the entrance of a long narrow gallery in the wall, leading to a loop (Z), commanding the small narrow plain on the rock.—This gallery is only 2 feet 10 inches wide; but is 19 feet 9 inches long; and has a double bending, so that the protection of the loop, though different from the Norman modes, is the strongest that can well be imagined.

At (W) is a narrow window, which looks directly over the precipitous part of the mountain towards the *Taff;* and has a recess, (or sort of oriol) 6 feet 11 inches wide, and 8 feet 10 inches long, leading to it, arched above with ribbed arches;—as is also another still larger recess (y),—7 feet 2 inches wide, and 9 feet 4 inches long, leading to another window, looking over another precipitous part of the steep; and therefore safe from all assault.—Thus securely placed, towering on the rock, this room (though on the ground) was certainly designed as a principal and dignified apartment for residence, and therefore has a fire place at (c).

Totally distinct, and separate from this room, and from the dungeon beneath, is the ascent, on the outside of the Tower, to the door of the upper room at (a).—The plan of this room is given Pl. XIX. fig. 2 —where (e) is a long narrow passage of entrance.—And at (f), is a recess (or oriol); larger, and wider than either of those beneath, and having, at the end, a much larger window.—At (h) is another recess; and another window looking over the steep and precipitous part of the mountain:—and at (l) is a small loop-hole; commanding the narrow ridge on the brink of the precipitous part. —And at (p) is a small closet, within the thickness of the wall.—But the most remarkable circumstance in this upper apartment is, that though its diameter is not much above 19 feet, yet there are no less than *three distinct fire hearths* in it, marked (1. 2. 3).—A strong

Fig 2



Fig 3

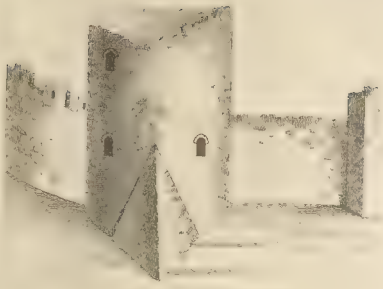


Fig 1

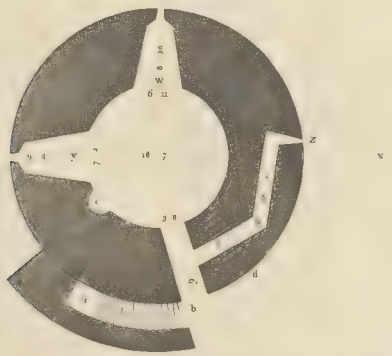


CASTLE GOGH.

Fig 2.




Fig 1.




*Plan of Keep of Castle Gogh.*

proof that it must have been used, sometimes as a sort of kitchen; or at least, on some occasions, for culinary purposes;—and (as the *Welsh*, as well as the *Scotish*, *Caledonian* Chieftains, and *Mingrelian* Princes, retained primæval antient manners, and customs, to the latest ages) reminding us of those days, described by *Homer*, when to be able to dress his own dinner skilfully, was esteemed one qualification of *an Hero*.*

* It is impossible to forget the so fully detailed description, of the skill of *Patroclus* in this point,

——— *Patroclus* o'er the blazing fire,
Heaps in a brazen vase three chines entire;
The brazen vase *Automedon* sustains,
Which flesh of porket, sheep, and goat contains:
*Achilles* at the genial feasts presides,
The parts transfixes, and with skill divides.
Mean while *Patroclus* sweats the fire to raise;
The tent is lighted with the rising blaze:
Then, when the languid flames at length subside,
He strows a bed of glowing embers wide,
Above the coals the smoaking fragments turns,
And sprinkles sacred salt from lifted urns;
With bread the glitt'ring canisters they load,
Which round the board *Menætius'* son bestow'd
Himself, oppos'd t' Ulysses full in sight,
Each portion parts, and orders ev'ry rite,
The first fat off'rings, to th' immortals due
Amidst the greedy flames *Patroclus* threw;
Then each, indulging in the social feast,
His thirst and hunger soberly represt. Iliad, Book ix. l. 271.

These lines of Pope's convey, more closely than is usual with him, the idea of rough manners, described in the original words of Homer;—even approaching by that means, in one part, to what may be deemed, in modern times, somewhat burlesque;—but yet the description, literally translated, would appear coarser still:—whilst, nevertheless, in truth, it only becomes an illustration of that simplicity of the most antient times, and manners, which was the very counterpart of what has often been found to continue even to very late ages, in such parts of the world, as from their rugged and mountainous, or secluded situation, have been out of the way of what is deemed refined civilization.

The plain substance of the account (in Lib. ix. l. 205, &c.) is literally, that on the arrival of the guests, *(Ajax*, and *Ulysses,)* at the tent,

*Patroclus, the son of Menætius, at the request of Achilles, placed a vast dish, (or charger) before the fire, and then put into it the back of a sheep, and of a fat goat; and also cast in the back of a porker, rich in fat.—That Automedon came and held up each piece of meat to the noble Achilles,*

Some appearances remain of there having been another apartment over this;—but no decided traces of its floor, or of the bottom of its windows are to be seen.—The floor of the room we have just been describing, is supported by stone arches, meeting in the centre of the circular vaulted apartment beneath

The other round Tower (L), Pl. XVIII. fig. 1. is very nearly of the same dimensions, and of the same construction; only it has not such fire hearths: and being next the little plain that is formed on this part of the mountain, it is more strongly guarded at bottom; having two narrow galleries within its circular wall, longer than those in the former Tower, and leading to two loops, as shewn in the plan.

From the æra of the building of *Launceston* Castle then, down to that in which *Castle Gogh* was reared, we may perceive, that, notwithstanding improvements introduced, in the interim, *by Romans, Saxons*, and *Normans*, there was still, amongst the *Britons*, and their more immediate descendants, in Wales, a species of military architecture preserved, or at least in some degree imitated, that had been derived from *Eastern ideas*, and was very unlike that of the Fortresses, or Palaces, of any of the three powerful invaders.

The mode of living of the Britons, and of their rude revellings, in these Castles, in their temporary rude wooden buildings (or

*who himself cut and divided each into small pieces, and stuck them upon skewers, or little spikes.—That the godlike son of Menætius made up a great fire; and when it had done flaming, spread about the live embers; and stuck the skewers (or little spikes) leaning over them.—Afterwards he sprinkled sacred salt, lifting up the skewers.—And after he had broiled the little bits of meat, and thrown them down upon the eating tables, Patroclus taking bread upon a tray, distributed it into neat little canisters (or boxes);—but Achilles himself distributed the meat;—and then sat himself down, against the wall, directly opposite to the divine Ulysses; and bade Patroclus his companion to sacrifice to the deities; who instantly cast into the fire the devoted pieces.*

Somewhat the same scene as this, probably passed sometimes at Castle *Gogh*;—or even by the great fire hearth in *Conisborough* Castle.—It appears that a little table, and a canister, or basket, or little box of bread, was placed by each guest; and the same custom nearly, prevailed amongst the *Britons*.

Perhaps we ought not to pass by quite unnoticed, on this occasion, as further proofs of the original simplicity of manners, and of the antient custom of having provisions dressed even by persons of the highest rank, with their own hands,—the account of *Sarah's preparing meal, and kneading it, and making cakes upon the hearth.* (Genesis, chap. xviii. ver. 6.) —Or the account of *Tamar's* being sent for, at *Amnon's* request, to bake cakes in his own apartment. (2 Samuel, chap. xiii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.)

halls) reared near *Keep Towers*, as at *Launceston*, or *Conisborough*, or placed detached, may be collected from the substance of very many particular circumstances, mentioned by a variety of antient authors; and brings to light a state of Society, and of manners, in this Island, full as rude as that of the Suitors of *Penelope;*—whilst yet the *Britons*, we well know, from the ornamental trinkets, and adornments, dug out of their graves, were no more deficient in a sort of luxury, in many articles, than were the *Grecian* Revellers;—or the *Median* Princes, under *Dejoces;* (whose rude spitting, and rough demeanour, required to be restrained by a law*);—or than the *Mingrelian* Chieftains, surrounded by their beautiful, but dirty women, † in their wooden hovels.

The manner of the *Britons*' mode of living, is so fully, and so well delineated, by *Doctor Henry*, that there scarce needs any thing to be added to his account.—It would be fastidious to attempt to give a better.—And therefore, to do justice to his merit, it deserves to be given as nearly as may be, in his own words.

‡ "The antient Britons eat only twice a-day; making a slight "breakfast in the forenoon, and a supper towards evening, when "the labours and diversions of the day were ended. §—The last "was their chief meal; at which, when they had an opportunity, "they eat and drank with great freedom, or even to excess.—On "these occasions the guests sat in a circle upon the ground, with a "little hay, grass, or the skin of some animal under them;‖—a low "table or stool was set before each person, with the portion of meat "allotted to him upon it.—In this distribution, they never neglected "to set the largest, and best pieces before those who were most dis-"tinguished for their rank, their exploits, or their riches.¶—Every

* See before, p. 17. † See before, p. 25.

‡ See Henry's History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 364.—Whilst, in justice to him, I have also subjoined the references to the passages he has cited, just as he has given them; only adding a very few casual observations.

§ Sibbald. Scotia Illustrata, p. 35.

‖ Athenæus, Lib. iv. cap. 13. p. 151.

¶ Ibid. Lib. iv. cap. 13. p. 152.—One cannot but bring to remembrance, on this occasion, the still more antient prevalence of this sort of attention, in the instances of the messes set before *Benjamin*, in *Egypt*;—and before *Saul*, in *Palæstine*. (See Genesis, chap. xliii, ver. 34; and 1 Samuel, chap. ix. ver. 23, 24.)

" guest took the meat set before him in his hands, and tearing it " with his teeth, fed upon it in the best manner he could.—If " any one found difficulty in separating any part of his meat with " his hands and teeth, he made use of a large knife, that lay in a " particular place for the benefit of the whole company. *

" Servants, or young boys and girls, the children of the family, " stood behind the guests, ready to help them to drink, or any thing " they wanted.+

" The dishes, in which the meat was served up, were either of " wood, or earthen ware, or a kind of baskets made of osiers.‡—These " last were most used by the Britons, as they very much excelled in " the art of making them, both for their own use, and for expor- " tation.§—The drinking vessels of the Gauls, Britons, and other " Celtic nations, were for the most part, made of the horns of oxen " and other animals.‖

" The feasts of the Britons, like those of the Gauls, and Germans " (in which plenty was more regarded than elegance) lasted " commonly several days, and the guests seldom retired until " they had consumed all the provisions, and exhausted all the " liquors.¶

Their liquor, before the introduction of agriculture into this Island; and in such parts where it was slowly cultivated; " was, " mead, or honey diluted with water, and fermented; which was

* Athenæus, Lib. iv. cap. 15, p. 152, and Diodorus Siculus, Lib. v. sec. 28, p. 351.

+ Diodorus Siculus, Lib. v. sec. 28, p. 351.

‡ Athenæus, Lib. iv. cap. 15, p. 152.—In describing these antient manners, we cannot but be led to the recollection of what is said concerning *Gideon's* putting the flesh of a kid, in *a basket*, and the broth *in a pot*; and bringing the whole, and placing it, *on the ground*, before his divine guest. Judges, cap. vi. v. 19.

§ Musgrove Belg. Britann. cap. 13, p. 166, 167.

‖ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. Lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 227.

¶ Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, cap. 22.—An odd piece of hospitality that still continues to be fashionable, in some parts of Wales, may perhaps justly be deemed a sort of continuation of this custom mentioned by Tacitus.—It is still not unusual, in that antient British land, to invite friends, and neighbours, *to the killing of an ox*; and to stay and feast, *till the whole is eaten up*.—At some particular places, a flag is still hoisted on a Tower, on such festival occasions; and continues flying, till the ox is eaten up, and the hospitable owner quits his mansion.

" probably the only strong liquor known to its inhabitants; as it " was to many other ancient nations, in the same circumstances.* " This continued to be a favourite beverage amongst the ancient " Britons and their posterity, long after they had become acquainted " with other liquors.—The *mead-maker*, was the eleventh person " in dignity, in the courts of the ancient Princes of Wales, and " took place of the Physician.†

" The following ancient law of that principality shews how much " that liquor was esteemed by our *British Princes:*

" There are three things in the court which must be commu- " nicated to the King, before they are made known to any other " person.

" 1. Every sentence of the Judge.

" 2. Every new song.—And,

" 3. Every cask of mead.‡

" After the introduction of *Agriculture, ale* or *beer*, became the " most general drink of all the British nations who practised that " art, as it had long been of all the Celtic people on the Continent.

" All the several nations (says Pliny §) who inhabit the West of " Europe, have a liquor, with which they intoxicate themselves, " made of corn and water. The manner of making this liquor is " somewhat different, in Gaul, Spain, and other countries, and it " is called by many various names; but its nature and properties " are every where the same. The people of Spain, in particular, " brew this liquor so well, that it will keep good a long time. So " exquisite is the cunning of mankind, in gratifying their vicious " appetites, that they have thus invented a method to make water " itself intoxicate.

" The method in which the ancient Britons, and other Celtic

* Diodorus Siculus, Lib. v. sec. 26, p. 350. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xiv. cap. 18.

† Leges Hoeli Dha, Lib. i. cap. 22, p. 43. It ought not to be forgotten, that Pharaoh's Cup Bearer, and Baker;—(or *Butler, and Baker,*) were amongst the chief of the officers of the King of *Egypt*, (Genesis, chap. xl. ver. 1, 2, 11, 13, 21.)—And that *Achiacharus* the *Cup Bearer*, was at the same time the *Keeper of the signet*, and Steward and *Overseer of the Accounts*, and *next unto Sarchedonus*, the King of *Assyria*, (Tobit, chap. i. ver. 21, 22.)

‡ Ibid. p. 311.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xiv. cap. 22, sec. 29.

" nations, made their ale, is thus described by *Isidorus*, and *Orosius*:* " The grain is steeped in water, and made to germinate, by which " its spirits are excited and set at liberty; it is then dried and " grinded; after which it is infused in a certain quantity of water; " which being fermented, becomes a pleasant, warming, strength- " ening, and intoxicating liquor.

" This ale was most commonly made of barley, but sometimes " of wheat, oats, and millet."

The idea conveyed, by Mr. Whitaker's† interesting account of the mode of dwelling of a British Chieftain, (even where the advantage of a Keep Tower was wanting,) in correspondence with all the descriptions in *Ossian*, confirms also all that has been said in the foregoing pages.

Whether the Chieftain's, or Lord's habitation was on the summit of an hill, or buried in woods near a flowing stream, the vassals, the *ambacton*, or dependents, lived in little booths, or round cabins,‡ either near the hilly mansion, or winding along the vale; and always within sight of any signal from the mansion, and within sound of the horn, or striking of the shield.—The Mansion was built of wood;—and was all of one ground story, contained in an oblong quadrangular court.—Wherein were small apartments for the immediate retainers;—little rooms for the Chieftain's abode;—and one great room (or sort of hall, similar, undoubtedly, to such wooden building as has already been described as usually erected in the court of a British Castle; and which was so cautiously protected from fire, by the laws of Howel Dha. §)—In this last, the arms of his fathers, the gifts of friends, and the spoils of enemies, were disposed in order around the walls;—and in this room, at meals, the Lord sat, with his family and his guests about him, listening to the historical song, and the five stringed harp of his bards; and quaffing liquor from horns, or from shells.‖—Whilst the burning oak sparkled

* Isidor. Orig. Lib. xx. cap. 2, p. 1317. Oros. Lib. v. p. 259.

† History of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 207.

‡ Ibid. p. 24. And Ossian, Vol. I. p. 72, 99, 129, 136, 157, 110, 165, 222, 240; Vol. II. p. 36, 71, 183, 222, &c.

§ See before p. 27, 28, of this Volume.

‖ The northern *Caledonian Britons*, most frequently made use of large shells for drinking;

in the midst of the hall;—and the winds whistled through open windows.

The venison was dressed, by being laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and covered with a layer of smooth flat stones, and another layer of fern above.—And their corn was dressed, by hand mills, or querns, till the Romans introduced the use of water-mills.*

According to Giraldus Cambrensis,+ the mode of the Britons living *in Wales*, was not much improved in the time of Henry II.

There were neither tables, nor cloths, nor napkins.—The fare was simple: the meal did not consist of various viands; but of numbers of things put together in a large dish.—And the bread was thin oat-cakes;—the family waited on the guests; and never touched any thing till they had done.—And, after all the entertainment was over, the family and their guests took their repose, on dried reeds; placed round a fire in the middle of the apartment; and covered by coarse cloths, called *brychan*, or plaid.

Putting then all the preceding circumstances together, we have a fair devellopment, not only of the origin, and of the style of their architecture; and of the first use of those antient, and now uncommon Castles, at *Launceston*, *Brunless*, *Skinfrith*, and *Conisborough;* but even of the mode of living therein.

And it is curious to mark, in what manner even the use of *ale*, and *beer*, amongst the Britons, was observed, and spoken of by the Romans.—Whilst the excess to which the abuse of those liquors was carried in the revellings at these antient mansions, is most fully described, even with the keenest severity, by the zealous *Gildas*, who lived about the year 546; and who foretold the dire destruction that would be consequent upon such a dissoluteness of manners;—and which indeed very soon ensued.

His reproofs of *Constantine*,—*Aurelius Conanus*,—*Vortiper*,—*Cuneglasse*,—and *Moglocune;*—all of them British Princes;‡—have been

and such are even still used by some of their posterity in the Highlands of Scotland. See Henry's History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 366.

* Whitaker's History of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 315, 318. Pliny, Lib. xviii. cap. 10, 11. Palladius, Lib. i. cap. 42.

+ Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 888.

‡ See the Epistle of Gildas, sec. 26.

already mentioned:*—and those of the Clergy are not less strange;+ "—who ought," he says, "to give all the common people *good* "example: but who, as it were washed in wine, (for so he calls "their strong liquor,) did, very many of them, carelessly waste them- "selves in drunkenness, and were moreover attainted with the "swelling of pride, the contention of anger, the griping talon of "envy, and the indifferent estimation of good and evil.—Who did "expell out of their houses, mothers, and sisters; and entertain "strange women;—who did covet the gluttony of their own "bellies; possessing the houses of the church, but obtaining them "for filthy lucres sake."—

Some allowance is unquestionably to be made, for the spirit of declamation, that prevailed in the age in which *Gildas* lived: —but still these words contain curious outlines of the times;— whilst the very same epistle (as has already been observed)‡ confirms the fact of the real existence of many *Towers of stone*, that were standing in those very days,§ when those rude revels were held.

* In p. 49, 50, of this Volume.—See Epistle of Gildas, sec. 16.
+ Ibid. sec. 19. ‡ See before p. 49 of this Volume.
§ Epistle of Gildas, sec. 23.

## CHAPTER II.

OBSERVATIONS ON SUCH WORKS OF THE BRITONS AS APPEAR TO BE IMITATIONS OF THE WORKS OF THE ROMANS.

Our attention may now, in the next place, most deservedly be drawn to the examination of *British imitations* of *Roman architecture*.

Yet here the less will be needful to be remarked; because, in truth, even a part of the *Saxon architecture* of the first ages (to which our attention will so soon be turned), may be considered as being also a mere imitation of Roman Works, *by the Saxons, with the aid of such Britons as were subdued, and remained under their dominion.*

I have already mentioned some suspicions, that the great gate at *Lincoln*, was rather a *British imitation* of Roman architecture; than any real work of the Romans. And such suspicions have been much confirmed, by the observations of Sir Henry Englefield,* concerning the Micklegate Bar at York.

This—Mr. Drake conceived to be a *Roman work;* merely because of its being a true segment of a circle, and formed of grit stone put together in the manner in which the Romans constructed arches.—But *such mode of construction*, is really common to several other buildings, that are unquestionably allowed to be of much later date:—and the whole of this gate being still standing clearly above the level of the adjacent ground, is almost a decided proof, that *it* must have been less antient than those truly Roman structures, which are every where, uniformly found buried in a degree under the ruins, and under the accumulations of soil, that either the devastations, or the improvements of succeeding ages have heaped together.

And as these reasons may justly lead us to conclude the *Micklegate* Bar at York not to be Roman;—so even with regard to the *Newport* gate at Lincoln, though, like true Roman remains, it is indeed buried

* Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 105.

almost to its impost;—yet, there are just reasons for deeming it to be only a British imitation.—For its being formed of stones so *rudely* laid together, apparently *without mortar or cement;* and of stones so very irregular in their dimensions; and its having no proper key-stone, but, on the contrary, three other stones, to finish it, much narrower than the rest, wedged in on one side, in a most awkward manner; whilst at the same time it is evident to the eye, that the arch is by no means a regular one;—are all proofs of its not being the work either of the Romans, whose real arches are every where found to be so nicely constructed, or of those skilful artists amongst the Britons, whom the Romans at last transported from this Island.—The very singular circumstance also, of there being laid, on each side the arch, seven courses of horizontal stones, some of which stones are six or seven feet long, and seemed placed on purpose *to take off from the pressure* upon the arch, evinces a degree of skill, inferior to that of the *Romans*.—And to these reasons may be added, that a little to the east of this gate, a part of the true old Roman wall, where mortar and cement might much rather have been spared, is found still remaining, built of stone, and cemented with very strong mortar.

The stones of which the arch of this gate is composed, are several of them four feet in length, or even more;—and others three feet seven inches, which forms the general breadth of the soffite; and some of them are sixteen inches in width.—The diameter of the arch is between fifteen and sixteen feet;—and indeed its *very name*, of *Newport*, indicates it to have been a structure of a more recent date than the old Roman walls and works adjoining.*

Of the same large dimensions, and of somewhat the same sort of rude workmanship, is also another gate, now serving as a Postern

* There is a representation of this arch, in the Archæologia, Vol. XII. p. 179. Pl. XLII. with a description of it by *Mr. Wilkins*; in which is a very curious remark, that a small piece of an impost moulding remains, on the south side, the lower part of which retains the perfect profile of the *cima-recta* moulding, which was never used by any *Saxon*, or *Norman* builders; and which induced *Mr. Wilkins* to deem it *Roman*.—With whose idea, therefore, my own idea of its being a *British imitation*, in reality concurs in substance.—I visited it in 1781.—There is also a representation of this arch in Gough's Camden, Vol. II. Pl. XIV.; and an account of it, p. 253;—and another representation in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1771, p. 200.

to the Castle at *Lincoln;* which Sir Henry Englefield justly concludes* both Normans, and Saxons, found previously built to their hands, before they constructed any Castle in this place.

It is sixteen feet wide in the clear; turned with stones two feet one half inch deep, and forty-five in number; but of no regular thickness; only much resembling the three thin stones that are so oddly wedged into the *Newport* gate.

Like the *Newport* gate also, this other great arch at the Castle has no regular key-stone;—and, like it, seems hardly to be even a regular segment of a circle.—It may justly therefore be ranked amongst hasty British imitations of Roman architecture, in those days when Britain had been drained of its more skilful workmen.—

In the same class may perhaps be placed, the remarkable irregular Castle, at *Karnbre,* in Cornwall; described by Dr. Borlase:† only excepting the alterations, and the additional part which has been made with pointed arches:—for the rest, from other circumstances than merely that of its style of building, Borlase justly, and without hesitation, declares must have been *a British structure.*

It stands on a rocky knoll, at the eastern end of Karnbre hill.—The foundation of the building is laid on a very irregular ledge of vast rocks: whose surfaces are very uneven, one part being much higher than the other; as may be plainly seen in the view which Borlase has given;—and also in one, much better, in *Maton's* Observations.‡—The rocks are not contiguous, and in consequence of this circumstance, the architect contrived as many rude arches, from rock to rock, as would be sufficient to support the connecting wall above.—The whole edifice, in consequence of this, becomes a most distorted one.—Consisting of two small ill joined towers; intended indeed to appear as square; but neither of which in reality are so:—and placed in a most oblique and awkward direction, on account of the irregularity of the rocky foundation.—One of the Towers, the antient one, has three stories;—the other has been repaired,

* See Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 380.

† Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 350, and Pl. VII. fig. A C. A D.

‡ This latter is taken from a drawing of the Rev. Mr. Rackett, to whom the world is indebted for many curious delineations of Antiquities. See Maton's Observations on the Western Counties, Vol. I. p. 241.

altered, and modernized, and has only one; because the rock this latter stands on, rises so much higher than the other rocks;—whilst the tops of both turrets are nearly level.—In the old Tower is a large *square window*, at a great height; and in other parts, the walls are pierced with small square holes (or a sort of rude loops); to descry an enemy; and to discharge arrows.

The difficult approach to this rude fortress, was however its best and greatest defence;—it being manifestly one of those erected in the most uncultivated ages; when the most rocky, hideous, inaccessible situations, were the constant choice of warlike, rough, and stern minds, wishing to be secured in inaccessible dens.

It seems, therefore, from every other circumstance, as well as from its *old arches*, and the sort of *squareness* of its Towers, to have been a work of the *Britons;* constructed in haste, in imitation of Roman works; and probably, just after the Island had been deserted by the Romans.

And that this was really the æra of its construction, seems the more probable; because, on a still more elevated part of Karnbre hill, about three hundred yards to the west, are the vestiges of a still more antient structure; called, in distinction from this, *the Old Castle*,—and which really seems, (like other *British Castles* of the very first ages, which we have described,) to have been formed upon the old Phœnician, and Syrian plan: having been *circular;* with walls of great thickness; and containing a small space within; of only twenty feet in diameter.

From *Cornwall*, we may with the utmost consistency turn our attention to *antient Wales*, to search for similar imitations.

On the summit of an high rock, about a mile from the *Dolgellen* road, on the way leading up to Snowdon, is a structure that has a remakable affinity, to that on *Karnbre hill*, in Cornwall.

It is called *Castell Corndochon*, or *Corndorkon;* it consists of one Tower, rounded at the extremity, the measure of which within is forty-three feet, by twenty-two;* and of another just behind it, of a square form; standing within an inclosed oval area, and joined to the first Tower by a straight wall.—Two sides of the rock on which this building stands are precipitous, and where it is not so,

* See Pennant's Journey to Snowdon, p. 75. And a plan in his supplemental Plates.

in the front of the Castle, is cut a deep fosse, such as is found in other truly British works.

And, in antient Wales, *at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire*, where we might well expect to meet with the best imitations of Roman architecture,—and where so many *really Roman works* did surely once exist; we find, at the very first entrance of the place, a most distinguished ruin, which has from age to age drawn the attention of the curious.

It is an old round Tower, having the walls rent;—and one considerable part now in a leaning, and inclined position;—and another part quite demolished;—as is shewn in Pl. XX. fig. 1;*—whilst yet enough remains to make it most apparent what the design of the whole originally was.

By some strange mistake, it is described, in Mr. Grose's Antiquities,+as a very small tower, fit only for a staircase; and as being joined to a straight wall.—Whereas it is of as large dimensions, as round towers on the banks of rivers for defence usually are; and stands by itself, without any antient straight wall near it.

And its use, and original design are most apparent;—for as it stands almost close to the foot of the present bridge, and therefore near where the common passage of the river must have ever been, so indeed there appears another Tower nearly opposite, on the other side of the river:—and both of them seem, most obviously, to have been designed to command and guard that passage.—This may also be concluded, still further, to be unquestionably certain;—because this passage led directly to the Castle: which was only at a very little distance.

Besides all this; the loops, which are carefully represented in the engraving, are far from being such as would have been constructed to give light to a staircase;—for they are not only of a most remarkable length, or rather height; but are formed with arched recesses, in the wall, large enough for two men to stand in them;—and where a bow might be used, *in consequence of the great length of each loop*, with dexterity, so as to command any part of the passage of the river.

* In the same Plate at (fig. 2) is represented another leaning Tower, that is at Bridgenorth, in Shropshire;—but this is of much later date, and will be described hereafter.

+ Volume V.

The arches of these recesses, which are semi-circular, are very neatly turned with stone;—but as they are, in themselves, of a construction totally different from that of the recesses belonging to *Norman loops;* so, neither in the arches, nor in the walls of the Tower, are there any of those kind of appearances of *Roman bricks*, or of *alternate courses* of any kind, or of *such species* of masonry, as can with any consistency lead us to conclude this to have been a truly Roman edifice.

We must therefore, surely deem it a British structure, built in imitation of Roman architecture.—And we may very well form such a conclusion, when we consider that *Caerleon* was, from the earliest period, one of the most civilized, and most distinguished cities in Britain; abounding with the most ingenious persons of the age; insomuch, that just before the arrival of the *Saxons*, we are told there was a school here, where two hundred persons were taught astronomy, and other sciences, and made actual observations on the motion of the stars.*—

Whether the present very curious inclined position of a part of the wall, be the effect of any attempt, in later ages, to blow up the building; or rather, as is more probable, the consequence of some defect in that part of the foundation, arising from the nature of the ground; it reminds us of what is so curiously related by our most antient historians concerning *Vortigern*, and *Merlin*, who lived nearly about the age when this Tower seems to have been constructed;—and whose history plainly evinces that, in that very age, round *Towers of stone* were actually constructed by the *Britons* themselves.

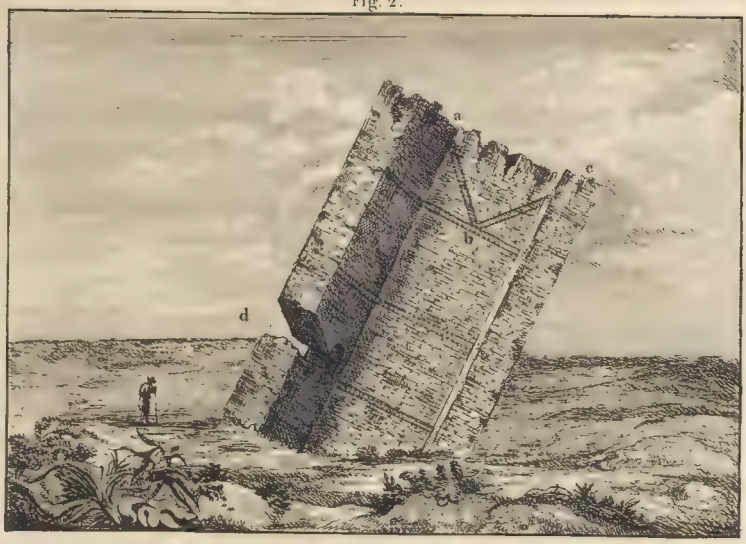
*Vortigern*, retiring into Wales, consulted his Soothsayers, or Magicians, what was best to be done;—who told him that it was advisable to build a Castle in some defensible place.—But Vortigern beginning to rear a strong Castle, the same would not stand, for default in the foundation.—Hereupon *Merlin*, a young man greatly learned, and specially in the mathematicks, was sent for;—who manifested to the King the real cause of the defect; which was, by means of an adjacent pool of water.—And after this, he was so

* This is asserted by *Alexander Elsebiensis*, a very antient author; whose book is very scarce.

Fig 1.



Fig. 2.




*Towers at Carleon and Bridgenorth*

greatly in the King's favour, that the King gave him (as *Ninius* affirmeth) a Castle, and a domain, which had been the inheritance of his own grandfather.

I have avoided repeating the idle tale of *Merlin's* being reported to have been the offspring of an *Incubus;* and of the magician's plot, to induce *Vortigern* to mix the mortar with human blood.—

These legendary tales, are too foolish to be attended to; but, in the midst of them, * we may discern, that *Merlin* was, in the barbarous age wherein he lived, just what *Friar Bacon* was, even in a subsequent, and surely less barbarous age, (that of Henry III.) wherein he lived;—a man skilful beyond others in mathematicks, and science; and on that very account alone deemed a magician:—probably he was one of the celebrated students originally at *Caerleon,* as *Bacon* was one of those at Oxford.—

But besides these sort of imitations of stone buildings, there were also, by the Britons, imitations even of *the brick work* of the Romans.—And of these there remained, until very lately, a most remarkable instance at *Dover.*—For there, in the very part of the great court of the Castle, which contained first the antient British hill-fortress, and then the Roman fortress; there stood close adjoining to the octangular Pharos, which was unquestionably *Roman,* a most curious, and venerable remain, of a Church; which *Kilburne* says,† was founded by King *Lucius,* or *Lucius Coilus;*—and *Leland*‡ affirms was the work of *King Lucius.*—Inserting these very words, —*Lucius rex fecit Ecclesiam in castro de Dovar.*—It had some strong marks of being in part even a real *Roman* building; but all antient tradition has uniformly asserted it to have been a work of the *Britons.*—This fact, indeed, has of late years been called in question, by persons of some considerable learning, and curiosity; from an idea that there was no such person as *King Lucius;*—and because the edifice was, at least in part, evidently constructed with tiles and materials that appeared to have been used before, and to have been brought from the ruins of more antient Roman walls,—as those used in the walls of the Abbey at St. Albans had been;—and because, a Saxon establishment of Monks having been formed here,

* See Holinshed, p. 84; and Caxton, and Galfride, and Fabian.

† *Kilburne's* Survey of Kent, p. 81. ‡ Itin. VII. p. 182.

so early as about 620, or 30, by *Eadbald*, the son of *Ethelbert** the first King of Kent, this affords sufficient room to conclude that the Church might have been reared at that time.—

All these reasons, however, might more justly operate a contrary way.—For though indeed there was no such British *King* as *Lucius*,—of *independant power*, in the time of the Romans ;—yet a dependant *British Chieftain*, in favour with the Romans,—their friend,—and supporter,—and who had, on this eastern shore of the Island, so near Richborough, early embraced Christianity, is very likely to have obtained credit with them, and permission to rear this edifice, to strengthen his influence with his Christian dependants, and vassals.† —And having obtained that leave, he was very likely both to imitate the Roman art of building, as well as his workmen were able ;—and to make use, in haste, of such materials as he could obtain from the Romans, either prepared for other buildings, or that had actually been used in some prior buildings on the Romans first arrival.—And those few bricks of this structure which evidently appeared so precisely formed, as to shape and dimensions, as to shew that *they* were made at that very time, and for that precise use, and for the very place where they were fixed ; only prove that a method of building somewhat different from the true Roman method was here resorted to.—And as to the early establishment of Monks in the time of *Eadbald* ;‡—that is much more likely to have taken place in consequence of this Church being found already built, than to have been the cause of its erection.—

The building, when I saw it, in the years 1774, and 1787, was in the form of a cross ; but yet not truly resembling any subsequent

* Itin. VII. p. 132.

† Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 204, 209.

‡ *Eadbald* the son of *Ethelbert the Great*, at the instigation of *Laurentius*, Archbishop of Canterbury about 620, *established Canons in the Church of Dover Castle*;—and these Canons being removed from the Castle to the Town of Dover, by the means of *King Withred*, about 690, (who built for them the church of St. Martin in the town of Dover,) continued there above 400 years.—The very words cited by *Leland*, *(Ex Chronico Dovar. monaster.)—instituit canon. in eccles. castri de Dovar*,—are an intimation, that there was a church there, *before their establishment*; and not one *built for them*; as was the case with regard to *Withred's* establishment; with regard to which, it is expressly said,—*eccles. pro eis construxit*.—Itin. Vol. VII. p. 132.

*Saxon*, or *Norman* churches:—neither had it any pillars.—The Tower in the middle, with its thick walls, had more the air of a Roman Tower of defence, than of a Church Tower.—And the great arches of this Tower, as well as the arches of such of the original windows of the church as remained, were all nicely turned, intirely with tiles, or thin bricks, like the truly *Roman* arches of the old gates at Canterbury; and in a manner very unlike any *Saxon* arches;—whilst some of the bricks, wherewith even these were constructed, appeared manifestly to have been purposely moulded, and fashioned, for the very places where they were inserted.—The corners also of the whole building were regularly formed, with Roman tiles, in an exact manner, very different from the manner in which those materials are used at St. Albans:—but yet there were not in the walls, except in one part of the Tower, such very regular alternate courses of brick and stone, as at *Richborough*,—or in the adjoining octangular *Roman Pharos*, which has already been described,*—or in other truly Roman structures.—They were, on the contrary, chiefly constructed of flints, and Roman bricks, and rude stones, mixed promiscuously.†—Stronger evidence, therefore, there could not well be, of a Work having been constructed as a designed imitation of a Roman building; and yet not by the Romans themselves;—but still at a time, when Roman architecture must have been present to the eyes of the builders.

As to the rest, these walls bore distinguished marks of successive alterations, through all succeeding ages.—And such as could never have appeared in them, had they not been of high antiquity, prior to all *Saxon* times.—Here were found, first the manifest insertion of some Saxon doors, and windows: particularly in the North porch:—in the next place, where some of the Old British Roman windows had become decayed, were seen rude *Saxon reparations*.—Afterwards there appear to have been the insertion even of *Norman* pointed arches in some parts;—and at last even of still more modern, ugly square windows;—with several of the upper parts of the walls built intirely unlike the rest.—And against the walls of the Tower, over its great arches appeared the plain marks, and

* See Vol. II. p. 159, of this Work.

† Since my visiting of the spot, I am informed the whole has been pulled down.

vestiges of there having been a regular succession of very different roofs.—First a very low pointed, nearly flattish roof;—then, above that, a second, much higher, pointed roof;—and afterwards still above this last, a third flattish roof again, on account of which the walls of the whole building, and even of the Tower itself, had been evidently raised, with new, and entirely different work;—and especially on the north and south sides; and in a manner which seemed to indicate, that even the Tower itself was not originally by any means so high as it then remained:—as in truth high Towers, or indeed any Towers at all, have not been found any where made appendages to churches, until the time of King *Edgar*.—Whatever was the inducement for placing this Tower here; with its remarkable circular great round *spying holes*, nicely formed with Roman bricks;—whether it was for defence, or as a watch Tower; it is not at all improbable but that the ornamental appearance of it, in this singular building, might first give occasion, to its introduction in other sacred structures:—for, sure enough, there is not one single instance, to induce us to believe, that *Augustin* was the person who introduced any such usage into England:—or that, before the time of *Edgar*, there was any such pattern in use abroad.—

If so,—then this Tower is a most curious proof, that the introduction of this fine ornament, was truly an original invention in this Island; as we shall have reason to believe the invention of that beautiful species of architecture, called *the pointed Gothic*, also was.

Of nearly the same age, and equally a *British* imitation of *Roman* architecture, is *St. Martin's Church*, near Canterbury; which constant tradition has affirmed to have been built about the second century.—Some have supposed it to have been built by *Roman Christians*, of the Roman soldiery;—but if that had been the case, there would surely have been found in it the *regular alternate courses* of Roman bricks.—Instead of this, the chancel is found to be built almost *intirely* of Roman bricks; and the other part with Roman bricks, and other materials irregularly intermixed.*—There is therefore the utmost reason to think, that it was built as some imitation only of Roman structures, by the *rude Britons;* before their workmen

* See some account of it in Somner's Antiquities, p. 34, and in Gosling's Walk, p. 25.

became so skilful, in Roman architecture, as they were afterwards rendered, when regularly employed by the Romans.*

There is also another very strange small structure remaining; which, as it appears to me, deserves to be classed amongst *British imitations* of Roman works.—This is to be found at *Warnford*, in the county of *Southampton*, in the gardens of the Earl of *Clanricarde*.—And is accurately described by *Mr. Wyndham*, in the Archæologia.†

*Mr. Wyndham*, plainly seeing that these ruins could not be either *Norman*, or properly what is *generally deemed Saxon*, concludes that they must nevertheless have been of the time of *Wilfrid*.—And, although there is not the least authority, in proof of *Wilfrid's* having built any church here, surmises,‡ that *Wilfrid* might possibly have erected a church in this place, about the years 679, or 685.

But, whilst all the churches, on record, said to have been built by *Wilfrid*, as far as we know any thing of them, appear to have been built in a very different style; so, in answer to the question put by Mr. Wyndham.§—"If any should still remain unsatisfied, "I may be permitted to ask, if these ruins are not the remains of "*Wilfrid's* church, what else can they more probably be deemed to "be?"—We may perhaps venture to reply:—that they may be; and most probably are; ruins of a structure reared by *rude inland Britons, in imitation of Roman architecture*;—and therefore still more curious, and more antient, than they even appeared to him.—And this idea, may indeed partly be collected, even from his own words, and description.

For according to his very curious plan,‖ the building was fifty-two

* In this antient church, is also a most curious stone font, of the first ages;—ornamented with rude carved work, in which are no legendary images, or any superstitious figures whatever.—It more resembles a great tub, than a bason;—and stands low on the floor: so that a person might much more easily step *into it*, according to the antient mode of baptizing, than stoop down to it, in order to receive the sprinkling of water.—There is a very indifferent representation of this font, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1795, Vol. LXIII. p. 321. Pl. III. fig. 4. In which, through mistaking the mode of the intersection of the semi-circular arches, it appears as if it were ornamented with pointed arches.—There is also some mention of it, in the Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 187, and Vol. XI. p. 117.

† Vol. V., p. 357.

‡ Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 363.

§ Ibid. p. 365.

‖ Ibid. Pl. XXVIII. p. 359.

feet only in length within;—and about twenty-five in breadth, between the pillars.—And between the pillars and the side walls, about ten feet;—forming a very small church, whose roof was supported by four slender pillars, having four still more slender pillasters corresponding with them placed against the end walls.

These pillars, with their pedestals, and capitals, are about twenty-six feet in height;—and their shafts are, of two of them, twenty feet, by two feet three inches in diameter: and of the other two, about twenty-one feet, by two feet nine inches in diameter.

They have no resemblance of any thing Saxon.—They are composed, like Roman columns, of large stones, of as compact and durable a substance as marble;—and their proportions, which are nearly that of eight diameters in height, approach nearer (as Mr. Wyndham justly observes)* to the proportions of Roman architecture, than to any other subsequently used for many ages in this Island.

Their capitals also, though not precisely either Tuscan, or Doric, yet approach more nearly, in form, and proportions, to Roman capitals, than any that can be found in Saxon works.

And it may be observed, that the doors have round arches over them, which are all rude, plain, and simple; without any ornamented mouldings, such as are so uniformly met with in all the earliest *Saxon* buildings.

From these circumstances therefore, I cannot but be induced to conclude, that this most curious remain (which has more the resemblance of being built in imitation of a *Roman Cavædium*,+ than of any thing else), was indeed *a British edifice*, constructed long before the time of *Wilfrid;* and most probably (like the church in Dover Castle) by permission, during the time that the Romans had dominion here; and before either the British artists were removed to the continent, or the dire days of invasion and confusion ensued.

As to what Mr. Wyndham remarks, concerning a supposed

* Archæologia, Vol. V. Pl. XXVIII. p. 364.

+ See before, in this Work, Vol. II. p. 190. Pl. $\frac{\text{XXVIII}}{9}$, No. I. the plan of *a Cavædium*, as discovered by *Mr. Lysons*, and most accurately described, by him, in his very valuable work.

similarity between the ruins of the old Conventual church at Ely, and a part of these ruins;—it ought surely to be observed, that the church built in the time of *Wilfrid*, at Ely, was so much larger as to be above an hundred feet in length, in the body; and fifty in the choir part; that is above one hundred and fifty feet in its whole length;—and that it had twenty-two pillars, instead of four;—that those pillars were only about three diameters in height, instead of eight; and their capitals truly of the kind, and rude proportions, of other *Saxon* capitals.—And that the door-ways had mouldings very much inriched, in the true *Saxon* style:*—if then *Wilfrid* really assisted *Etheldreda* in building her church at Ely, how is it possible that the same great building Prelate should have planned, or constructed, this at *Warnford*?—as then it could not be of a *subsequent age*, it must surely have been of one that was *prior* to his time.

To this curious structure at *Warnford*, there is an appendage of a much later date; which must carefully be distinguished from it. —And that is, an edifice in the front, extending the whole width of the building, and about seventeen or eighteen feet in breadth within, containing two small rooms beneath, and a gallery over them, with Gothic windows.

After the description given, in the former part of this Work, of Castles *built on the old Phœnician, and Syrian Plan*, in Cornwall, and in Wales, and in Yorkshire, it was mentioned, that there were obviously some in other parts of the Kingdom, where that sort of imitation (though, not so closely adhered to,) might yet plainly be traced,—but with so much also of the imitation of *Roman* work,

* See exact representations of the whole in Bentham's History of the Church of Ely, Pl. IV, and V. p. 29, and 34; and Pl. XLIX. fig. 4. To say the truth, the proportions of the shafts of the fine pillars of *Conrad's glorious choir*, at Canterbury, and of *Becket's* Chapel, might (although they are so much larger, and more magnificent) be much better compared with the proportions, and style, of those at *Warnford*, than these pillars of the age of *Wilfrid* at Ely.—Yet one cannot avoid seeing the real vast difference between their design, and their enriched ornaments; and these rude and simple ones at Warnford.—Whilst, their being of such great dimensions, and built of solid masonry, instead of being formed of mere blocks of stone; shews an age, and workmanship, that can never be confounded either with *Wilfrid's* buildings, or with the æra of this little *British* structure. (See a representation of the pillars in *Conrad's Choir*, in the description of the Cathedral of Canterbury, printed for Sandby, 1755, folio. Pl. III, VI, IX.

that they ought to be classed with such other structures as are to be deemed more peculiarly imitations of architecture introduced by the *Romans*.

Such blending together of the different style of building, of different ages, became unavoidable in the natural course of things. —And amongst some of the first of such kind of structures, may be named *Orford Castle*, in Suffolk :—where a plan nearly resembling *Conisborough*, and a close surrounding wall, nearly resembling that at *Launceston*, are to be found;—but where neither an elevated situation, like *Launceston;* nor a simple mode of entrance, like *Conisborough* are met with :—and in which is a style of architecture, in windows, arches, vaults, and doors, that evidently shews to us the work of a later age.

Yet of an age not much later,—for, whilst it is acknowledged by all our antiquaries, that neither the builder, nor the time of its construction, can from any records be ascertained; it is nevertheless obvious, from its plan, from its dimensions, and even from the total ignorance of the most learned concerning its original date, that it could not have been constructed within what is either legally,* or historically, called time of memory.

It could not therefore be *Norman;* notwithstanding its appearing in some places cased, with what has been deemed *Caen stone;* and to have had its *quoins* of *Caen stone;* for exclusive of the observation, that has been already made, that some stones, from their dimensions, have too hastily been deemed *Caen stone*, which certainly never were such, it may readily be allowed, that not only this one antient building, but many others may have been repaired, and cased with *Caen stone*, long after their original construction.

No *Normans*, surely, (though indeed it is true that they did generally use *that sort of stone*,) who built such magnificent structures, of such vast, and very different dimensions; and on such a very different plan, as all the Castles certainly known to be of their construction uniformly are, could well have constructed *Orford Castle*. But we may very reasonably conceive it to have been, both the structure, and the residence, of some great *British Chieftain;*—as there is

* See Hales's History of Common Law, p. 2; and Statute of Westminster I. cap. 38, where the *legal time* is fixed to the first of Richard I.

also the strongest reason to belive it was afterwards the occasional residence of the *Saxon* Kings of East Anglia;—being so remarkably in the vicinity of *Dunwich*, which was, according to *Bede*, and *Camden*,* the Old Capital, and first Episcopal See of East Anglia.—It was not more than thirteen, or at most fifteen miles distant from thence:—and the circumstance of *Anna*, one of the antient *East Anglian Kings*, slain by *Penda*, having been buried at *Blithborow*, on the same coast, very near Dunwich, corroborates such an idea.

The plan of the Castle at *Orford*, is shewn Pl. XXI. fig. 1.—And we here find an internal circular space for an apartment; very much like that of an old Syrian Castle; not more than twenty-seven feet in diameter;—whilst the outside of the Tower is formed into the shape of an irregular polygon.

We here find also three great buttresses (as at *Conisborough*) on the west, north, and south-east sides;—each buttress measuring in front about twenty-two feet, and each carried up like a little tower, and projecting outwards about twelve feet from the main building.—And in these buttress Towers are found, in the upper part of the building, small apartments, just as at *Conisborough;*—but all the lower parts are intirely solid,—and the walls, even of the inner, part of the round tower itself, are at bottom about twenty feet thick, in some parts.—We find also in this building, a little porch, or vestibule of entrance, at (d.)

This vestibule of entrance, however, instead of being simply in the Tower itself; and instead of being at the head of a steep, narrow flight of steps, projecting straight outwards, as at *Conisborough;* is in a smaller additional, and lower Tower annexed, and at the head of a flight of steps (a. b.), ascending along the side of the wall; and that almost resemble *a Norman* approach in their construction, and lead to a portal of entrance at (c.)

The Tower is about ninety feet in height; having its three turrets rising still higher:—and was divided into four stories; containing one room on each floor.—And it had a spiral staircase:—which is also a proof of its being of a later date than *Conisborough*.—The base of the building, however, projects sloping outwards, somewhat in the manner of that British Castle, and of *Skinfrith;*

* Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. 15. Gough's Camden. Vol. II. p. 76.

and of *Brunless*, as is shewn by the deeper shaded part in the plan.*

Surrounding this Tower, at the distance of about fifteen feet, was a circular ditch, shewn in fig. 2 (e e e);—and at the distance of about thirty-eight feet from the Tower, another (g g g);—both these were about fifteen feet deep, and six feet wide at the bottom; and between them was a circular wall, near forty feet in height;—of which near forty feet in length, between (f f), and of a considerable height, with battlements, is still remaining.

So that here we find an inclosure very much like that at *Launceston*, and in *Syrian* Castles.—And, what is still more remarkable, tradition says, that there was a small building, in this narrow space, between the inner ditch, and Tower, close adjoining to the Tower, (and destroyed only about forty or fifty years ago) which was called the *kettle-house;*—And therefore unavoidably reminds us of what has been said, concerning the small buildings, for the use of domestic servants, in the adjoining small circular areas in *Syrian* Castles, and in the Palace of *Ulysses*.

The first entrance was over bridges, placed about (h, h.)

*Camden* tells us,+ on the authority of *Radulphus de Coggeshale*, that this Castle was in being in the time of Henry the II.—And if so, it must have been erected very long before the conquest;—for the whole style of the building shews that no *Norman* Baron could have constructed any part of it, between the conquest and *that age;* except it were the little Tower of entrance, and the steps leading up to it.

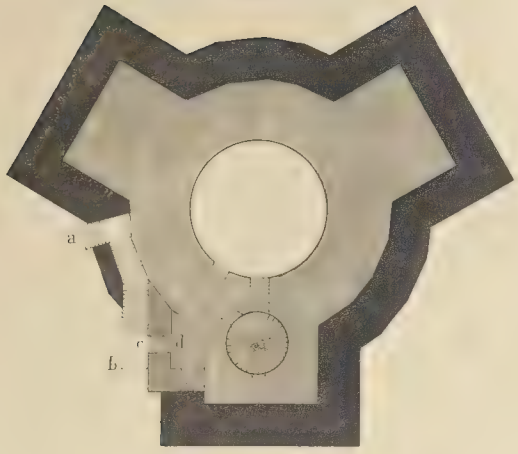
There is a strange tale concerning this Castle;—which Camden refers to the reign of *Henry* II.;—but which some other writers say was concerning an event that happened in the time of King *John*.—Whatever time it refers to, it deserves to be taken some notice of here; for the sake of remarking, that the extraordinary stories of other writers, who have delivered to us the traditions of barbarous ages, may perhaps in the end prove true, when properly analysed; as well as some of those which were once unjustly deemed odd and extravagant relations, in the History of *Herodotus*.

* There are views of the elevation of this Castle both by Buck, and by Grose, Vol. III.

+ Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 75.

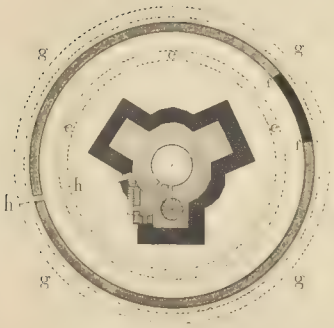
NW

Fig^r 1




NW

Fig^r 2




NW




Fig^r 3

Fig. 1. *Plan of Orford Castle.* Fig. 2 *Plan of its surrounding Walls, & Ditches.* Fig. 3 *Plan of Chilham Castle.*

*Stow* tells us,* " that near unto *Orford* certain fishers of the sea " took in their nets a fish having the shape of a man in all points ; " which fish was kept by *Bartlemew de Glaunvile*, Custos of the " Castle, of Orforde, in the same Castle, by the space of six months " and more for a wonder: he spake not a word.—All manner of " meats he gladly did eat, but most greedily raw fish, *after he had* " *crushed out all the moisture;* oftentimes he was brought to the " church, where he shewed no tokens of adoration. At length, " when he was not well looked to, he stale away to the sea, and " never after appeared."—And *Camden* tells us+ on the authority of *Radulphus de Coggeshale*, that he had a deal of shaggy hair about him.

Stories of monsters, especially of such an one as this is described to have been, are not easy to be believed.—But surely it is not absolutely incredible, but that some poor *Greenlander* in his *Kaiak*, or boat fixed round his waist, might posssibly have been driven, even thus far, by stress of weather ;—whose hairy dress, fastened to his body as described by *Crantz* ;‡—and whose uncouth appearance, and now well known odd manner of eating raw fish, and whose

* Stow's Annals, p. 157.

+ Camden, Vol. II. p. 75. Gough's Ed.

‡ See Crantz's History of Greenland, Vol. I. p. 136, &c.; and representations of the Greenlander and his *Kaiak*, both as he is sometimes fixed in it, and sometimes carries it under his arm, Pl. III, and VII. of that curious Work.

These poor wandering Greenlanders, have been sometimes called *Finn-men*; and as they have, in more instances than one, been driven to the *Orkney Islands*; it is no wonder that, *in one instance, at least*, one of them should have been driven even as far as the coast of Suffolk. —The following curious account of them, is given in Wallace's History of the Orkney Isles. (p. 60.)

" Sometimes are seen, about this country, what they call *Finn-men*.—In the year 1682, " one was seen in his little boat, at the south end of the Isle of *Eda*; most of the people of " the Isle flocked to see him, and when they adventured to put out a boat with men to see " if they could apprehend him, he presently fled away most swiftly.

" And in the year 1684, another was seen from *Westra*.—I must acknowledge, (says " *Wallace*,) it seems a little unaccountable, how these *Finn-men* should come on this coast; " but they must probably be driven by storms from home, and cannot tell, when they are " any way at sea, how to make their way home again.—They have this advantage, that be " the sea never so boisterous, their boats being made of fish skins, are so contrived that a " man can never sink, but is like a sea-gull swimming on the top of the water.—His shirt " (or the sort of garment) he has, is so fastened to the boat, that no water can come into

delight in that diet, would very easily make him pass, in such days of ignorance, for a most undoubted monster.

Another curious Castle there is upon the same small plan; and, though different from *Orford*, yet totally unlike any thing really *Norman;*—and that is *Chilham* in Kent.

Concerning it, as concerning Orford Castle, we are without any actual records, to elucidate the period of its construction;—but tradition says, what may lead us well enough to understand its real *early* origin.

Camden indeed, and some other authors,* appear too readily, and hastily, to have believed it to have been a *Norman* structure; and built by Fulbert de Dover; because it was a grant of William the Conqueror to that great Norman Baron.—But, in reality, this very act of William's ought to have convinced them of the contrary; as it only proves more fully, that there was undoubtedly a Castle *previously* existing here, for him to grant.

And even if this circumstance had not been sufficient for the purpose of such conviction; yet the very style of the building itself, is sufficient to convince an accurate observer.

Mr. Hasted,+ too hastily says; of the Old Keep, "there are no "door-ways, arches, windows, or pillars left of its time of building, "to form any judgment of its original state; the ivy with which "it is venerably covered, and the modern uses it has been altered "and fitted up to, having disguised and altered every part of it.

But I must venture to observe, that notwithstanding all these alterations, and the insertion of modern glass windows, and notwithstanding the fine covering of ivy on two sides of the Castle, the original form and dimensions of the old circular arched

"his boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to unty it, which he never does but to "ease nature, or when he comes ashore.

"A full account of these *Finn-men* may be had *en l'histoire naturelle et moralle des Antilles* (chap. 18.)"—One of their boats which was catched in *Orkney*, was sent from thence to *Edinburgh*; and is to be seen in the Physicians' Hall; with the oar, and dart he makes use of for killing fish.—And there is another of their boats in the Church of *Burra*, in *Orkney*.

* See Lambard, p. 227; Philipott, p. 115; Kilburne, p. 55; Camden, Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 215.

+ History of Kent, Vol. III. p. 140.

windows, does still fully appear, both within, and without, in the upper state apartment, where alone real windows ever were.

And, notwithstanding the original small loops, in the lower apartment of all, have had wide breaches made all around them; so as to force out an open space where the loops were, by way of windows, of nearly the same dimensions as the inner width of the arches that originally formed the first approaches to the loops; yet it is still manifest enough, what the original construction really was.

And although Mr. Hasted, still more hastily, says, "that the "construction of the whole of the Keep is plainly Norman, com- "posed of flint, chalk, and much *asheler Caen stone* mixed with "them;"—It ought to be remarked, that as its whole plan and dimensions are totally unlike any thing *Norman* built in any part of this Island; so nothing can be more deceitful, than the appearances of what is commonly deemed *asheler Caen stone*.—For as, on the one hand, various kinds of stone, from other parts, cut into small blocks, are very often mistaken for it; so on the other, we have no actual proof, that masses of this very *Caen stone* were not imported into this Island, *before the time of the Normans;* and have indeed many reasons to suspect the contrary.—And even where it clearly has been used, it may often be found to have been merely by way of repair, or of additional casing.

There is another fact, however, still more curious, that is a plain confutation of Mr. Hasted's idea:—which is; that on close examination, in the year 1795, in which I was assisted by *Mr. Graves*, a gentleman who resides near the spot; I had reason to be fully convinced, that there was not the existence of any such thing as *real Caen stone*, in the whole building; nor even the appearance of it, except at one or two corners, and round the *modern* windows; where, after all, the appearance is a mere disguise in general, being nothing more than stucco work, that was put up a few years ago, to render the Tower a more picturesque object.—In fact, the walls are only of flints, and rubbish stone, constructed in the manner of several others of the most antient *British* buildings that we are acquainted with.—It is now indeed a truly ivy-mantled Tower; so altered from age to age, that it is even difficult to trace what its

original state, and appearance exactly was;—but it may be made out with due, and cautious attention.

Let us now then endeavour to investigate the further history of this curious remain.

Kilburne* says, without hesitation, on the authority plainly of constant traditions, that this spot was the seat of King *Lucius*, about the year 182, and afterwards was a Fortress of *Withred*, the Saxon King of Kent.—And Mr. Hasted himself acknowledges,+ that it appears to have been a place of strength, even in the time of the antient *Britons;* as they had several encounters with the Romans near it; and as the Romans themselves afterwards made use of it as a station, and many Roman remains have been dug up there.—He also acknowledges, that *Widred*, or *Withred*, King of Kent, actually resided at this place, about the end of the seventh Century; consistently with the well known remark of venerable *Bede*, that *the Villa Regiæ of the Saxons*, were mostly placed upon, or near places, which the Romans had used as stations, and fortified encampments.

It is also known that *Sired*, a Saxon, who had great possessions in Kent, held Chilham of Edward the Confessor *before* the conquest.

As then we have had reason to conclude, that at *Launceston*, and at *Conisborough*, (which were also actually places of *Royal residence*,) antient *British* Keep Towers, both of the same identical small dimensions, and of a peculiarity of plan, and construction, very nearly agreeing with this at *Chilham;* are still in part remaining; it is much more rationally to be concluded, that this Royal spot at *Chilham*, does in like manner still retain the strong original Tower of *regal habitation*, than that it should have had a more recent Keep Tower, erected here by the *Normans*, so totally unlike any thing that they, in their general style of building, erected elsewhere.

We may, therefore, not only conclude the tradition concerning the residence of the British Chieftain *Lucius*, on this spot, to have been true:—but even may still further conclude, that he actually resided *in this very Tower*;—and that, however, it may

* Survey of Kent, p. 55. + Volume III. p. 126.

have been repaired, or altered since; that it was actually built by him.—And there is a peculiarity, in the *octagonal* form, which may the rather lead us to this conclusion; because, in that respect, it seems to have a distant resemblance, and sort of intended imitation of the octagon *Roman Tower* at Dover, which *Lucius*, who was permitted to build a Church there, must have not only continually seen, but must have paid great attention to.—Whilst the same indulgence which induced the Romans to permit him, as one of their most faithful dependants, to build *that church*, might also induce them to permit him to build this Castle.

And to all these considerations, surely it may be added; (when we have been informed by the most faithful records,* that the *Britons*, during the Roman dominion here, had made so great advance in the art of building, and in civilization, as to have built twenty-eight considerable cities, besides a great number of villages, and country habitations,)—that it is much more likely *some* of the Castles of their Chieftains should still remain; as well as the Roman walls of Castra; than that all traces of their labours, should be now utterly effaced.

As to what is related concerning the first old Castle at *Chilham* having been sacked, and *demolished* by the Danes;† and having remained desolate until the time of *William the Conqueror:*—this proves no more, than that *its inside*, was either broken down, or burnt;—whilst its walls defied such fury, in the manner that has been already remarked concerning *Brunless* Castle, and several others.—And indeed this is not the only instance by many, in which (as has been already remarked in this Volume,) Towers and parts of Castles still remain almost entire; which are positively said to have been repeatedly destroyed.—Mr. Pennant had plainly perceived it to be the case, even in instances where Castles are affirmed by historians to have been utterly *levelled to the ground.*‡

In general nothing more was really implied in the accounts of the demolition of Castles, than an utter dismantling of them:—and therefore we still have, in truth, in consequence of the vast original

* See Gildas, and also Bede, Lib. i.

† Kilburne's Survey, p. 55.

‡ Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides, Vol. II. p. 126.

solidity of the walls, in the Keep Towers themselves, remains still existing, of every age.

Let us now then attend more minutely to the peculiar construction of this venerable pile.

Pl. XXII. represents the plan of the Keep, and of its small court surrounding it;—both of which are constructed in a manner very conformable to the Old Syrian Plan, as adhered to, both at *Launceston*, and at *Tre-twr*.

This Court appeared to me, when I was first upon the spot, in the year 1785, nearly of a square form.—But, in a plan, which was some time afterwards sent to me, by the then worthy Proprietor of the Castle, *Mr. Heron*, and which seems to have been copied by Mr. Hasted, in his History of Kent,* it is represented as being irregular and distorted: and much more so in a plan inserted in the Gentlemans' Magazine.†

I doubted that neither the one, nor the other, nor that which I had originally sketched, were exactly right: and therefore took another journey in 1795, on purpose to correct the whole:—and here insert what I am persuaded is a faithful representation of the truth.

(a) Shews the present modern entrance, ascending by a flight of steps, through a door way at (b), that is manisfestly a mere breach, in the original outward wall, nearly the whole of which still remains:—and which wall (like that at *Orford* Castle) is almost of half the height of the Keep Tower itself; whilst it is from five, to five and an half feet in thickness.

This outward wall (d c l m n n o) incloses an area raised very considerably above the level of the ground that is on the outside;—and its measures, in every part, are given most exactly in the plan.

At (o) is another forced modern entrance; now an iron garden gate.—But, to the best of my judgment, the only original entrance seems to have been at (E), through a great arch eight feet wide, now quite walled up, and grown over with ivy on the outside; but still very plainly to be traced on the inside.

At (xxxxxxx) are mere modern sheds, and buildings, blocking up at present this inner Court (or Ballium);—substituted, by strange

* Vol. III. p. 185. † For October, 1794. Vol. LXIV. p. 909.

accident, in the very room of more antient hovels for domestic servants, which, like those of *Ulysses*, once occcupied this space.—Whilst on the outside along the wall (c l m) is found both a sort of precipitous descent of the little hill, towards the country, and also remains of a very deep ditch, which there is reason to believe formerly was continued round this whole inner inclosure.

What could be the reason of the odd irregularity of the inclosure at (nn), where the wall yet seems to remain in its pristine state, is hard to ascertain; unless it were to give the better prospect to the great open window in the State room above, on this side of the Tower, with which side this short piece of wall is nearly parallel. The irregularity in the angles, and in the rest of the inclosure, can only be accounted for, from a careless mode of building.

At (e) is the present entrance of the Keep, through a door way and passage, that is so evidently a mere modern breach through the wall, from the outside to the staircase, as to have the door-way formed square on the outside, with a wooden lintel, and brick-work. —But, on passing further in, we find it terminates in an old arched passage, that leads *under* the part of the staircase ascending, and was originally the entrance from the staircase, into the lower room, at (φ) —The whole passage being now about eighteen feet in length, and five feet three inches in width.

At (y) is the foot of the circular staircase ascending upwards,—and at (h) is a door way leading to the top of the continuation of the same staircase descending downwards to the vault, or dungeon, formerly beneath the Tower; which vault is now filled up with earth.

This whole staircase was originally of stone; but the stone steps being exceedingly decayed and broken, were removed by *Mr. Heron;* and the upper part is now entirely of wood, built by him; —but leads, as it did originally, quite up to the roof of the Castle.

In no part either of the Keep Tower, or of the surrounding wall, is there any appearance of *a portcullis*, or even of the possibility of there ever having been one.

The passage (y φ) just described, *under* a part of the staircase, leads into the octagon room (f), whose diameter, within the octagon, is about twenty-two feet, and whose sides are each ten feet; except

those two at (P 3), and (W), which are only eight feet each;—whilst the measures, on the outside of the Tower, are more regular; and exactly as given in the plan.

This room (f)has been, for many years, converted into a brew-house; first used as such by *Sir George Colebroke*, during his possession of the estate, and then by *Mr. Heron*;—and for that purpose, and in order the better to let off steam, has been made so very lofty, as in reality to contain, what were originally *the two first floors* of the Tower; the ground one, and that above it.—All this appears very plainly to the eye; because, in the side walls, evident marks may be seen, where an intermediate floor was once placed:—and very high up, on the side, at (P 3), appears a large door way, bricked up;—and, on one side of it, at (u), a stone column still standing, seeming to be the manifest remains of an handsome stone *Portal*, and to have corresponded with another similar column placed on the other side of this door-way.

At (V), and (W), were undoubtedly originally only loops;—but they are now broken out, and evidently with much roughness, and great trouble, into large open irregular windows.—The approach to them, through the thickness of the wall, which is not less than eight or nine feet, has at first sight the appearance of being covered, at the top, by a sort of *pointed arches;* which appearance has a tendency to occasion some confusion, in the apprehension of a casual observer, as to the date of the building.—But though, there are indeed exceptions, as to the general fact, of pointed arches never being met with in structures, prior to the time of Henry I.; and though more than one or two instances, of *pointed arches* being found in buildings that were constructed long before the introduction of that arch into common use do actually exist; yet there is no occasion to consider such sort of exception, as existing in this instance; because in reality the arches in question are *too irregular* by far, to be properly called *pointed arches;* and seem rather to have been only the effect, either of very rude building, or much rather of subsequent reparation.

At (ℵ) is a modern passage, twelve feet six inches long; and still more obviously than the former most roughly, with difficulty, rudely forced, and broken through an originally solid wall, merely

to form a convenient communication between the brewhouse (f) and a room in the adjoining Tower (g).

The external appearance of this adjoining Tower may be seen Pl. XXIV. fig. 2.—And it seems to be nearly, (if not quite) as antient as the Keep Tower itself.

At (k) is a well of fine water; one hundred and thirteen feet deep:—and when I first surveyed the whole of this curious structure, in 1785, I could not forbear expressing a full conviction, that, besides this well at (k), there must have been formerly another well, somewhere in the Keep itself: either in the vault under (f), to which the stairs led down at (h); or under the room (g).—And I afterwards had the satisfaction to receive the following curious account, from *Mr. Heron*, the then Proprietor of the mansion.

" The dungeons underneath the Castle have very long since been " filled with rubbish; but an old man remembered, that about fifty " years ago, there was a well in the wall, in the south angle of the " little room in the Keep; and that he had often thrown stones into " that well, through an hole in the wall above it.

In consequence of this information, *Mr. Heron* caused a copper to be removed, which at that time, stood on the spot at (r):—and, (clearing the place,) at about two feet below the floor, he actually found *the pipe of a well*, three feet seven inches in diameter, which appeared manifestly to have been broken down in the upper part, and therefore shewed that it must formerly have been carried up through the little dungeon beneath into this apartment (g);—and that it stood (as the distance of the outside of the pipe, from the side walls, is fourteen inches,) like a sort of huge pillar in the corner of the little dungeon that is now filled up with rubbish.—It does not seem however to have been carried up higher than this room (g);—for in the upper part of the room, near the ceiling, just over the well, was an arch, carried quite across that angle, springing from the two parts that are marked as a little projecting in the side walls.

Over this room (g), in this adjoining Tower, is first another room, of the same dimensions, and of the same height:—(the height of both together, at present, answering to the height of the two original apartments, one over the other, which are converted into the now

lofty room, for a brewhouse (f):)—and higher up, in this adjoining little tower, there is also a third room, of the same dimensions; on a level with that which was the original State chamber in the Keep, over (f); which antient State chamber is now converted into a billiard room.

To the room immediately over (g), there is a passage above, from the staircase, at (x x);—and so there is, in like manner still higher up, to the little upper room of all.

The entrance to the state apartment above, from the staircase, is just over the present entrance of the Tower beneath.

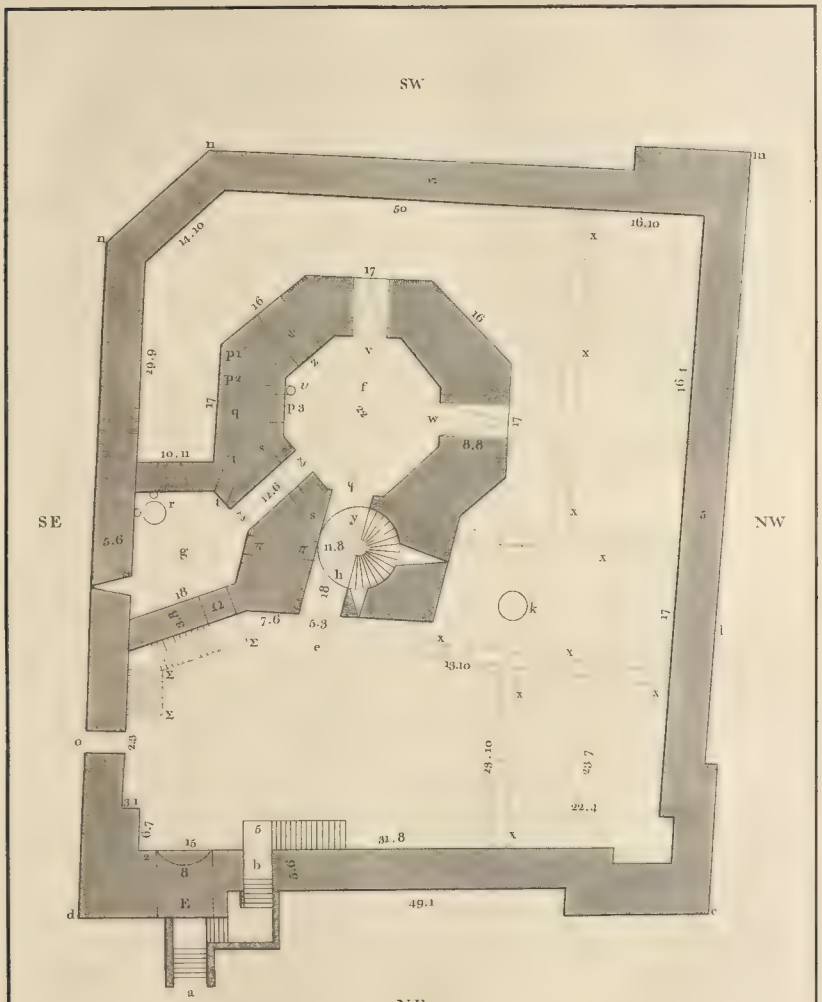
And in this apartment, which is airy and spacious, there are, and it is evident always were, *large windows*, with semicircular arches, commanding an extensive view of the country:—they are now modernized, and glazed;—but it is obvious enough that they were originally mere large open arches, like those at *Conisborough*.

From the side of one of these, is a passage through the wall, as is shewn by the dotted lines at (z ↓ p 1), to a closet serving for a privy.

And on the same side of the Keep Tower, a great deal lower down is a second privy (p 2);—the outlets from both which, are by flues of projecting stone work on the outside of the Tower, still remaining perfect.

There is also a sort of closet, commonly supposed to have been originally a privy, (q P 3), to which is a passage through the wall (t t), from the *middle* chamber over (g).—But it is very remarkable that, whilst the upper privy is at (p 1), this closet, the *middlemost* from the ground, and now belonging to the *middle chamber* over (g), is not the middlemost of the three closets in its situation sideways, but is at (q P 3):—and the lowermost closet of all, which one should have expected to have been nearest to the staircase, instead of that is in the middle (sideways) at (p 2); or else directly under (p 1); and has a very long winding passage (s s s), leading to it from the staircase; and has no communication with the rooms (g), or (f), at all; but is within the thickness of the wall, running clear of the forced passage, above it.

It is also very remarkable, that this middle closet (q P 3) is in reality just behind the *great Portal*, that appears, at a considerable




*Chitham Castle.*

E. K. del.

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height, bricked up at (P 3), in the brew-house; and is on the very same level both with the middle chamber over (g), and with what plainly once was the middle great room of the Keep Tower, over (f).

Such is the present appearance of the whole of this most antient building.—And from all these circumstances put together, I cannot but conclude the true account of it to have been, that the *original* entrance, to the small inclosed area round the Tower, was indeed by the *great arch in the wall*, now blocked up, at (E).—And that the entrance to the Keep Tower itself, was not where it now is, at (e); but was by a flight of stone steps now utterly destroyed, and once existing, at (ΣΣΣ): and so at (Ω) into the middle room of the little Tower, over (g): and from thence through the passage (t t), and the great portal (P 3), into the middle room of the Keep Tower, which served as a guard chamber, and had only loops; whilst there was no access either to the lower store room (f); or to the vaults beneath; or to the state chamber above, but by the staircase (h y), to which the approach was through the passage (π π).

For the sake of elucidating all that has been here remarked more clearly;—in Pl. XXIII. are added plans of all the three floors, as I apprehend them to have been originally,—Fig. 1, representing the ground floor;—Fig. 2, that next above, where was the original great, and only, entrance;—and Fig. 3, the State apartment; in which was a fire hearth at (o).

We then surely have here a true *British Castle;* very similar in its style to that at *Orford;* though indeed not quite so strong, or so magnificent.

Its external appearance, on the N. E. side, as it was when I first saw it, is shewn Pl. XXIV. fig. 1.—But since that time the rude modern little buildings, which were there then, have been removed; and larger and more regular ones constructed, as appendages to his offices, by *Mr. Heron.*—As however these latter edifices obstruct the view more, and prevent more effectually the seeing what the antient appearance really was, I have retained the drawing as I first took it.

Pl. XXIV. fig. 2, is a representation of the South East, or rather South East by South appearance of the Keep Tower;*—conveying

* These representations, however imperfect, are the rather here inserted, because more characteristick views of this curious building, than any we yet have are still wanting.—

a sufficient adequate idea both of what it now is; and of what it was.

Mention has been made of the appearance of something like *pointed arches*, in the lower apartment.—And if they really are to be at all considered in that light, (which can hardly be allowed), we ought at the same time, to remember, that there are other instances, where such did certainly exist long before the fashion of using pointed arches was generally introduced.

I had ventured to shew long ago,* that a rude pointed arch existed, in the very antient Keep of *Guildford* Castle; which must at least have been built long before the reign of Henry II.; and has every concomitant appearance of being *Saxon:*—and that a *pointed arch* is also found, in the aqueduct, near *Segovia* in Spain, constructed in the time of *Trajan*.—It is now known also, that a sort of *pointed arch*, was found even amongst the ruins of *Antinopolis*+ in Egypt, built in the time of *Adrian*.

A sort of pointed arch also is seen in the representation of a Church, on the Coin of *Berengarius* King of Italy, and on another of *Lewis the Pious*, a little after the year 900.—And there has been given to me an impression, from a gold coin of Charlemagne; on which in a representation of the Church of Aix-la-Chapelle, appears the pointed arch.—But as this coin or medal has no date, one cannot but doubt a little as to its being so old as the years 800, or 814, the æra of his reign;—although the inscription is,

*Carolus Magnus Rom Imper et Francor Rex*
*Fundator Templi S Mariæ Virginis Aquisgrani.*

and the medal has his figure, in his Royal Robes.

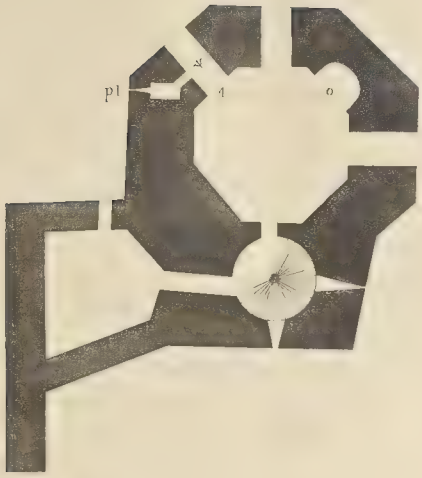
There cannot, however, be the same doubts as to a coin of Edward the Confessor, on which the representation of a church is seen, with a pointed arch.—Neither can there be much doubt with regard to the pointed arches that appear in a very old Syrian manuscript,

Mr. Grose's View represents the old arched windows preposterously large. Mr. Hasted's view shews indeed the appearance of the modern house; but conveys no true idea of the Keep at all.—And even Mr. Watts's view, which is far the best, is neither large enough with regard to its scale, nor clear enough from the trees, to convey satisfactory information.

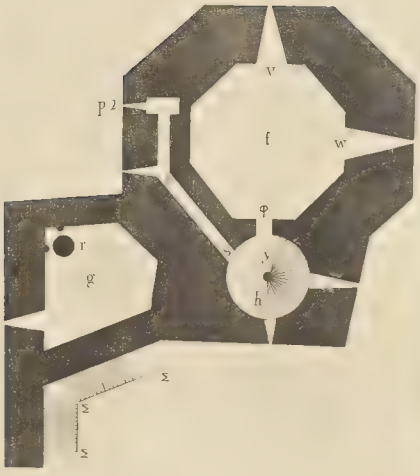
* See Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 410.

+ See Archæologia, Vol. VIII. p. 192; and Montfaucon, Tom. III.

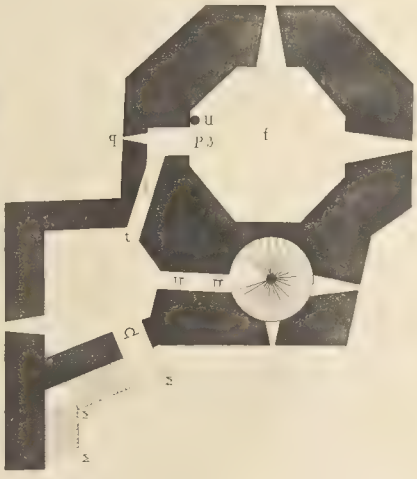
Fig^r. 3.




Fig^r. 1.




Fig^r. 2.




*Ruins of Chilham Castle*

mentioned by Mr. *Ledwick*, who cites* the authority of the coin of the Confessor: and also justly observes, that a kind of *pointed arches*, are represented on some sepulchral Roman stones, described by *Horsley*.

From all these facts, therefore, we may fairly be led to conclude, that, however antient *Chilham Castle* may be, yet these sort of odd pointed arches, (if they are really to be deemed such) might exist there, even on its first construction.—And much more (as they are seen on the *inside* only, and might therefore, after all, possibly be the consequence of subsequent alterations,) may we rest satisfied that they can by no means afford the least ground for any solid objection to the conclusion concerning the very high antiquity of this structure.

As it certainly existed, as *a Castle, before* the conquest; so it is found to have been mentioned very early, in the records of Norman History as one that must have been previously of distinguished note, long before the *pointed arch* was introduced into common use.—And to this Castle, *King John*, (who also resided occasionally at Guilford,) came, as to a convenient palace, to treat with *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of Canterbury, previous to their reconciliation.+

The Keep Tower unquestionably contained what were more peculiarly the apartments of Royal residence.—But we may be assured there were also here at *Chilham*, as well as at *Launceston*, and at *Conisborough*, and doubtless at *Guilford*, other temporary buildings, in the *outer* large surrounding area of the Castle, just as in the *Syrian Castles;* consistently with what we read in Homer concerning the Palace of Ulysses;—buildings that were, in the earliest ages, very frequently merely of wood;—although in the succeeding reigns of Edward I. and of Edward II. magnificent halls, and offices were, in their stead, reared of stone.—All these, however, being not so solid in their structure as the Keep Tower, are long since demolished and gone, though the Keep itself still remains.

But traces of their foundations, notwithstanding the devastation of ages, were discovered by *Mr. Heron;* who caused the proper parts of the environs of the Castle to be dug, and thoroughly searched.

* Archæologia, Vol. VIII. p. 193. + Lambard, p. 227.

Kilburne intimates,* that such kind of solid edifices, in the Castle area, began to be erected in the time of Henry I.—Those subsequently erected in the time of the Edwards, were doubtless much more magnificent;—and a very stately mansion seems to have existed here, according to the style of the times, when *Leland* made his Kentish perambulation, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.; and when it was inhabited by *Cheyney*,† the then Lord Warden.

The Utter Ballium, or great area of this Castle, seems to have been of an irregular figure, as represented, Pl. XXI. fig. 3.—The antient gateway, as well as the more modern entrance, seems to have been about (g):—and the foundations of the buildings, that were discovered by Mr. Heron, were at (a. b. c and d.); amongst which, at (c), and (d), seem to have been the Hall, and Offices.—But, from first to last, *the Keep Tower* was the most interesting part of the whole, wherein was retained the most real characteristick marks of pristine splendour.

Immured in such habitations, only a few degrees more dignified than the Dens of beasts of prey, dwelled imaginary Great Beings,—so illiterate, that they could seldom write their own names, to let future generations know who they were;—yet often so proud, that they would scarce deign to be seen, except when breaking forth to head their vassals in search of prey;—or when, immediately on their return, they caroused, in the courts of their Castles, with wild intemperance.

Unheeded as the curious fact has too much been for several centuries; we have unquestionably still remaining, nearly according to their original plan, the very walls, within which dwelt King *Lucius*, about the year 180;—the very walls within which dwelt *Vortigern*, about the year 450.—The very walls within which dwelt *Hengist* about 486, or 487;—those in which dwelt King *Withred*, about the year 700:—and those wherein dwelt those true preservers of original *British* manners,—some of the first *Welch Princes*,‡—and some of the first *Caledonian Chieftains*.

* Survey of Kent, p. 55. † Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VII. p. 144, 145.

‡ From the Welch Laws of *Howel Dha*, which were collected A. D. 842; and are allowed to have had a great conformity with the laws of England, (as the Welch customs, in that

Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Chilham Castle

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Nor should the very limited scale on which such Palaces now appear, to us, to have been constructed, cause any hesitation in the forming of these conclusions; because we actually find, that in much later ages, and in Castles, clearly of a different style of architecture, and of a more recent origin, Chieftains still continued, in succeeding ages, to live in dens of not much more extent, and of very little more convenience.

Of this there are several instances so striking, that they surely deserve, on this occasion to be mentioned.

The residence of the famous *Macbeth*, King of Scotland, (about A. D. 1040) whose infamous story is so well told by our celebrated Poet Shakspeare, was much of this kind.

He dwelt, on the summit of the high hill of *Dunsinane;* on the south side of *Strathmore;* in a Tower, within an area of an oval form, only fifty four yards by thirty, (now a verdant field surrounded by two deep ditches*) full in view of *Birnam wood.*—And on the north side of this area, still remains an hollow road, cut through the rock, leading up to the entry, which lies on the north-east, facing a deep narrow chasm, between this and the next hill.

This place we are told, by Buchanan,† was fortified with great labour; *Macbeth* summoning the Thanes from all parts of the kingdom, to assist in the work; and when *Macduff* neglected to come, threatning to put the yoke, which was then on the oxen

period, had also a great conformity with English customs;) we may form a tolerable idea of the sort of establishment of these courts.—It consisted of about twenty-four officers.—1. A Major of the Palace, who was also the chief General of the Soldiers, and had a salary of about three pounds a year.—2. A Chaplain.—3. A Steward, who was the Provider of Victuals, and Liquors, and the Taster.—4. A Master of the Hawks.—5. A Judge of the Household.—6. A Master of the Horse.—7. A Chamberlain, who provided straw and rushes for the beds.—8. A Bard, or Musician.—9. A Person to command silence, when proper.—10. A Chief Huntsman.—11. A Mead-maker.—12. A Physician.—13. A Butler, or Keeper of the Cellars.—14. A Porter.—15. A Chief Cook.—16. A Master of the Lights, who was to keep all the candles, and to hold a Taper near the dish out of which the King did eat.—And there were eight other Officers attending upon the Queen:—viz. 17. A Steward.—18. A Chaplain.—19. A Master of the Horse.—20. A Chamberlain.—21. A Lady of the Bed-Chamber.—22. A Porter.—23. A Cook.—24. A Master of the Lights.—See Leges Walliæ.—And a curious extract in Henry's Hist. Vol. III. p. 379.

* See Mr. Pennant's description of it in his Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 178.

† Buchanan, lib. vii. cap. 11.

labouring up the steep hill, upon *his* neck, as the punishment of a disobedient Thane.

Of the same kind also, most undoubtedly, was the renowned seat of the *first* Scottish Princes at *Dunstaffage*;—where the famous stone of *Scone*, on which they were crowned, was originally so long preserved, till it was first removed, as a sort of superstitious Palladium, by *Kenneth the Second*, to *Scone*;—from whence *Edward the First* brought it to Westminster Abbey.

The original Castle, at *Dunstaffage*, was seated on a rock, whose sides have been obviously pared away, to render it precipitous; and to make it conform to the shape of the Castle.—And it consisted of a small square area, of about eighty-seven feet each way; with round Towers at three of the corners;* one of which Towers projected more than the rest, and seems to have contained the state apartments.†—It has surely with good reason been suggested, that this Castle was one of the very first, if not the first, that succeeded to mere *Duns*, and had a Tower built, whose inside area, or apartment, was vaulted, or covered by *arch work*.

The entrance was towards the sea, by means of steps; and moreover secured by a drawbridge, in antient times.—Whilst from the land was no access.

In this Castle was found a little ivory image, which seems to represent the inauguration of a King, *on the famous stone*.‡

About the year 600, *Pope Gregory the Great*, in the latter end of his days, is affirmed § to have had his most usual residence, in the Castle of *Dunadeer* in Scotland;—from whence, when he died, he was carried, in pomp, to be buried in the island of *Iona*.—A Castle therefore *of residence*, there certainly was here, in those days; although Mr. Cordiner, with his usual accuracy, has observed, that most probably the whole bulk of the present ruins are reliques of a fortress long posterior to the age of *Gregory*.—I may add also of a Fortress much more conveniently habitable, than that in which he dwelt.

* See Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 354.

† There is another representation of it in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 293.

‡ It is represented in Mr. Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, Pl. XLIV. p. 354.

§ Boethius, lib. x. p. 213.

And as both *a Pope*, and *Kings of Scotland*, in early ages, even for a succession of four or five centuries at least, dwelt in such kind of habitations:—so we find that even subsequent Kings of Scotland dwelt in not much better habitations.

At *Loch Leven*, they dwelt occasionally, in succession;—till *Robert the Third* about the year 1400 alienated it to *Douglas*.

This Castle is on a very small island, in the midst of a great expanse of water.—It still remains,—and consists, as it ever did, merely of a small square tower, and of a small yard, with two round Towers at the corner.—On a plan therefore very little above *Tretwr in Wales*;—exceeding it only in having the Tower square; and in having a Chapel, and another small building, in the yard, in which, in very late ages indeed, was confined the unhappy *Mary Queen of Scots*, till Douglas effected her escape from hence.—In the square Tower, was a dungeon beneath, at the bottom of all;—a vaulted dark store room above that; and three other rooms, one above the other, higher up;*—the whole forming a plan, only one step beyond that of the dens we have been describing.

At *Harlech* Castle, in *Meireoneddshire*, in a square Tower in that antient Fortress, resided *Brian ap Llyr*, *King of Britain*;—and afterwards *Collwyn ap Tango*, whose grand-children flourished in the time of *Gryffydd ap Cynan*.—*Names*,—and, devoid of the celebration of any events, now *only Names*, existing before the times of the *Normans*.—The remains of this square Tower, however, though the Lords are forgotten, are still very apparent; and also part of the original outward walls; notwithstanding *Edward the First* did, in a succeeding age, build a noble pile on the same spot.†

Another instance of these sort of Dens we have in *Freswick* Castle, in Scotland;—the description of which will be better given, in Mr. Pennant's own words, than in any other.

* See an account of this Castle in Pennant's Tour in Scotland, p. 61, and a view of it by him, Pl. III. p. 42, of the same Volume. There is also in Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 225, a very good view of the square Tower; which plainly shews in its whole style, its high antiquity; though not of an age to compare with the Royal residences we have been speaking of.

‡ See Pennant's Snowdonia, p. 120.

† Tour in Scotland, p. 177, where also is a very characteristick view of the remains of this horrid mansion.

" Freswick Castle‡ is seated on a narrow rock projecting into the " sea, with just room enough for it to stand on: the access to it, " while the drawbridge was in being, was over a deep chasm cut " through the little isthmus that connected it to the main land.— " These dreadful situations are strongly expressive of the ex- " ceeding jealous, haughty, and wretched condition of the tyrant " owners."

And similar to this was the residence of the *Sinclairs;*—where, in a barbarous country, into which it was so long before civilization could find its way, *a Sinclair, Earl of Cathness*, inhabited, even so late as the year 1603.

This Den,—called *Sinclair*,—stood insulated near *Noss-head*; on the very same projecting point of a rock with another Castle, called *Gernigo Castle;**—but as if the joint-tenants, like beasts of prey, had been in perpetual fear of each other, there was *between them*, a dreadful chasm, with a drawbridge;—and the first too, had a complete iron door, instead of a portcullis; which dropped from above, through grooves still visible.

Another Castle of the *Sinclairs*, was fixed on a peninsulated rock,+ in a deep den near *Roslyn;* accessible only by a bridge of stupendous height.

And indeed, even the modern seat of the *Sinclairs*, at least of one branch of that family, has the same sort of strange insulated situation. —For their residence, at *Dunbeth*,‡ is situated on a narrow neck of land; on one side impending over the sea; on the other over a deep chasm, into which the tide flows: whilst a small narrow garden, (if such a place can deserve the name), with billows beating on three sides, fills the rest of the land between the house and the sea.

Similar to the residence of the *Sinclairs*, was that of the once powerful *Cummins*, at Castle *Urquhart*; on the north side of Loch Ness in Scotland; which was so far from being an edifice of any modern times, that it is understood even to *have been destroyed by Edward I.*

* Tour in Scotland, p. 181.

+ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 255. Pl. XXXII.

‡ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 175.

It was a fortress, consisting of a single square Tower, founded on a rock, projecting into the lake.*

So the residence of the famous Thane of *Cawdor;* who has been rendered so conspicuous a character, by *Shakspeare*, was a Castle, the real antient part of which was merely a great square Tower,†—on a sort of insulated situation; to which the modern part is annexed by a drawbridge.

*Malcolm Canmor*, King of Scotland, is also said to have resided in a Castle (or Tower) on the top of an insulated hill, at Dumferling ‡

Still more horrible than any of these princely dens yet described, was the Castle, on the *Crag of Ailsa*, in the Isles of Scotland; now belonging to the Earl of *Cassils;*—a square Tower of three stories; each vaulted; and placed pretty high, on the only accessible part of the rock.—The path up to it narrow, over a vast slope, so ambiguous, that it wants but little of a true precipice; the walk being horrible, because the depth beneath is indeed most alarming.—The situation surely of a Chieftain not less rapacious than an eagle, for whose nest only such a spot was fit; and wherein the discovery of the existence of an oven, was thought an unexpected mark of a surprising degree of civilization. §—It is not a little remarkable, however; that as an encouragement for fixing this strange fortress, in this strange place, there is a spring of fine water within an hundred yards of it.—So judicious, in the midst of all their horrors, is the situation of these antient strongholds found uniformly to have been; a well, or a spring, was generally near at hand.

The rock of *Humbla* also, on the Isle of *Cannay*, ought not to be forgotten, where on a lofty, slender, high towering foreland, (that juts into the sea, like a great broken column,) at a vast height, on one side of the mass stands a little Castle, like a small turret; accessible only by a narrow and horrible path. The strangeness of which situation has given occasion to an idle romantic tradition, of its

* See Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 197, where also is a representation of it, as it still remains. Its destruction having been (like that of many other antient Towers) a destruction of its inside chiefly.

† Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 154.

‡ Ibid. Part II. p. 214.

§ Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 191.

having been cunningly, and with savage caution, devised by one of the antient jealous Chieftains, to confine his wife.*

The antient Castle of *Dunbar* also, was seated on a rock high above the sea; and whatever its original form truly was, is still remarkable for having, underneath its ruins, a vast cavern, composed of a black and red stone; which, as Mr. Pennant says,† gives it a most infernal appearance; whilst at the same time it obviously was made use of as the Castle Dungeon; there being an artificial well passage down to it from above, by means of which the poor prisoners might have been let down according to the barbarous custom of war in early days.—And there being, in some parts, where the natural rock did not close, remains of wall;—shewing that the founders of the Castle took advantage of this naturally formed tremendous den, and adding a little art to it, rendered it a most complete and secure prison.

And on this occasion, the Castle which was once, and long, the *State Prison* of Scotland, on *Bass Isle*, ought not to be forgotten.—It stands close to the edge of the precipice,‡ on a small insulated rock, in a part that overhangs a deep sea in a most tremendous manner, and has only a most dangerous path leading up to it.

Neither ought we to forget *Castle Findlater*, in the North of Scotland:—which stood on a peninsulated rock, betwixt *Portsoy* and *Cullen*.§ "The top of the rock has been so thoroughly covered "with buildings, that the outer walls, particularly of those fronting "the sea, precisely correspond with the face of the precipice. And "owing to the irregular surface of the rock, some of the lower rooms "are so contrived, as to have their inner ends of the solid mass, "well cut; and in many places the plaistering remains on it entire.— "The apartments are strongly vaulted *above*, and have large windows "that look to the sea; but there seems to have been little else but "dead walls on those parts of the rock which are next the neck that "joins to the main. About an hundred yards from the isthmus are

* There is a curious representation of it in Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 276. Pl. XXXII.

† See his Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

‡ There is a View of it in Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 47.

§ See Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 52.

" conspicuous vestiges of a double rampart, that has been drawn " round the whole."—This Castle was relinquished as a place of habitation only in the reign of James VI.

Perhaps whilst we are mentioning these sort of abodes, we ought not to pass by quite unnoticed *Clinchton Castle* in Scotland;—though on account of the alterations made by modern additional buildings, that Castle, hardly deserves notice.—Its dungeon, called the *Masmore*, however, (still remaining in the old part) should not be forgotten; which is a deep hole, with a narrow mouth.—Where tradition says, that even within time of memory, a person of some rank in the country was lowered down, for *irreverently* passing this Castle, without paying his respects to the self-important owner.*

One of the very latest of these sort of craggy insulated abodes, was that at *Dunseverick* in Ireland, not far from the Giant's Causeway. It was inhabited, even down to *Cromwell's* time;—and belonged to a clan of *O'Kains*, who dwelled here, and possessed a tract of country adjacent, of about eight miles long, and six miles broad. It is situated, on a nearly insulated perpendicular rock; at the foot of which the waves are for ever dashing; the sea surrounding the rock so much, as to make its *tor* a mere peninsula.†—On the top still remains *a Tower*, which was the abode of the principal Chieftain; and, around this, seem to have been lesser buildings, and hovels, on the small plain summit of the rock, for the abode of the dependants of the clan.

These so strangely continued usages of *barbarous* times, preserved in *barbarous* countries, down to *so late periods*, may fairly serve to elucidate the history of preceding ages.

In Ireland, besides the sort of joint-tenancy which has been just mentioned, we discover still another peculiarly odd circumstance.—For whereas a degree of wealth and consideration became *there* communicated to the petty chieftains, and even to some of their vassals, long before an adequate degree of civilization, and of the advantages of regular government, could find their way thither; so this insulated mode of dwelling, in little almost inaccessible *near adjoining Towers*, took place even in private life in that Country.—And we

* See Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. III. p. 260.

† There is a view of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1792; p. 977.

find that at *Dundalk*, and again at *Carlingford*, (besides the principal and great Castle, built at the latter of these places, about the time of King John,) that each of these towns seem to have consisted,* originally, entirely of *a cluster of small Towers*;—each of which† had, as the only means of entrance, a small door, at a considerable height from the ground, to be approached only by a ladder, or moveable flight of steps:—and each of which was such as appear to have been, at that time, in more sequestered situations, the common habitations of persons who had any property to preserve, or any rights to maintain:—and who seem to have entertained no other ideas of solace, or of comfort in this world, than those of getting, like wild beasts, into inaccessible dens, out of the way of assault, and harm.

On the same account also, almost every private house, on the borders, between England, and Scotland, was for many ages, *a mere Tower*, or little Fortress;—of which there are several instances still remaining.‡ As, for instance, between *Belford*, and *Berwick*.—And again at *Kirk-Andrews*, opposite to *Netherby*; where the house consisted only of a square Tower; with a ground floor, in which it was usual to secure the cattle of a night; and with two little apartments above, one over the other, in which the family dwelt;§ and where they were sometimes obliged to keep themselves shut up *for days together*;—secured by an iron door, and by little windows, or loops, too small to suffer much annoyance from marauders.

So *Little Den*, near the borders of the Tweed, (once a border-house of the *Kers*), consisted of little more than a round Tower, placed on a cliff above the river.‖

And *Belsay* Castle, a curious border-house, in Northumberland, ought by no means to be forgotten; and deserves to be examined by the curious, with its inhabitable apartments at the very top, and its well at the bottom.

* Louthiana, B. II. p. 6.

† Somewhat similar to these Towers at *Dundalk*, in Ireland, are those mentioned by Misson, (in his Travels, Vol. III. p. 225, fifth edition,) at *Viterbo* in Italy; which tradition says were built during the Civil Wars of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins*, and which are, at least, eight or ten in number:—as also those others at *Siena*.—(Vol. III. p. 239.)

‡ See Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 39.

§ See Pennant's Voyage to Hebrides, p. 68.

‖ Of this there is a View in Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 270.

Even in very recent ages indeed, in barbarous parts of the country, the mode of habitation in dwellings only one remove in point of improvement above these wretched Castles, continued in use.

The celebrated *Lord Mansfield*, was born in a Castle built by one of the Earls of *Annandale*, and called *Comlongam* Castle, in *Dumfries-shire*, which consisted of a great square Tower, with walls of near thirteen feet in thickness, having small apartments even within the substance of the wall itself;—at the bottom of one of which is a noisome dungeon, without light, or even air-holes, except in the trap-door in the floor, contrived for lowering down the captives.*

And no longer ago than in the time of *Mary Stuart*, a *Border House* was *built* by John Lord *Harries*, called *Hoddam* Castle, consisting merely *of a square Tower*, with three slender over-hanging round turrets.—The entry through a door, protected by another of iron bars; near which is a dreadful square deep hole, by way of dungeon +

And, to speak the truth, even the residence of the well-known *Simon Frazer*, Lord *Lovat*, in the Highlands, at *Castle Dunie*, so late as the year 1740, was much of this kind;—and hardly more than one remove, in advance of civilization, above the mode of residence in the most direful of the dens which we have been describing.‡

Not only, therefore, in those early periods of *British* dominion

* See the account in Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 93.

+ Ibid. p. 92; and see also Views of Hoddam Castle in Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 139, 142.

‡ To us, in these more refined ages, it must unavoidably, at first sight, seem very astonishing, how so great a number of men, as must have attended the train of each petty Chieftain, and much more of every great Chieftain, could find lodging in such small buildings, when they were not regularly encamped.—But a little anecdote, which I will venture here to relate, from the unquestionable authority of an eye witness; (that worthy sincere man, Mr. James Ferguson, the astronomer, who in the early part of his life was constrained to dwell several months in the Castle, and constant Mansion, of the well known *Laird Lovat*) will explain the matter; and enable us to form some adequate idea of this sort of stately wretched mode of dwelling.

This powerful Laird, (who was one of the last Chieftains, in the Highlands of Scotland, that preserved the rude manners, and barbarous authority, of the early feudal ages,) resided there, in the last century, in a sort of Tower, forming at best such a kind of house as would be esteemed but an indifferent one for a very private plain country gentleman

in this Island, when the imitations of *Phœnician*, and *Syrian** architecture prevailed,—and afterwards, when the further imitation of

in England. As it had in all only four apartments on a floor, and of those, none of them large.

Here, however, he kept a sort of Court, and several public tables, and had a very numerous body of retainers always attending.—His own constant residence, and the place where he received company, and even dined constantly with them, was in just one room only, and that the very room wherein he lodged.—And his Lady's sole apartment was also her own bed-chamber.—And the only provision made for lodging either of the domestic servants, or of the numerous herd of retainers, was a quantity of straw, which was spread every night, on the floors of the four lower rooms in this sort of Tower-like structure;—where the whole inferior part of the family, consisting of a very great number of persons, took up their abode.—Sometimes, above four hundred persons, attending on this petty court, were kennelled here.—And I have heard the same worthy man, from whose lips the exact account of what is here related has been taken, declare, that of those wretched dependants, he has seen, in consequence of the then existing right of *heritable jurisdiction*, three, or four, and sometimes half a dozen, hung up by the heels, for hours, on the few trees round the mansion.

This old dire, heritable mansion, called *Castle Dunie*, was burnt down in 1746. Since which time, the spot has been occupied by a little neat mansion of a very different possession, and of a very different kind.—And a dark veil of oblivion is drawn over all the past scenes;—with an effort towards a picturesque view of ease and comfort, intended to be represented on its external surface.

* The idea of the Phœnicians having actually afforded instances of their skill in architecture, by some works, in these parts of *Europe* so remote from them, which the somewhat civilized Britons in Cornwall, might copy; is confirmed very much, by an account that *Orosius*, who wrote about the year 415, gives us of *a then antient Pharos of admirable workmanship, that had been built at Corunna, on the coast of Galicia, in Spain*;—opposite, in a South West direction, to the extreme part of the Coast of Cornwall; and which *Orosius* gives us to understand, was actually erected, by the first *Tyrian Colony* there planted, who traded to *Britain*.—And he adds, that it was placed there *purposely, ad speculum Britanniæ*;†—for the direction of ships bound thither from *Britain*.

There is no small reason therefore left us to conclude, that such another *Tower, or Pharos*, might be built by them, somewhere on the coast of *Britain* itself.—And this conclusion seems to be strengthened, by a singular circumstance; that one projecting part of that coast, of *Devonshire* bordering upon the Severn Sea, which is nearly first seen by any ship from *Spain*, steering into the Bristol Channel, is still called *Hertland Point*; whilst Camden says,‡ it was by Ptolemy *called* Herculis Promontorium; *and retains somewhat of its name in* Hertypoint.§ And might therefore actually have had a similar Tower, built by the Phœnicians upon it.

† Pauli Orosii, Hist. lib. i. p. 17.

‡ Camden, Gough's Ed. p. 29.

§ This circumstance is particularly taken notice of by *Mr. Maurice*, in his curious account of the Phœnician Trade, in his *Indian Antiquities*.

*Roman* architecture took place, did the rude mode of dwelling in small fortified dens exist;—but from age to age, in such parts of these countries, as were the last of all civilized, did it continue, by habit, (at least in imitation, and in a degree,) even till within time of memory:—though it be true, that the latter *finally* succeeding dens, are easily to be distinguished, by their style of architecture, from the former.

## CHAPTER III.

OBSERVATIONS ON SUCH WORKS OF THE BRITONS, AS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN, IN THE RUDER, AND MORE REMOTE PARTS OF THE ISLAND, MERE DISTANT IMITATIONS, OF THE FIRST BRITISH IMITATIONS OF PHŒNICIAN STRUCTURES;—AND WHICH ARE NOW GENERALLY CALLED DUNS.

BEFORE we entirely let go our attention to *British Structures*, some further objects of a very singular kind, demand our attention; and may justly induce us to carry our researches one step further.—These are a most strange species of building, which, (long before the very existence of the Dens of the *Sinclairs*, or of those at *Freswick*, or at *Loch Lomond*, or of that of *Macbeth* at *Dunsinane*), were constructed, in most rude uncivilized parts of this Island, by those who first dwelt there, only one degree above mere Savages.

They are found *in Scotland;*—and have been called *Pictish Dens*, —or *Duns*.—and upon strict examination, appear evidently to have been rude resemblances of such *round Keep Towers* as the more civilized Britons had erected in other parts;—mere *imitations, of imitations*; which have long been objects of strange admiration to the curious;—but which, by means of that regular train of investigation, which we have been pursuing, may perhaps now be somewhat better understood.

*The Picts* were certainly a most barbarous people;—whose history has been involved in much confusion:—but which may, nevertheless, with due care and caution, be traced out.—And seems to have been done so, most successfully, by one of our latest, and most ingenious writers.*

An entire concurrence of sentiment with him, in this point, is a sufficient reason for my adopting almost his own words.

* See Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 289. And see also Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 180.

All the unconquered Britons who dwelt without the limits of the Roman empire, were commonly called by the general name of Caledonians, (*Caledonii*) by the Romans; and also by the provincial Britons, during the first, second, and third centuries.—But about the beginning of the fourth century, they were found distinguished by two new names, *Scots, and Picts.*

We hear nothing, either by tradition, or by means of any record, of any invasion of the *Caledonians*, by any such *distinct people* as *the Picts*;—nor of any period of time, when either *Scots*, or *Picts*, as *foreigners*, or *strangers*, first entered *Caledonia*.

We cannot, therefore, but conclude, that these denominations were merely *new names* of the same people, not assumed by the *Caledonians* themselves, but imposed upon them contumeliously, by their neighbours, and constant enemies, the *Provincial Britons*, out of revenge and hatred for the many injuries they suffered by their frequent depredations.

In the vulgar language of *Britain* at that time, *Scuite* (which latinized is *Scoti*) signifies *the wandering nation*.—And *Pictich* (which latinized is *Picti*) signifies *Thieves*, or *Plunderers*.

And sure enough the *Caledonians* had very early, after the successes of the Romans, adopted uniformly a mode of life, which might well bring upon them these reproachful epithets.

In the time of *Adrian*, and the *Antonines*, they were together with other Britons who had fled from the Roman arms, called *Meatæ;*—and in their horrid irruptions, were sometimes even joined by the *Brigantes*,* who were supposed to have been originally the same people.

The *Caledonians* were so completely *Wanderers;* that according to Ptolemy, who flourished about the middle of the second century, there was not so much as one British town, among all the nine nations who then inhabited the Highlands, and northern parts of Scotland.†

Their whole subsistence therefore, beyond the mere spontaneous productions of the earth, was on their flocks and herds, or on what they caught in hunting, or got by plunder, for the sake of which they were continually wandering, and making inroads.

* Pausan. Arcad. p. 275. † See also Xiphilin ex Dio Nicæo in Sever.

And such complete *Thieves*, and *Plunderers* were they, and so deserving of their *Pictish* name, that their usual incursions were made not with any view of conquest, but for the sake of mere plunder only; which they carried home, and enjoyed with the highest relish amongst their own hills;—always taking away with them, for their winter's provision, all they could not consume upon the spot.*

They left also the traces of their manners amongst their latest posterity, which continued down even to the beginning of the very last century, long after the distinction of their names was lost, and long after the very time and manner of its being laid aside was forgotten.

Nearly the whole of the Highlands of Scotland continued, even within the memory of persons still living, to be a den of *Thieves*,† of the most extraordinary kind.—They conducted their plundering excursions with the utmost policy, and reduced the whole art of theft into a regular system;—insomuch that from habit it lost all the appearance of criminality, and they even considered it as labouring in their vocation.

The daughters of Chieftains were often portioned with Cattle thus acquired, and sometimes with a band of stout men, to enable the new married couple to set out in life.‡—And there are even said to exist some very old *marriage articles*, of the daughter of a Chieftain; in which the father promises for her portion, 200 *Scots* marks, and the half of a *Michaelmass moon;* that is half the plunder of a Michaelmass excursion.—An old letter also of *Sir Ewin Cameron* to a chief of the neighbourhood of the county of *Murray*, regretting a great slaughter which had happened in a fray between their Clans, plainly shews that§ he thought an incursion into *Murray* land, for plunder only, quite lawful.

When one man had a claim upon another, even in the same

* Bedæ Hist. Eccles. chap. xii. Gildæ, Sec. xiii, xiv.

† These are the very words of Mr. Pennant, who has collected, and given us a most curious account of Highland usages, and customs; and of some of their latest depredating Chieftains, in his voyage to the Hebrides, p. 345, 348, 349.

‡ Ibid, p. 289.

§ See also his Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 154.

Clan, but wanted power to make it good, it was deemed lawful for him to steal from his debtor, as many cattle as would satisfy his demand, provided he afterwards sent notice that he had them, and would return them, on satisfaction being made, at a certain day.*

But as these sort of depredations were made more frequently, by way of mere plunder, and upon neighbouring Clans, we are told that when *a Creach*, or great expediton had been made against distant herds, the owners rose in arms, and with all their friends made instant pursuit, and had a most uncommon nicety and sagacity in tracing the footsteps of their own Cattle so taken away, from the footsteps of such as were casually driven, or wandering in a common manner.†

* As both Highlanders, and Picts, were descended from *aboriginal Britons*, we may perhaps in this remnant of their barbarous manners, trace the first origin of that part of our Common Law, which allowed,—*first distress for Rent, and then a Replevin.*

This rough mode of asserting right, is affirmed by our most venerable Sages of the law, to have been derived from those usages and customs which were adopted from the *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and first *Normans* conjointly.—See Hales's History of the Common Law of England, p. 62.—Coke Littleton, fol. 142, a. b;—see also Blackstone, Vol. II. p. 6, Vol. III. p. 42;—where it is called also, a matter of *Common Right*, in consequence of an antient establishment of *privilege*; and where it is said, by way of explanation, that for *Rent Service*, (i. e.) for any *corporal service*, due by the oath of fealty, if it hath not been performed *at the day*, the Lord may distrain of common right.

And hence, I may add, (as a curious anecdote, of the latent remains of this custom, as it prevailed originally, in a land still later civilized, as to modern modes of civilization, than Scotland), that within these fifty years, in *Ireland*, on an Englishman's purchasing an estate there, his cattle were first all stolen;—and when he had supplied a new stock, then all *maimed, and houghed*;—and all this, because he had not been to pay his respects to, and to claim protection of him, who thought he had pretensions, by antient right, to be the superior Chieftain of that district; though he neither pretended to, nor claimed any pecuniary rent.—This anecdote I had from the most unquestionable authority, and such as should it be named would be deemed the most respectable.

† As we have found a striking similarity between the antient *Syrian* Castles, and those reared in the earliest ages in parts of *Britain* to which *Phœnicians* or descendants of *Phrygian* ancestors had access;—and have found a no less astonishing similarity of manners, in those of the antient *Britons*, and *Caledonians*, when compared with the accounts given in *the Holy Scriptures*,—and by *Homer*,—and by *Herodotus*,—of the manner of living in such Castles in *Syria*,—and in *Greece*, and in the neighbouring islands;—so one cannot well read these accounts of the *inroads* of the antient *Caledonians*, without somewhat bringing to mind the account of the inroad of the Amalakites,—*to Smite Ziklag and burn it with fire; and to take the women captives that were left therein, and to carry them away;—and of the manner in which they were*

Nor ought we on this occasion to forget, that long after the Highlanders were become Christians, it was sometimes part of a grace used before meat, by some of the Chieftains, to pray *that the world might be turned upside down, in order that Christians, might make bread out of it.*

When a very considerable band, and association of different Chieftains, for the sake either of defence against invasion, or of forming an inroad to obtain plunder, was to be assembled; besides striking the shield, and sounding the horn, to give warning to those within hearing; the first acting Chieftain sent the *Cran-tara*, or stick burnt at the end, and dipped in the blood of a goat, by a swift messenger,* to the nearest hamlet, where he delivered it without uttering a word, except the bare *name of the place of rendezvous;*—and the person to whom it was delivered, was obliged to convey it to another as speedily, under the penalty of destruction by fire and sword, which was also understood to attend the not obeying the summons, and appearing with the utmost speed at the appointed spot.

The north, and the west coasts of Caledonia, so full of mountains, from *Caithness* to the *Frith of Clyde*,+ was properly the Country of

*rapidly pursued by David, with four hundred men only, and defeated and slain, and had all their captives recovered from them, and all the flocks and herds retaken by David, and driven before him.* —(1 Samuel, chap. xxx. ver. 1, to 21):—neither can we avoid adverting to the inroads which David himself made, whilst dwelling at *Gath* (according to the custom of the times) upon the *Geshurites*, and the *Gezrites*, and the *Amalekites.—When he smote the land, and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep, and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel.*—(1 Samuel, chap xxvii. ver. 8.)

If in either the one instance, or the other, these things now appear most justly horrible, —the cause of the horror is to be imputed to the circumstances and customs of the times, rather than to the individual persons who were the actors in these dreadful scenes; many of whom were of the highest honour, and integrity; and most of whom deemed their conduct not only justifiable, but useful, and honourable.—So soon, and imperceptibly, may human nature, by circumstances of situation, by common habits, and prevailing prejudices, become accustomed to evil, and to a state almost truly diabolical.

* See Henry's History, Vol. II. p. 311.

+ Henry's History, Vol. III p. 21.—This remarkable difference in their situation, induced Mr. *Gibbon*‡ to say, that even the hand of nature had contributed to mark the distinction of the *Scots*, and *Picts*.—The former (on the western side, and from thence inland)

‡ Gibbon's History, Vol. IV. 8vo. p. 292, 293.

*the Scots:*—and the Country of the *Picts*, most properly so called, was on the Eastern side of *Caledonia;* from the *Frith of Forth*, to *Caithness;*—in the northern part of which, such rude, and savage manners even still continue, that when Mr. Pennant was in Scotland, he saw women still treated as a sort of *beasts of Burden;* and, to use his own expression,* made to turn their patient backs to the dunghills, to receive in their *keises*, or baskets, as much compost, as their lords and masters thought fit to fling in,—after which they trudged to the fields in droves of sixty or seventy.

And in the southern part of the same tract, even not far from the Church which became supreme,† in what was the country of the Picts,—the Church of St. Andrew's,—the most bitter system of *feudal vassallage* still continues;—or at least was in full force, no longer ago than the year 1776;—when thousands of persons were *there the property* of their landlords; and still remained *legal appurtenances* to the estates; and transferable with them to any purchasers.‡—Nay even strangers who ventured to settle there, were bound by the same cruel custom, unless they previously stipulated to the contrary.

In this very country of the *Picts* also it is, that most of those very

were *men of the hills*;—and the latter, on the eastern side, *those of the plain*;—the eastern coast of *Caledonia* being a level fertile country, which even in a rude state of tillage produced some corn, and acquired to its inhabitants, the appellation of *cruitnich*, or wheat-eaters, a name that expressed the contempt, or envy, of the *carnivorous Highlander*.—Though it is somewhat hard to believe, even on the authority of *St. Jerom*, (and notwithstanding facts brought to light by our knowledge of the *New Zealanders*, and of savage warriors in North America,) that they were some of them horrible *cannibals*, and so delighted with human flesh, that when they hunted the woods for prey, they devoured the shepherd, or shepherdess, rather than the flock; and selected the *tit-bits*.—Yet this is affirmed, as by an eye witness, of some of those who had entered the army of Valentinian.—See Jerom, Tom. II. p. 75.—See also Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 298.—And as to the American warriors, see the accounts of the *Iroquois*, and *Genesians*, given by *Father Hennepin*, in his Travels (p. 59, 60, 90, 91, 198, 288, 40, 92,) and by *Cadwallader Colden*, in his account of the *Five Nations*, p. 26, 70, 122, 132, 135, 137, 185, 191.

* Tour in Scotland, p. 183.—As there is some difference in the pages, in the different editions of Mr. Pennant's useful Work; it may be right to mention, that all the occasional references, in these Volumes, to his observations, are to the pages of the *first* quarto Edition.

† Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 190.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 203.

strange horrid *insulated Towers* have been found, that were described in the last Chapter; and which, long after the construction of the *Duns* that are now to be the objects of our attention, were reared by descendants, and successors of *the Picts*, who began to fancy themselves to be civilized, and advanced to splendour.—And there also, even still later, more modern Castles, though of a very rude construction, were built, from whence *necessity* frequently dictated an inroad, as well as *revenge;*—and where a mistress of *a Castle* has been known to present her sons with their spurs, to remind them that her larder was empty; and that by a *forray* they must supply it, at the expence of the borderers;—and where also, to guard against like *forrays* from their neighbours, the sheep were in an evening often taken from the hills, and the cattle from the pastures, to be secured not merely in the court, but even sometimes on the lower floor of the Castle itself.*

*The original Scots*, at the Abbey of *Aberbrothie*, in the *Pictish* country, did boldly assert, in their letter to Pope John, 1320,+ that they were descended from the antient *Scythians;*—had expelled the antient aboriginal Britons;—destroyed the *Picts;*—and maintained their kingdom free, through a race of one hundred and thirteen Kings.—But the truth seems to have been merely, that they had at most made inroads, and mixed themselves with *the Picts*, and with other remains of antient Britons on the eastern coast, until they became the same people.—And as to their being descended from the *Scythians;* and asserting, in the same letter, that they came from the *greater Scythia*, passing through the Tyrrhenian Sea, it evidently implied no more than that they were undoubtedly of *Celtic origin;*—which was just as true of *the Welch*, and of the rest of the *Britons*, who dwelt on the remaining western mountainous coast of this island, from the *Frith of Clyde*, to the *Lands' End* in *Cornwall*.

It was only about the year 403, and not sooner, that the several rude tribes of the *Scots*, became united in one nation, or confederacy, under *Fergus*.‡—And about the same time, or rather a

* Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II, p. 276. + Ibid, p. 137.

‡ See the four Chronicles of the Kings of Scotland, published by Father Innes in his Appendix, No. 4, 5, 6, 7.

little before, the Picts became united.—And about 570, after this first step towards a very small degree of civilization beyond that of wild beasts, *St. Columba*,* found it possible to gain their ear, and becoming the great oracle of both *Scots*, and *Picts*, led them to some approximation to civil policy.†

The name of the *Picti (Picts)* not only agreed with its British derivation of the British Provincial word, intended through scorn, and hatred, to describe them as *Thieves;* in that they were *Pictichs*, or plunderers;—but when latinized, it agreed with another circumstance of their history, common with that of the most antient, and most savage *British* nations, from whom they were derived;—in that they were *picti*, *painted*, or (as we should now rather call it) *tattowed*.

It has been mentioned before, that the most uncivilized nations of the antient Britons drew upon their naked bodies the figures of animals of all kinds;‡ and many of the *Picts*, being descended, (as well as those who were more properly called *Meatæ*,)§ from those savage tribes, who had first of all most easily, and most readily fled, in their usual wandering mode of life, from the invasion of the Romans, still retained the savage custom of besmearing the body, and of imprinting rude figures upon it, in lieu of cloathing.

And it is not a little remarkable, that what is so particularly related by historians, concerning this having been done by means of sharp needles; and concerning its being a painful operation;‖ only shews it, more certainly, to have been neither more nor less than the same

* Ogygia, p. 43.—Boethius Scot. Hist. lib. viii. Buchan. lib. v.

† Much has been written, and disputed, concerning *the Scots* being originally descended from *the Irish*.—Even *a tradition*,—preserved by the *venerable Bede*, must have some weight. And the judicious observations of Mr. Whitaker, (in his History of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 430, 431, and Genuine History of the Britons asserted, p. 154, 293,) as well as the deep researches of the Doctor, and of Mr. Macpherson, in their curious Dissertations, deserve the utmost consideration.—But the truth seems to have been, that the *Celtic* ancestors of both Nations, *first arrived in Britain*;—from thence in part migrated into *Ireland*;—from whence afterwards, long before the arrival of *St. Columba*, there was a partial migration *back again*, which gave origin to the tradition mentioned by Bede.—A second migration; that may be compared to the second migration of the *Celtes*, into *Britain*;—when their descendants, did again, *from Gaul*, migrate into the Eastern parts of our Island.

‡ Herodian, lib. iii. c. 47. § This may be inferred from Pausan. Arcad. p. 273.

‖ Solinus, lib. xxxv. sub fin.

sort of *tattowing* that has been discovered, of late years, to have continued still in use amongst the barbarians of the Southern Ocean.

The figures thus marked, however, were as indelible, as they were deemed honourable;—and they were even badges of their chieftains.*—Insomuch, that it is not quite impossible to make sense of those lines, so elegantly censured in the *Spectator*, † for their burlesque nonsense.

A painted vest Prince Voltager had on,
Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won.

For amongst a people, such as the antient *Britons*, who were so barbarous that, like the Scythians, they deemed the sculls of their enemies an ornament to their horse trappings, ‡ it is not absolutely impossible to suppose, that the skin of a poor *painted Pict*, as well as the skin of a *Wolf*, might be worn as a trophy.

Dio, and Herodian, do both of them intimate, that the *Mœatæ*, or *Picts*, and *Caledonians*, went naked in the beginning of the third century, when they were invaded by the Emperor *Severus*.§

These savage remnants of the old *British* people, made irruptions into the more civilized Roman province in Britain, in the time of the Emperor *Valentinian*, about the year 364;—having first found, in the time of *Julian*, a very few years before, that the wall of *Severus* was not impregnable.‖—And they slew some of the Roman chief officers, and commanders.

From these irruptions, *Theodosius*, one of the best, and wisest men, and one of the greatest generals of his age,—(a man persecuted, and put to death, by the dæmoniacal despots who then ruled, through jealousy of his great, and useful abilities),—from these irruptions, *Theodosius* delivered this wretched country, after these savages had penetrated as far as London.—And he not only rescued all

* Isidor. Orig. lib. xix. cap. 23.

† Vol. I. p. 164, No. 43.—Good old *Latimer*, in a Sermon before *King Edward*, introduced, almost as oddly, the account of Cambyses causing a judgment seat to be covered with the skin of an unjust judge.—Gilpin's Life of Latimer, p. 111.

‡ Strabo, and Diodorus affirm, that these barbarous usages took place even amongst the Gauls; who they say were more civilized than the Britons, but resembled them in most points. Strabo, lib. iii. p. 198, 200, 302, 305. Diodorus, lib. v. p. 213, 254.

§ Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.—Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 47.

‖ Amm. Marcel. lib. xxvii. cap 9.

this interior part of the Island; but drove these marauders still further than their last bounds, the wall of *Severus*; and quite beyond the wall of *Antoninus*.

Having however thus penetrated as far as London, the *Picts* cannot be supposed not to have seen specimens of *antient round Towers*, such as we have been describing in the preceding pages, whether they had, or had not, seen them before.—And they cannot but be supposed to have had some wish to *imitate* the rearing of such strongholds, as places of defence.

Hence therefore we may date the first origin of *the Duns*; which are almost mere piles of rude stones, without cement, in mere imitation of round Towers.—And we may fairly conclude them to have been begun, at least about the year 364, or 365,—but not much before:—for both Scots and Picts were too soon shut out from the Southern parts of Britain, to have been supposed capable of imitating any of the *British Phœnician*, or *Syrian* buildings, in the earlier ages.

This conclusion, however, of their having begun to be reared at least so early, and of their being in full use soon after, seems most fully confirmed, by antient history.—For we read, that *Kenneth*, about 839, having obtained a great victory over the *Picts*, they soon after recovered themselves, and retook *all their Castles** out of his hands; and put his garrisons to the sword;—which proves that they had *Castles* at that time.—And *these Castles* indeed do still remain;—in the instances of the very *Duns* we are about to describe;—although after the *Scots* and *Picts* became united under one monarchy in the ninth century, the *Picts*, mingling with the *Scots* their conquerors, soon lost their name, and their distinction.

There is a curious piece of rude history, connected with this success of *Kenneth*, and with the final union of the Scots, and Picts, which ought not to be forgotten;—and especially as it is an illustration of the curious mode in which the Northern Chieftains sometimes lodged a numerous court, and an host of men, in the very *Dens*, and *Duns*, which we are about to examine.

A suspension of hostilities having taken place, for two years, between the *Scots* and *Picts*, Kenneth at length in 901, impatient of

* Buchan. lib. v. sub fin.—Innes's Essays, Vol. II. p. 788.

delay, called an assembly of his Thanes; and endeavoured to persuade them to a renewal of the War.—But finding his arguments ineffectual, he invited the whole body of them to a great entertainment, which was continued until midnight; when he desired them to take rest in his palace; or as it is called his court, or hall.*

Here when all were composed to rest, (littered down, we may be assured, in a manner very similar to that which has been described as the usage of much later ages at Castle Dunie,†) a person instructed, and prepared by *Kenneth*, entered the apartment, clothed in the skins of dried fish, *which shone in the dark;*—and speaking through a trumpet, commanded them to obey their King, by declaring war against the *Picts:*—and promised them success, and victory from heaven.—This had its full effect;—for roused from their sleep by these tremendous sounds; and astonished at the shining figure which they beheld; they hastened to acquaint the King with the surprising admonition; and expressed the greatest ardour for the war;—whilst the report of this wonderful apparition flew like lightning over the whole kingdom, and excited such a keenness for the expedition, that *Kenneth* soon beheld himself at the head of a very numerous army.—And the *Picts*, who were but ill prepared, were roused, by a much more real, sudden, and more formidable appearance, from their Dens, and Duns, to sustain a total overthrow.

It has been justly observed, that what now preserves the remembrance of the *Picts* in Scotland, is above all other things *the strange round buildings* wherein they dwelt;—of which there are great numbers over all the North, and particularly in *Sutherland*, *Caithness*, and the *Orkneys*.‡

In these it is observable, that there is no mortar, neither clay, or lime; and that there is not the least appearance of an arch.

They consisted merely of the best flat stones the builders could find, well laid together in the form of a Circle, about twenty or thirty feet in diameter; whilst the wall was sometimes fourteen feet thick, and in some instances seems not to have been much more than

* Boethius, lib. 10.—Fordun, lib. iv. cap. 3. † See p. 175, 176, of this Volume.

‡ See also Mr. Reay's account,—in the Appendix to Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 318.

twelve feet high; having little cavities, like small rooms, in its thickness; and a very low door of entrance, shut up occasionally with a broad stone.

Sometimes also, where the stones were not flat, or well bedded, the wall is found propped up with great heaps of stones, like buttresses, on the outside; so as to give the whole more the appearance of a mount, than of a building; as is particularly the case with one at *Loth-beg*, in the parish of *Lothis*.

In these sad remains of heritable mansions, have been found old stone hand-mills, such as the Highlanders call *Querns*, about eighteen inches diameter;*—and also great heaps of horns, and bones of deer;—a proof of the rude revellings, and feastings, which once were held at these places.—And therefore, though they have been sometimes thought to have been constructed by the *Danes*,† (who yet, it may be observed, did never rear such kind of edifices any where else); both these sort of remnants of *durable* feasting, and their being found in parts to which the *Danes* never had access, plainly shews that they must have been the works of another and more settled people.

Surely it may fairly be asked; if (according to the apprehensions of some persons) these were Danish structures; how comes it to pass, that none of them are ever found in those parts of England, which the Danes really *most* invaded?—And why are they so very much unknown, both in *Norway*, and *Denmark*?

It must therefore be more rational to conclude, that they were the very mansions of those barbarous people, the *Picts*, and *original Caledonians*, in whose country, and in whose neighbouring islands, they are so numerously, and so uniformly found.

* These hand mills may bring to our remembrance the description which Homer gives of the maid servants of *Penelope*;—and of their laborious employment in grinding corn, which has been referred to in the preceding pages, p. 104, 105.—A very characteristick representation of two women, thus grinding, in the manner still used, (as an antient *British*, or *Caledonian* custom) in the Hebrides, may be seen in Mr. Pennant's account of the Hebrides, p. 286;—which also may very justly remind us, of what is mentioned of this antient usage, in the Holy Scriptures;—where it is said, referring to the *then* constant use of this most antient Instrument—*Two women shall be grinding at the mill*, &c. (Matthew, chap. xxiv. ver. 41.)

† Pennant's Tour, Vol. I. p. 172, 319. Vol. II. p. 293, Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 53. Cordiner, p. 81.

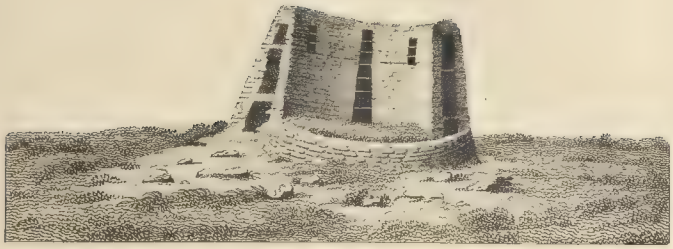
The form and appearance of these buildings, may best be understood, from one of those which remains the most entire.—This is found in *Glen-beg*, not far from *Inverness*, and is described by Mr. Pennant;*—from the substance of whose very curious, and original account, the following particulars are extracted.

It is placed about two miles from the mouth of the valley.—The more entire side represented, Pl. XXV. fig. 1, is about thirty feet six inches in height, and was some years ago about ten feet higher. —The whole structure appears to have been, on the outside, of a conical form;—but on the inside, the surrounding wall is quite perpendicular; so that it must have been much thicker at the bottom than at the top.—It inclosed a small circular area of thirty-three feet and an half in diameter; and was constructed merely of flat stones neatly placed one upon another, without any cement, or mortar.—At ten feet from the ground it was found to be seven feet four inches thick: and within this thickness were two surrounding galleries; one quite in the lower part of the Tower, about six feet two inches high, and two feet five inches wide at the bottom; but made narrower at the top; and flagged and covered with great flat stones. And the other gallery was placed directly over this, having these flag stones for its floor, and being only five feet six inches high, and only twenty inches wide at the bottom; but covered at top in like manner with other great flat stones.

This upper gallery, in which a man could barely make his way, went quite round the Tower, without any division, or partition; —but the lower gallery, underneath this, is parted off into separate spaces, by great flag-stones placed upright; which several spaces, or little cells, were in general accessible only by means of holes, in the floor of the gallery above; so that nothing can be more obvious, than that these cells were intended for the keeping, and preserving of stores; whilst the upper gallery cannot but remind us somewhat of the little gallery, which has been described in the preceding pages, as being within the wall of the round Tower at *Brunless*.

Besides these galleries, there were, on the inside of the circular wall, open to the circular inclosed apartment, four *perpendicular rows* of small cavites,—or as they have been described by others,

* In his Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 337.





*DUNS, at GLENBEG, in SCOTLAND.*

four stages, or nests of small square open holes,—dividing the interior circular wall into four parts, and running up from the lower part of the Tower to the top:—each little hole, or nest, in the row, divided from that beneath only by a sort of shelf, of flag-stone, and forming a little cup-board.

The appearance of these sort of little cup-boards, as well as that of the sections of galleries, similar to those in this Tower, as they are seen in the wall of another *Dun* in the same neighbourhood, is represented in an inside view of the *Dun*, Pl. XXV. fig. 2, which will render the whole description more intelligible.—And these square cavities seem obviously to have been intended to hold the drinking horns, and other utensils for banqueting, in these rude dens.

Under one of these perpendicular rows of cells, in the building, Pl. XXV. fig. 1, is the original door of entrance to the Dun: now only a little, low, square hole, in consequence of the rise of the ground; but probably, (as we shall find, in other instances), it was originally, about six feet high.—And under each of the other rows was a similar door way, *on the inside of the building*, opening to a corresponding division of the lower gallery.

On the opposite side of the Dun from that on which this view was taken, is now a great breach from the top to the bottom, of at least one quarter of the circumference in extent.

Subsequent observations may even still better elucidate the fact; but it ought to be added here, that there cannot remain a doubt, especially from the appearance of the perpendicular rows of cup-boards, but that the internal space of this Tower, was filled up with stages of timber work, one above another, leaving a circular space, in the midst of each floor, for light, and air, and smoke;—on these stages, open to the circular central well for the benefit both of light and air, slept the numerous host in the night, and not stifled (in such a strange manner as some have fancied) in the galleries, and holes in the wall, fit only to hold stores of arms, corn, and grain, and salted provisions.—And here, in the midst of the open well space, in such a Den, might very well, so cunningly appear *Kenneth's* horrible, visionary, illuminated herald.

This second Dun, or Tower, Pl. XXV. fig. 2, to which we have referred, to shew the interior appearance, stands at the distance of

less than a quarter of a mile from the other; on a little flat, on the side of an hill.—The structure of the whole is very similar to the former; but the number of the galleries differs; as here there are *three*.—Besides which, the lowermost goes entirely round, quite clear, and without any division, or obstruction of passage.

The walls of this are at present only about twenty-four feet and an half in height.—The diameter within thirty feet;—and the lower part of the wall, twelve feet four inches thick.

On the east side of it, within, was an aperture, now stopped up, and of small depth; but one of such extent in length, that goats, which sheltered therein were often lost; on which account its mouth was filled with stones.

These Duns are still called *Caisteal Teilhal*, or the Castles of *Teilba;* which denomination alone surely shews a very antient origin; to say nothing of the idle traditions connected with the name; or of the existence of two other romantic Castles of the same kind, said to have been in the neighbourhood, and now totally demolished.

The next specimen of these sort of remains which deserves to be fully described, is *Dun Dornadilla*, said (and with every appearance of truth,) to have been the residence of a most antient *Pictish King* though perhaps not of one quite so antient as tradition affirms.*—

One of the first accounts of this curious structure, was an anonymous one, republished by Mr. Pennant;+ where it is fairly described as representing, on the outside, the frustrum of a cone;—as being then only between twenty and thirty feet high;—and as having a very low door, in consequence of the raising of the ground, so that one must stoop to enter.

It is added, that within, on the sides of its wall, are ranged stone shelves, one above another, like the shelves in a buffet, reaching from near the bottom to the top; and that there are some remains of an aukward staircase.

To this first account, succeeded a fuller account, by *Mr. Pope*,‡

* The tradition speaks of a King named Dornadilla, who first established laws of the Chase, and lived 230 years before our Lords' Incarnation. See Boetius, lib. ii, 16. Lesley de Ges. Scott. 82.

+ In the Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 340. ‡ In the Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 216.

free from some mistakes that had arisen;—and to this succeeded finally *Mr. Cordiner's* still more full and ample account.*

From all these it appears, that the inner area of the building, is twenty-seven feet in diameter;—and that its walls, being near fifty yards in circumference on the outside, must have been between eleven and twelve feet thick at the bottom.

They are now not quite thirty feet high; but must have been more; and are built of stones entirely without mortar;—having a door, which (like another in Sutherland,) must have been originally above six feet high, and is at present for one half of its height choaked up with rubbish, fronting the north-east, as is the case in several of these kind of edifices.

There are three distinct rows of small galleries, or circular passages within the walls, one above another; to which, from one to the other, there is access up and down different stairs, within the thickness of the wall, and they are lighted only by small apertures looking into the circular court.

At nine feet from the present surface of the ground, the wall is about seven feet thick:—and here the whole of it is divided into two parts:—the outer part being two feet nine inches thick; then having a passage, or opening left, betwixt the two walls, two feet three inches wide; and then the inner part of the wall being two feet thick; very nearly as in the Duns which we have just described.

These galleries in the walls, are about five feet high, and the bottom of each is laid with large flat stones, which gird and bind the whole building together.

The common conjecture has been, that these galleries were for sleeping rooms:—but considering how few persons they could hold, and how very inconveniently even those few would be lodged, we may more reasonably conclude, that they were much rather designed merely for the keeping of stores.

The inner part of the wall, which is between these galleries and the inner area, (in itself only two feet thick), was divided again, like the Dun in Glenbeg, from top to bottom, next the inner area,

* See Cordiner's Antiquities of Scotland, p. 105, 109;—and there is also a still further account printed in the Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 100;—there was moreover a still earlier slight account in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1775, Vol. XLIII. p. 230.

at certain distances, by perpendicular rows of small cavities, one above another;—so that each row, looks as if it were only a long narrow space left in the wall, from the top to the bottom, filled with stone shelves, in general at the distance of two feet and an half; though in some places, they were at the distance of three feet;—but some of these openings penetrated quite to the inner galleries in the wall, and served to give light, and air to those galleries.

These shelves seem to have served to hold drinking horns, and other utensils; and arms ready at hand.*

This curious Dun is represented, Pl. XXVI, fig. 1, from Mr. Cordiner's View.

And the inside of it, Pl. XXVI, fig. 2, from a drawing of his also.†

Mr. Cordiner has with great accuracy remarked, that there are projecting circles of stones, on the inside wall of the building, which seem to have been designed *to rest beams upon*.—And he adds, as a sufficient answer to some idle objections that had been made against the supposition of interior wooden floors being constructed in rude ages; that both beams, and planks have been found to have been cut out, and well hewn in the South Seas, without the use of iron instruments.

He adds also as justly, that whatever floorings of wood or timber there were, a cavity must have been left open in the midst, from the top to the bottom, for light and air: especially, as the galleries evidently appear to have received both light and air only from the inside.—And he concludes with a very fair observation, that it is no objection to its having been deemed a fortress of strength, and defence, that it is surrounded, and commanded by neighbouring hills; because those hills are too far off for arrows, or any rude missile weapons of such kinds as were used in early ages, and in barbarous countries, to have had any effect.

This curious building stands in a place called *Strathmore*, in the parish of *Diurnes*, on Lord *Reay's* estate.

Another *Dun*, a little different in its structure, as to the particular

* There is a representation of *Dun Dornadilla*, drawn by Mr. Cordiner, in the Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 216, Pl. XVIII.

† In the Archæologia, also in the same volume,—There is besides a representation of a section of the galleries, by Mr. Pope.

Fig 1.



Fig. 2.



*San Donnadilla*

form of the galleries, but obviously of the same sort, and called *Dunalishaig*, stands on the south Bank of the Firth of *Dornoch*, in the *Old Picts Country*, in Ross Shire.—The tradition of the neighbouring country reports it to have been the very Tower of *Fingal;* and records prodigies of his strength.—And, surely enough, these sort of traditions at least shew that it was undoubtedly of the highest antiquity, and the residence of some ferocious *Pictish* Chieftain.

The wall is twelve feet thick, and incloses a circular area, like that in *Dun Dornadilla*, twenty-seven feet in diameter;—and at about nine feet from the ground, a circle of stones projects all round the inside, broad enough for to walk upon; which unquestionably must have been designed to support a flooring of timber.—A conclusion that seems the more clearly to have been well founded, because up one step from these stones, (that is at just the height above them that is adequate to the thickness of such a flooring) are four door-ways, leading into the upper galleries, or cells.

Both the upper, and lower galleries, however, here are very different from those of *Dornadilla*, in that they do not run quite round the wall, as there: but from each of the four doors below, and from each of those above, there is, in the wall, on each side a narrow passage, to a little oval cell, or store-room;—which cells are lighted, from the inside of the Tower, by small perforations in the wall like pigeon holes, and which therefore shew that, whatever timber flooring there was, an open cavity must have been left in the midst, for light and air.*

There are steps, within the thickness of the wall, leading to the top of the edifice;—but the whole is now not above sixteen feet high in any part, a considerable portion of the top having been taken down a few years ago, to build an house.—There are no marks of the tool upon the steps of the stairs; nor on any of the stones. And even the quoins of the door way consisted only of large stones carefully

* There is a good description of the whole given by Mr. Maitland, in his History of Scotland, Book I. p. 145;—and there is curious Plan and Section of this building, in Cordiner's Antiquities of Scotland, p. 118, Pl. XX.—Besides which, there is a very imperfect view of it drawn from memory only, in the Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 248, Pl. XXII. p. 254, where the diameter (spoken of by memory also) is greatly mistaken; and where it is called *Dun Agglesag*.

chosen, so as to fit the place exactly where they were put; whilst over the top of the door is placed a very large rude stone, of the form of an equilateral triangle, having each side about six feet long, and being about four feet in thickness; a mass therefore that could not well have been reared, except by the assistance of an artificial mound of earth, and by such kind of labour, as we have before spoken of, in the description of the Druidical works.

A similar stone of this sort, is seen placed over the door in the Dun in Glen-beg, Pl. XXV. fig. 1;—and also another in Dun Dornadilla, Pl. XXVI, fig. 2.

The next curious building of the kind that deserves to be mentioned, in order to confirm all our ideas with regard to them, is near the river *Brora*, in *Sutherland*, on an eminence called *Achir na Kyle*.

This is situated on the top of a lofty precipitous rock;* and like *Dun-alishaig* has little oval apartments within the thickness of the wall, about eight feet long, six high, and four wide: some in the upper part of the wall, as *there;* and some on the ground; which latter are still a refuge for the goats from storm and tempest.

There are stairs of communication, from the lower row of these apartments to that above; and the cells themselves are lighted by small windows, from *the inside* of the Tower; which evidently shews, an opening must always have been left *in the middle*, at top, for light and air.

One of these cells has an entrance of several paces in length leading to it, and was larger than the rest, and at least nine feet in height; which points it out, as having been perhaps designed for *a treasury;* or at least as a Chamber for the more special use of the King, or Chieftain.

The circular space of the area, is about twenty feet in diameter: and from the quantity of ruins that lie round its base, the walls of this building must have been pretty high, and have contained probably a third, or uppermost row of cells, though now the height of the walls does not exceed fifteen feet.

The door is full six feet high, and looks over the precipice towards the river.

‡ There is an elegant description of this in Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 75.

And it is not a little remarkable, that there are remains of several other structures, that appear to have been built upon the same plan, just in the neighbourhood of this;—which shews evidently, that they were places of usual abode in a very early age.—A circumstance that seems farther to be pointed out, by there being in the neighbourhood several *Carns*.

All these rude *Tower-like* edifices, are strong instances, of an imitation, (and almost of *a close imitation*, both as to the dimensions of the internal area, and as to the little chambers, and galleries within the thickness of the walls,) of the very early *British Towers*, which we have described, as existing in *Cornwall*, and in *South Wales*.—An imitation of Towers, (which indeed had been constructed of good masonry,) but an imitation made as near as possible, without the assistance of any masonry at all; and with mere rude stones carefully chosen, and simply laid one upon another, without cement:—yet differing from the well builded British Towers, rather in the having the circular wall made sloping on the outside, and conical in its form, for the sake of adding that strength which the want of cement occasioned, than in any other circumstance.

But there are also other structures, of the same age; and, as it should seem, from several collateral circumstances attending them, by the same people; which have been generally confounded and blended with these, even by Mr. Pennant, as well as by other curious writers; which yet ought to be somewhat distinguished from the preceding; and to be considered as more lax imitations still:—and as attempts, to render this mode of fortification more extensive; and upon a larger scale fit for more general use; and for the harbouring of many families conjointly, and even of cattle, in case of necessity.—The buildings being vastly larger,—and more capacious;—whilst the walls were, in several instances, much less strong, and the work more carelessly fabricated.*

* I am obliged therefore to differ totally from Mr. Pennant's mode of reasoning with regard to them, in his Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 53, 54;—the conclusions to be drawn from his own more accurate observations obliging me to do so:—for as Mr. Pennant most justly observes that these buildings, could not well have been introduced into Scotland by the *Danes*; because there are none such found in Norway and Denmark; except *one* not far from *Drontheim*, which may be accounted for, as having been being built even so late as 1202, in imitation of the very buildings which we have been just describing, and of some in the

One is thus described, in Mr. Pennant's own words: "Not far "from Dunrobin is a very entire piece of antiquity, of the kind "known in Scotland by the name of the *Pictish* Castles, and called "here *Cairn Lia,* or Grey Tower. That I saw, was about one "hundred and thirty yards in circumference, round, and raised so "high above the ground as to form a considerable mount. On the "top was an extensive but shallow hollow; within were three low "concentric galleries, at small distances from each other, covered "with large stones; and the side walls were about four or five feet "thick, rudely made. There are generally three of these places "near each other, so that each may be seen from any one.—Build-"ings of this kind are very frequent along this coast, that of *Caith-*"*ness*, and of *Strathnavern*.—Others agreeing in external form, are "common in the Hebrides, but differ in their internal construction. "—In the islands they are attributed to the *Danes;*—here to the "*Picts*. Possibly each nation might have the same mode of build-"ing with some variation, for I am told that some are to be seen in "places where the *Danes* never penetrated. They were probably "the defencible habitations of the times.—I must withdraw my "opinion of their having been the *suffugia hiemi aut receptacula* "*frugibus*, like those of the antient *Germans*. Such are not un-"common in Scotland, but of a form very different from these."*

Hebrides:—so assuredly we may still more stongly infer, that if these ruder kind of buildings were even at that time only *imitated* in Norway, the more perfect kinds could certainly not be derived from thence;—because unquestionably the *Danes* would first have reared specimens of such kind of more finished buildings in their own country; and not have limited themselves, at home, to such rude work as is said to appear at *Drontheim*.—The more just conclusion therefore seems to be, that, although either way the origin of these *Duns* is what may be called *Celtic*, yet that the *Danes* rather borrowed the pattern from the *Picts* when, under the command of Harold, they assisted the Picts in undertaking the recovery of their lost possessions in Scotland; than that the *Danes* themselves introduced these sort of buildings whilst they had footing in the Hebrides, and Northern parts of this Island.—The progress of this species of imitation, of a sort of architecture which was the first improvement that succeeded beyond the mere use of hill-fortresses, and woody coverts, may much more easily be accounted for, as to its *Celtic* origin, as travelling in this manner, by means of Phœnician intercourse, from Asia, to the Southern coasts of this Island; and then, according to the rude abilities of a rude people, to the North and Norway; than as reaching the Northern parts of Europe first, (which we actually know were last of all civilized, in every other respect) and then travelling Southward.—

* Pennant's Tour in Scotland, p. 171.

This Fortress of *Dunrobin* is in *Sutherland*:—and in *Caithness* near *Dunbeth* is another, appearing externally, like a conical mount with an hollow in the top, and called the *Bourg of Dunbeth*.*

There seems also to have been another such in the Isle of *Arran*,† one of the Hebrides.

In that division of *Perth-shire* called *Athol*, near *Edradour*, in the parish of *Mouline*, on the top of a steep Den, are the remains of a circular building called *Black Castle*, about sixty feet diameter within-inside, and the walls about eight feet thick.

There is another about a mile west from the village of *Mouline*.

And a third on an eminence south of the former.

There is also one, on the hill of *Drummin*, opposite to *Taymouth*.‡ —Another within view of that, above the Church of *Fortingal*.—A third opposite to *Alt-mhuic* in the neighbourhood of *Killin*.—A fourth under the house of *Cashly*.—And a fifth, about half a mile west; the figure of which differs a little from the others, in being of an oval form; the greatest axis of which within, is seventy-one feet; and the breadth, or lesser axis, forty;—and the wall of which is twelve feet thick in some parts, and in others eight; having at the east end a low and narrow door, covered with a flag.

Another still more entire than the rest, about three miles distant from this last, lies at the foot of the hill *Grianan*.—In the wall of this is found one stone twenty-nine feet long, and nine thick;§ and the greater part even of the rest of the stones are from three to six feet long, and from one and an half, to three feet thick.—The form of this building is as usual, a circle;—it is about forty-five feet in diameter;—and its wall is from eleven to twelve feet thick; but not above nine feet and an half high at present, in any part.—About three hundred yards west from this, is again another;—and a mile further west, another.—And lastly, within sight, at five miles distance, one more, the most westerly of any we have intelligence of, in that tract of country.

Most of these lie in *Glen Lion*; and they shew how numerous these kind of structures were in what was once the *Picts* country.—

* Pennant's Tour. p. 176.

† See Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 186.

‡ Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 50.

§ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 52.

The tradition of the neighbourhood still is, that they were the *Towers* of *Fingal*.—Probably they were the safeguards of his Chieftains:—the horrid dens to which their followers were summoned, on pain of death, and devastation, to revenge imagined wrongs, and to spread desolation and misery, as far as their maurauding expeditions could reach.

Among the Hebrides, or Western Islands, in *Ilay*, is a Dun on an hill named after it *Dun Bhorairaig*;—which Mr. Pennant calls *Danish*;* but surely contrary to his own better information, when he remarks that such kind of buildings are not met with in *Norway*, or *Denmark*; and that they are found in Scotland, in parts to which the Danes either never penetrated, or where they staid only a very short time.†

This in *Ilay* is, like the preceding, of a circular form; the wall about fourteen feet high, and twelve thick; constructed without mortar;—having within its thickness a gallery that runs quite round;—a low entrance covered at top with a great flat stone;—and an hollow place in the wall, on each side of the passage.—The area within is fifty two feet in diameter.—It has a stone bench running all round the bottom of the wall, at present about two feet high:—but most probably the ground within was formerly lower; and, it then served to rest the ends of timbers upon, for a flooring, all round; whilst the other ends of the timbers were supported by posts, and whilst an open circular space, was left in the centre, for light and air.

In the Isle of Skie also, on the top of a rock, at *Struan*, is another such structure of a circular figure, whose diameter within is forty-two feet, (according to Mr. Pennant's measures,) and whose walls are about nine feet thick;—and within which are traces of its having been divided into five several spaces; one circular in the centre, which was probably left open at the top, and four on the sides all round, divided by four transverse partitions;—the first entrance being (as in so many other instances) by a door six feet high, covered with great stones.‡

* Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 219. † Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 54.

‡ There is a representation of this building in the Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 292. Pl. XXXVI.

This building is referred to by *Martin* in his History of the Western Isles,* who says merely, hastily, concerning *Duns*, that they are *supposed* to have been built by the *Danes:* but adds very consistently with Mr. Pennant's subsequent observations, that they are so numerous, and so situated, that fires, and beacons might easily be seen from one to the other, so as quickly to alarm the whole country.

He adds, also, what seems to indicate that they must have been built by a people who had *more time to spare* than the *Danes* could bestow; that many of the stones that compose them are of such a bulk, that no number of the present inhabitants could raise them without an engine.—I will rather venture to add, that they could not have raised them at all, without a sloping bank thrown up, whereon to roll them up by means of rollers and levers, which was most probably the very means whereby they were brought to their present situation.

There are other such Duns, *Martin* says,† in the small Isles surrounding *Skie;* one of which is in form like the crown of an hat. And another is still three stories high.

Another in the Isle of *Lewis* he thus describes:—

"Some few miles to the North of *Brago*, there is a Fort com-
"posed of large stones; it is of a round form, made taperwise
"towards the top, and is three stories high, the wall is double, and
"hath several doors and stairs, so that one may go round within
"the wall."‡

He mentions others also in the Isle of *Harries*.§

And others again in *Tire-iy*.‖

In the *Orcades*, or *Orkneys*, also, they are again met with in great numbers:¶—and there is one most particularly curious.

It is situated on a small island about half a mile long, lying off the south-east end of this country.—This Castle stands about twenty yards from the sea, and seems to be of a different kind from most others, in that there are no ditches round it, though a sort of slight stone *dike* may be traced as having encompassed it.—The structure

* Martin's History, p. 153. † Ibid. p. 164. ‡ Ibid. p. 8.
§ Martin's History, p. 58. ‖ Ibid. 270.
¶ See Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 95.

is still forty-five feet high: and is built round a circular court; twenty feet only in diameter.—You enter through the wall from the side next the sea, by a low door, into this round court (or hall); on the opposite side of which is another door raised three feet from the ground, which leads to the stairs. The staircase is placed in the heart of the wall, and leads up by high narrow steps to the top of the building. The thickness of the wall is sixteen feet, and the whole height (within the substance of the wall) is divided into stories of galleries about five feet high.—Each of these stories, or galleries, go round the building in the heart of the wall, except where the stair interrupts.—In the inside of the building there are three ranges of square holes, each range going from bottom to top (exactly, it may here be observed, as those cells or cupboards did, in *Dundornadilla* and Dun *Agglesag*); and by this means these ranges divide the inside circular wall perpendicularly, into three unequal segments. These holes are separated from each other by one or two thin stones, and are from eight inches to a foot square; and might therefore serve the threefold purpose of admitting light, and air, into the galleries from the inside of the Tower;—of holding cups and drinking horns, and other utensils;—and (if needful) of defending the galleries by means of missile weapons, even against any enemy that should by any possibility have gotten admittance into the inside of the Castle. The galleries are divided from one another by broad thin stones; which at once form so many floors, and so many roofs. The building on the outside appears to taper considerably, until within one third of the whole height, when it goes up perpendicularly, and even rather seems to lean without the plumb; but the inside wall is plumb.

This is the substance of Mr. Nicolson's account; who very rationally concludes it to have been the residence of some antient *Prince* of that Country;—and the rather, because the place (or little town) next adjacent to it, is called *Conengsburg*,—or *the King's seat of Residence*;—exactly as we find the same sort of denomination at *Conisborough* in Yorkshire.*

To this opinion, therefore, surely, we must adhere, rather than to that of Mr. *Anderson*, who deems this structure to have been a

* See p. 43 of this Volume

Temple, or place of superstitious worship;—though perhaps there may indeed have been some wretched stock or stone idols here, as well as at *Conisborough*.

All these buildings, in the Orkneys, are of dry rough stones, without any cement;—and there cannot be a doubt, but that the insides were originally fitted up with rough floors of timber, having a round cavity, for light and air, left in the centre of each:—a provision which must also have been necessary for the discharge of smoke, in so cold a country, where fires must have been most needful; and in buildings where no sort of chimney can be discerned.

Such is the general appearance of the remains of *Duns* in these so many instances;—and therefore, there can now scarce remain a doubt as to their original design, and use;—whilst, from a passage in *Torfæus*, there is reason to believe, that they were considered as places of *habitation*, and of safety for refugees, even so late as the year 1155, in the remote parts of Scotland.—For, when the mother of *Harold Earl of Caithness*, had been involuntarily the cause of her son's death, whilst she was most iniquitously preparing a means of destruction for another, she is said to have fled into the heart of *Sutherland*, to a sequestered Castle, and to have resided there.—The Castle which she fled to, was placed on a rock; the access to it being by dreary and gloomy paths, amidst crags, and fens, and forests. And its situation corresponded so much with that of *round* Towers mentioned in another place by *Torfæus;* that since no other remains hardly of *round* Towers, except *Duns*, are found in *those* parts, there is every reason to believe, this was an instance amongst the very last and most important, of the use of one of them.*

* This circumstance is strongly pointed out by Mr. Cordiner, in a Note to his Extracts from *Torfæus*, p. 161;—where is related at large, the whole romantick tale of the richly embroidered, poisoned shirt, or garment, which *Harold's* mother, and Aunt, were preparing for *Paul*, the half brother of Harold, who had possession of the *Orcades*;—and which was the cause of Harold's death, in consequence of his snatching it from them, through envy of Paul, and then wearing it; whilst they, as far as they dared, without discovery of their infernal wickedness, remonstrated against his taking it.

There is a further account of certain other structures, which are deemed *Pictish* buildings, by Mr. *Pope* of *Reay*, in his account of *Caithness*; and which is referred to by Mr. *Pennant*, in the Appendix to the Second Part of his Tour in Scotland, p. 18.—But as *these*

As we have such strong and numerous instances of these rude Imitations still remaining in the most remote and inaccessible parts of Britain, so there cannot be a doubt, but that some such sort of imitative structures, once existed even in the southern parts of this Island, before the *Phœnician* and *Syrian* mode of building Towers was so well copied as at *Launceston*, and *Conisborough*.—But it cannot be expected that many of them should remain, in parts where strong Castles, and Fortresses, and various mansions, were afterwards built; especially as such original *Duns* were constructed without cement, and of stones that might be very frequently wanted for other buildings.

There are still, however, some vestiges to ascertain the fact.—For in the parish of *Morvah*, in *Cornwall*, are the remains of a most remarkable structure, called *Castle Chun*, that, as it appears to me, cannot well be considered in any other light, than as one of the first sort of very rude imitations of the mode of building round Castles, according to hints given by Phœnicians, and before the Britons learned the use of cement.

It bears a no small resemblance to the *Duns*, near *Grianan Hill* in Scotland, and in the Isle of *Ilay*.*

It consisted of a strong wall of stones without cement, surrounding a large oval area, and having the interior space evidently divided into several separate divisions,+ ranging round the inside, leaving an open oval space in the centre.—It was even much larger than the two Great Duns just referred to in Scotland; the area being 125 feet, by 110; and it was moreover surrounded, on the outside, by a large deep ditch, over which was a zig-zag narrow passage, on a bank of earth, with strong rude uncemented walls on each side.

From the largeness of the area within, it seems exceeding probable, that (whilst the surrounding walled divisions served for stores)

do not relate properly to the present purpose; and seem, some of them at least, to have been rather sepulchres, than habitations;—and others, either hiding pits, or else mere dens, resorted to on hunting expeditions, and no better than kennels; the bare mention of them in this note is sufficient on the present occasion.

* See p. 199, 200, of this Volume.

+ See Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 346, 347.—Doctor Maton's Observations, Vol. I. p. 224, and Britton's Beauties of England and Wales, Vol. I. p. 500.

the more interior oval space was, for habitation, like that in a Dun, supplied with floors of timber, supported by posts near the middle, but yet leaving still a smaller open area in the centre of all.

Doctor Borlase conceived that, this with some other *hill-fortresses*, which are continued in a chain within sight of each other, must have been *Danish*, because they are in the narrowest and western-most part of Cornwall, and this chain of fortresses cuts off and secures an extreme portion of that country from the rest, for a safe retreat; which he deemed the Danes might design as a means of re-embarking with safety.—But surely it is rather more obvious, to suppose that *the more antient Britons*, themselves, might design this portion of their country, as a last and sure refuge, in case of the more exposed parts being over-run by any inroads of their warlike neighbours, from the other parts of Britain.—Whilst the very dimensions of this *Dun*, and of its walled spaces, shew that it was intended, in cases of emergency, to secure very great stores.

Thus from various distinguished remains, we have found it possible to obtain, after the passing of so many ages, a consistent retrospective view, of the efforts of the Britons, from first to last, both to preserve such means of defence, and of obtaining the accommodations of life, as they had derived from the first rude patriarchal ancestors, from whom they originally migrated; and also to improve such hints, as they afterwards received from *Phœnician* traders, and from *Roman* invaders.

The dreadful consequences of abominable idolatrous superstitions; —and the ebbings and flowings of prosperity, and adversity;—the fruit of industry and civilization, on the one hand,—or of foul licentiousness, and savage ferocity, on the other,—(as described even by their own historians,) point out strongly the over-ruling hand of Divine Providence.—Whilst the vestiges of increasing means both of convenience for the comforts of life, and of security, bear testimony to the bringing forth of good out of evil, and of light out of darkness.

We concluded the description of their rude *Celtic Structures*, and the first early period of their history, with the account of their idolatrous priests slain, and burnt upon their own horrible altars, destined for the slaughter of human victims.—We now finish the

second period of their history, with the account of those awakened efforts, towards the improvement of their architecture, and of bettering their condition, both by the *Southern Britons* themselves, in consequence of Roman civilization,—and by their *Imitators*, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts*,—which the dissoluteness and vices so strongly described by *Gildas*, and their own historians, alone rendered abortive;—and which ended in a second chastiment, and depression, almost worse than the first.

Yet, in reality, the condition, in the scale of civilization, of all, —of *Britons*,—*Scots*,—and *Picts*,—was on the whole advanced.— As in truth, even under the terrours of *Saxon*, and *Danish* invasions, and of *Norman* conquests afterwards, both science, and arts, were increasing, and still spreading more widely;—and a meliorated state of mankind gradually took place.

# BOOK IV.

## OBSERVATIONS ON SAXON ARCHITECTURE.

### CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE REGAL PALACES,—AND CASTLES OF THE FIRST SAXONS.

After having contemplated the exceedingly antient remains of the rude works of the primæval Britons, in what may be called their Patriarchal state, from one end of this Island to the other;—and after having diligently examined what sort of splendid works of architecture, were introduced by their *first Invaders, the Romans:*—after having seen also in what manner the *Britons* slowly imitated Phœnician architecture, which they gained some ideas of from intercourse with Phœnician traders;—and Roman architecture, from what they saw before their eyes;—and after having remarked the strange distant imitation even of these sort of improvements, in the more remote and inaccessible parts of *Britain;*—it is now time to take a view of that quite new scene of things, which a total change of situation produced in this country; when a foreign people, more fierce and barbarous than the Britons themselves, gained settlement here, and sovereign dominion.

We are now to consider *Saxon Manners,—Saxon ideas,—Saxon Fortresses;*—and instead of contemplating the supertitious rites of the antient Britons,—or the plain simple state of *Christianity* amongst the later Britons;—are to contemplate *the Churches of converted Saxons* that began to appear, with abundance of incoherent ornament, and accompanied with no less abundance of incoherent additions to that pure religion, which had first been derived from intercourse with the Christians of the first three centuries.

*King Alfred's* well known complaint, *that there were but few Castles in England before his time,*—is even a positive proof, that there were *some*, existing in the time of the Heptarchy, though *not many*.—And especially as he cannot, in that complaint, concerning former times, be supposed to have made the least reference to mere *earth-works*, or to *Hill Fortresses*;—because of those, there were a prodigious number, existing in all parts of this Island, previous to the age in which he lived, instead of being only a few.

On investigating this matter more fully, we shall now find, that besides the walls of *Richborough*,—*Castor*,—*Burgh Castle*, and other Roman works;—and besides *British* Castles at *Conisborough*,—*Launceston*,—and *Chilham*;—there were some other Castles, whose architecture shews them to have been entirely *Saxon*; though both their plan, and the style of building, indicate them to have been prior to the age in which *Alfred* lived.

We are expressly told by *Matthew of Westminster*,* that *Ida*, King of *Northumberland*, built a Castle at *Bamborough*, about A. D. 548, above three hundred years before the days of *Alfred*, whether it was, or was not, any part of the *Keep Tower* that now remains.

And *Roger Howeden*+ giving an account of this Fortress, further says, there was a *beautiful church* in it;—and such surely could not have been constructed of stone; so as to be deemed *beautiful;* without there having been a Castle of the same materials previously existing.

*Bede* also describes the besieging, and actual attempt to burn a Castle, on this spot, between the years 642, and 655, by *Penda* King of Mercia.‡

* Page 193, sub. an. 547. Sax. Chron. p. 19. + Page 231. b.

‡ Bede tells us the arm of *King Oswald*, afterwards *Saint Oswald*, which by a miracle was said to be preserved uncorrupted, was first (about A. D. 642,) kept inclosed in a silver shrine, in a church, *in the Royal City (or Fortress)* of *Bebba*, (understood to be *Bamborough* (Lib. III. cap. 6, 12.)—And he afterwards adds the account (cap. 12) of the miraculous preservation of *Bebba*, or *Bamborough Castle*, (about A. D. 655,) from being burnt by *Penda*; in consequence of the prayers of *Aidan*, who was in the *Island of Farne*, at the distance of two thousand paces off. (quæ duobus ferme millibus passuum ab urbe procul abest, cap. 16.)—The nearest of the *Farne Islands* is now a little more than a mile distant; and is probably that referred to.

These surely are proofs, both of a Royal *Saxon Palace*, or *Tower*,—and of a *Saxon Church*

One of its names was *Cynclicanberg*, which is of much the same import as *Coninesburgh*, or *Conisborough;* and signifies the *Royal Mansion:*—or *place of the King's abode.*—And indeed constant tradition allows it to have been the usual place of residence of the *Northumberland Kings.*

Can a doubt then remain of there having been an actual *Tower of Stone* here, in the time of the Heptarchy?—In 710, *Osred*, son of *Alfred*, took shelter in this stronghold, and here was beseiged by *Edulph* the Usurper, whom he defeated;—and he ever after made this Castle his Palace of residence.

In the reign of *Egbert*, *Kenulph* Bishop of Lindisfarn was confined here thirty years, from 750 to 780.—And at the time of the Norman Conquest, (though it had been plundered by the Danes in 933)* it is said to have been in *good repair.*

When we know then that there were *Towers of Stone* built in other parts of England, both by the Britons themselves, and by the Romans, before the time of *Ida*, is it possible to imagine that such particular circumstances as these could have existed, or have been mentioned, unless the Keep Tower here, had been, *in Saxon times*, as strong *a stone building*, and of as much distinguished importance as the others?

This surely then may be adduced, as one certain instance of the real existence of a regular Castle *of stone*, having been constructed in the early *Saxon* period.

Again, at *Corffe*, in Dorsetshire, was a residence of *Saxon Kings*, very early.—An antient record seems clearly to prove, that a Castle actually existed there, at least in the time of King *Edgar*;† and most probably before his days.—And it is well known that there the detestable *Elfrida* caused *King Edward* to be murdered,‡ in order to open a way to the throne, for her own son *Etheldred.*—There also are

existing in this place.—And as to *Penda's* design of burning the Tower (or Castle);—that cannot be understood to have implied any thing more, than a purpose to burn all the *interior floorings*, and all that it contained, in the manner referred to, in so many instances, in the preceding pages of this Volume.

* Sax. Chron. 127. † See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 49.

‡ The account is inserted at large in Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 163, from William of Malmsbury.—There are three Views of this Castle in Grose's Antiquities.

still remains of a Tower, called *the King's Tower*, in which are most evident marks of *Saxon Architecture*.—Arches, *truly Saxon*, of the kind found in the earliest churches of that period:—and that peculiar species of stone work, in the walls, called *Herring-bone* work.

Again, notwithstanding Somner's conjectures* to the contrary, we have the utmost reason to conclude, that *Ethelbert's Tower*, at *Canterbury*, (however it might indeed be afterwards altered, and adorned, by the Monks of St. Austin,) was really, at first, an original Palace of the Kings of Kent.

The constant antient tradition of the country reported it to be such.†—And it is on all hands acknowledged, that *Ethelbert* did give *his own Palace*‡ of residence to *Austin*, to become a monastery.—And it is very remarkable that, long after the gift, this very Tower, actually did serve for a Royal lodging occasionally, in succeeding ages,§ even down to the time of Charles I. and Charles II.‖ almost as often as any of our monarchs visited Canterbury.—As Somner seems to be mistaken, in supposing it to have been built only about the year 1047; so he certainly was mistaken, in calling it *a hollow piece throughout, and unvaulted, or without any arch cast over, within it, from the bottom to the top*.¶ For there was very lately, if there be not still, an arched vault,** about twenty-five feet, from the ground, to all appearance as old as the rest of the building;—and there were corbels left visible for the support of the floorings of the different stories.—It may be observed also, that *Ethelbert's* long reign of fifty-six years, with continued prosperity, afforded more than time sufficient, for rearing such a Tower, in the most finished manner

* Somner's conclusion, with regard to the building of this Tower, in the year 1047, in the time of Archbishop *Eadsin*, appears clearly to be a *mere conjecture*, founded only on a passage in *Thorn*, that *Eadsin gave one hundred marks to the building of the Tower, which the Monks were* THEN *building*.—And his derivation of its name, from some bell supposed to have hung in it, at some time or other, is acknowledged, even by himself, to be *mere conjecture*.—The words, of Thorn, *the Tower which the Monks were* THEN *building*, seem rather to indicate, that there must have been some *other Tower* there also, and most probably *Ethelbert's*, standing at that very time.

† Somner's Antiquities, p. 51. ‡ Hasted's History of Kent, Vol. III. p. 632.

§ Gostling's walk round Canterbury, p. 39.

‖ There is a good view of it as it stood entire, in Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 23;—and there is a view of it, in its ruined state, in the second Vol. of Grose's Antiquities.

¶ Somner's Antiquities, p. 52. ** Gostling's Canterbury, p. 40, 41.

that the *Saxons*, with their utmost abilities, were capable of constructing.

As *Porta*, who landed at Portchester, there is the utmost reason to believe assisted *Cerdic* in building a *Tower*, at that place; where we find a *Saxon Tower* does still remain, which has been described in the preceding Volume;*—so we are told, that *Ælla*, who founded the kingdom of Sussex, defeated the Britons in a great Battle in 485, and took and destroyed *Anderida*;†—and there is great reason to conclude that he constructed a Tower there.

*Anderida* is, by *Somner*, very fairly concluded to have been *Pevensey*;—where we have seen was, as at *Portchester*, a Roman Fortress, that must have been prior to *Ælla's* time;—but consistently with this conclusion, there were also a very few years ago manifest remains of a *Saxon Tower* of stone.

It was, indeed, as the *Saxon* Tower at *Portchester*, in that part of the Castle area which afterwards became inclosed within a Norman Court, with *Norman Towers*;—but was really a *Saxon Tower*, built on a sort of mount.—The slight remains, as they appeared a few years ago, have been represented in Pl. XXVII. of the preceding Volume;‡—and the situation of the Tower has been there shewn, in the Plan.§

This was, however, only an imperfect specimen.—But on the summit of an high rock, in the more interior parts of this Island, in an almost inaccessible situation, we have still a most perfect remain;—preserved from the devastation of ages, by the great peculiarity of the spot:—the renowned Castle, at *Castleton*, in Derbyshire;—which on the very first glance strikes us with high ideas of its vast antiquity.—

Perched proudly, like a falcon's nest, on a stupendous rock nearly insulated, it impends high, over the mouth of one of the most

* See Munimenta, Vol. II. p. 28, and Pl. $\frac{XXI}{5}$, p. 34.

† Hen. Huntingdon. lib. ii.

‡ See Munimenta, Vol. II. p. 44. Pl. XXVII.—And p. 40, 44. Pl. XXII.

§ There is a View also of this Saxon Tower, when it had still more remains existing, in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II. where the circumstance of Pevensey's having been the old *Anderida* is referred to.—But the arches in Mr. Grose's View, when compared with the last remaining one which was drawn by Mr. Grimm, appear to have been represented much too large.

horrid, and august caverns that Nature ever formed.—On the summit of this cavern, is one extensive high hill;—but the rock, on which the Castle stands, is much higher; and, being nearly of a square form on its surface, is joined to the hill over the cavern, only at the south west corner, by a steep precipice:—whilst the west, and east sides also of the rock on which the whole is built, are almost quite perpendicular; and the North, and South sides are so steep, that they cannot be ascended without the utmost difficulty. —The summit commands a most glorious view of all the country round;—and of *Mam Tor*, its neighbouring hill, with the antient *British Fortress*, placed on the highest, and most precipitous brow, of that so justly called *Shivering* mountain.

There is not even so much as a tradition in the country preserved of the first building of this Castle;—but the immense labour of raising up the stones wherewith it is constructed, and which evidently appear to have been brought from some distance, and not to have been of any kind near at hand, shews it must have been the work of some *Chieftain* possessed of great power:—whilst the style of its architecture, and the appearance of *Herring-bone* masonry in the walls, seem decidedly to indicate it to have been *Saxon*, and of the highest antiquity.

The situation of this Fortress greatly resembles (as far as any adequate ideas can be formed) that of the Fortress of *Macherus* in *Judæa*, that was so strongly re-edified by *Herod*, and is so particularly described by *Josephus*.* And the workmanship of the Tower, in truth, so nearly resembles *Roman Work;* and it is, also in dimensions, so nearly like those Towers of *Hippicus*, and *Mariamne*, said to have been built by *Herod*, at *Jerusalem*;† that one must conclude it to have been built by some *Saxon*, who had been abroad, and had seen remains of such kind of structures, as were built on the same plan that Herod followed.‡—Indeed had it not been for the *Herring-bone Work*, so strongly obvious, on the one hand; and for the total want of the appearance, on the other hand, of any *Roman bricks* in

* Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. vii. cap. 6. sec. 1.

† Ibid. lib. v. cap. 4. sec. 3. The one of these was about 37 feet square, the other about 30, and they were both deemed *Palaces*.

‡ These Towers of Herod will be particularly described in another part of this Work.

the structure, (which might surely have been obtained more easily than the stones with which it is built).—One might be almost tempted to place it, amongst the *British* imitations of *Roman Architecture;*—or even to suspect that it was built *before* the Romans left this Island.

Some writers have thought *Castleton* Castle might have been built by *William de Peverell*, natural Son of *William the Conqueror;* because he certainly was, by the gift of the Conqueror, once possessed of it.*—But there are some circumstances known, which plainly shew, both that there was *here* the dwelling of some great antient Chieftain, long before the Conquest;—and also that *William de Peverell* was so far from having been the builder of this Castle,—that *he* even found its situation inconvenient.+

For it appears, from an antient manuscript, preserved in the college of *Manchester*, that though *William de Peverell* had sometimes his residence, and kept his court *here;*—yet that he had his *more usual residence*, at *Brough* (or *Burgh)* very near;—from whence, as well as from *this Castle*, was an *antient* common *road*, to *Buxton;*—a road that was called, *long before the time of William de Peverell*, BATHAM GATE; or the gate, or road, leading *to the Bath*.

And from hence it may clearly be inferred, that before the time of *William de Peverell*, and before the Norman Conquest, there was an *established road* here; directing its course, *from this Castle*, as from some considerable place of residence of a great Chieftain, and as having been made for his use, and that of his attendant train of dependants, to resort to the warm baths in the neighbourhood.—And that *afterwards William de Peverell*, rendered this road equally useful to another, near adjoining, more convenient, fortified mansion of residence, in a more accessible spot; which later mansion has, probably in consequence of that very circumstance, been long since totally destroyed.

The ascent to this strong Den of *Castleton*, was by a narrow

* See Dugdale's Baronage, p. 437. These circumstances are mentioned more at large, in my Paper in the Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 248.

+ The very manner in which Dugdale delivers down the record of this *Castle* having been given to *William de Peverell*, shews it must have existed before his time. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 436.

winding zig-zag path, up a most formidable steep;—where a very small band of men might, at any time, defy an army.—And after ascending this, you find the Castle walls to possess nearly the whole of the summit of the rock.

The first great gate, which probably was *a Norman* structure, and might indeed be built by *William de Peverell*, was on what I formerly called the eastern, but which is rather the south-eastern side; and having been not so strong an edifice as the Keep Tower, has long since been destroyed.—It seems, however, to have had no mote, or draw-bridge; as indeed none could well be necessary in such a situation: nor could I perceive any appearance of any *artificial* Gulph before it, according to Dr. Short's description.*

On entering the great area of the Castle Yard, (or as it was called in succeeding ages the *Ballium*,) there appear no vestiges of any substantial additional buildings besides the Keep, such as do usually appear in most other Castles;—but there is only a large void space, or open area, for encampment, and for soldiers' huts; and merely two little square *half turrets*, in the wall.—

The whole Plan is represented in Pl. XXVII. fig. 1, as it appears to the eye;—not indeed laid down from exact measurement, but with sufficient accuracy to convey a tolerable exact idea of all its parts.—I will not presume to say (as I visited this place only once,) (whether the area ought not to be represented somewhat larger in proportion to the dimensions of the Keep Tower; nor whether the outlines of the rock, are perfectly true, in every irregularity, or curvature; but I will venture to affirm, that the general disposition of the parts is right;—that the situation of the *Keep Tower* itself is accurately represented; and its plan most accurate;—that the description of the interval between it and the southern, or south-western wall is most faithful;—and that there is no mistake which can materially affect that sort of precise idea which a scientific person would wish to obtain of this fortress.

(f g h i k l) Represents the irregular figure of the rock, on which this Fortress stands; the form of whose base, is very similar to that of its summit, and only a very little extended beyond the same dimensions, and whose sides are every where exceedingly

* Short on Mineral Waters, p. 30, 31.

steep; and in some parts actual precipices. And completely so from (k) to (m);—and also from (m) to (f), as far down as over the top of the Cavern (c).—And (m n o p q) shew the remains of the Castle walls.

At (a) was the place where appears to have stood some great gate, with its Towers; now quite destroyed.

At (b) stands the Keep.—And (c) shews the situation of the mouth of the great magnificent natural Cavern, (a scene of wonders, to those who traverse its romantick windings,) at a most tremendous depth beneath the Castle;—over its mouth up to the top of the rock at (x), is one continued precipice;—again from (x 2) to (m f) is another precipice;—and from the ground, along (k l m), to the very highest summit on which the Castle stands, is one continued steep precipice; a sort of mere wall of rock, of at least 87 yards, or 261 feet in height.

At (d) is one of the small square Towers, that have already been mentioned.—It has indeed a window looking outwards: but in such a situation that it might most safely be allowed, were it ever so large; there being no danger of any near approach, on account of the deep, steep, precipitous descent beneath; by means of which it was almost as well protected as any window even in the very upper apartments of the Keep itself.

At (e) is the other small projection in the wall, resembling a Tower, but hardly worthy to be deemed such in reality.

(r . t . z) Is the place where appears to have been an approach to the portal of entrance of the Keep Tower, at some height above.

(g h i) Shews the direction, and narrowness, of a chasm in the mountain; a sort of deep valley; or mere cleft between the rocks; near 200 feet in depth, with steep and nearly perpendicular sides of the mountain rising on each hand.—Which cleft, or chasm, is also still further continued far along the South side of the Castle rock, till it is at last closed up with broken crags.

After climbing the steep ascent, on the north, or rather North-eastern side of the rock, by means of a zig-zag path, turning repeatedly backwards, and forwards;* and after traversing a small part of the

* Those who are at all used to mountainous countries, know that a ridge, almost perpendicular, may be ascended in this manner;—but (as at *Castleton,*) it requires use, and a great command of the powers of imagination, to prevent such giddiness as might be fatal.

brink of the precipice, on the other side, in order to arrive at the first great gate of entrance at (a), the whole area of the encampment round the Castle (in what has of later years been called the *Utter*, or *Outer Ballium*) was to be passed through, before the Keep Tower could be approached.

This stands at the remotest, and best protected corner of the area; impending, on two sides, over inaccessible precipices; and defended, on the other sides, by the whole munition of the Castle area.—And it bears, on the slightest inspection, marks of antiquity far beyond the time of the *Peverells*.

Its dimensions within, like those of *Conisborough*, and of all the most antient Castles, whether square, or round, are small;—being only 21 feet by 19, or a very little more.—But the walls are about 8 feet in thickness.

It had no entrance, originally, on the ground, unless it was by a very narrow, winding passage, (a b) fig. 2.—And this could hardly be designed for *an entrance*;—for though indeed we do go in *there* at present; yet there is the utmost reason to suspect, that this passage at (a), has either been only forced through the place of a mere loop hole, or else, that instead of being *an entrance* to the Tower, it was merely the narrow passage leading *from* the Tower into a little vault, or dungeon, under the platform of the entrance above.—Whilst the narrow steep winding staircase, that still exists at (c), was rather a descent down from the floor above to this dungeon floor, than any original means of ascent, to the Tower above, from without, as it now appears.

At (d) is a small loop to the East;—and at (e) another to the North;—both of these commanding the Castle area:—but there was no loop towards the *outside* of the Castle, except one at a great height;—nor does either the accurate mode of constructing loops, as adopted by the Normans, nor the use of the *portcullis*; nor the invention of wells, within the walls, for drawing up the timbers of military machines, appear to have been at all understood, or thought of, when *this* Castle was constructed, any more than in the age of the construction either of *Launceston*, *Conisborough*, or *Chilham*.

In the apartment next above;—at (g g) fig. 3, was the antient Great Portal of entrance.—To which, it seems exceeding probable, from

several small fragments of ruins still remaining on the outside of the building, there was an ascent from the ground, by a flight of steps, on the east side of the Tower, that led first to a drawbridge, level with the top of a low strong wall at (r t) fig. 5, and then by a terrasse, or *platform* to the great portal (g).—

Many circumstances may induce us to form this idea concerning the mode of entrance;—for, in the first place, that the arch at (g) was really the grand portal, is obvious from its appearing clearly to have been originally level with the floor of the room; whilst the two other arches in the same apartment at (k) and (l) manifestly designed for windows, were at some height above the floor; the places for resting the beams of which cannot be mistaken.—And besides this, the crown of the arch of the portal, is situated in the wall of the building much lower than the crowns of the arches of the windows.

And yet although the great portal of entrance must have been here, nothing can be more evident, than that a flight of steps could not, with any degree of possibility, have been made to ascend up to it, between the outward wall of the Castle, and that of the Keep Tower, itself, without blocking up the lower arch where the entrance now is at (a) fig. 2, (at whatever period of time that arch was made); unless by some means or other they were so constructed as to be carried quite over the top of it.—Nor indeed would there be sufficient room for a flight of steps at all, unless they were made either to run straight out along the inside of the outer southern wall surrounding the Castle, into the Castle area towards the east; or else were made to wind round the south east corner of the Keep Tower.

We may very well therefore conceive the mode of entrance to have been somewhat in the manner represented, fig. 5. The steps first ascending from (x), where they were well protected by the loop at (d), to (r), where there was a platform, or drawbridge; after which the passage must have been directly over the top of a cross wall (r t), along another platform (z z) to the portal (g).—The drawbridge, when drawn up, might close entirely the interval between the Tower and the outward Castle wall.—And the foot of the steps being at (x), will exactly account for the loop (d) being placed so irregularly near one corner of the lower room, instead of being placed in the middle:—and would render the window above at (k),

which is rather more uniformly placed in the middle of the building, serviceable, together with the lower loop, for the defence of the whole ascent of the steps.

And admitting the mode of entrance to have been of this sort of construction, it will allow the lower arched door way, at (a), (the present entrance) to have been a means of communication from the ground floor of the Tower, with some little dungeon, or close room, under (z z).

Let us now return to the consideration of the first principal apartment, of which fig. 3, is the plan.

At (g g) was the portal of entrance which we have been describing.—At (k) was a large window; which, however, (because of the high precipices all round,) not any weapon, (before the discovering of gunpowder,) shot from the outside of the Castle walls, could well by any possibility reach.—And at (l) was another window equally well guarded by the same means.

Yet nevertheless, on the west side, directly over the precipice, and more immediately exposed to the country, although the Tower stands at such a vast height, there was no window at all; nor any opening whatever, except it was a very narrow loop, near the top.

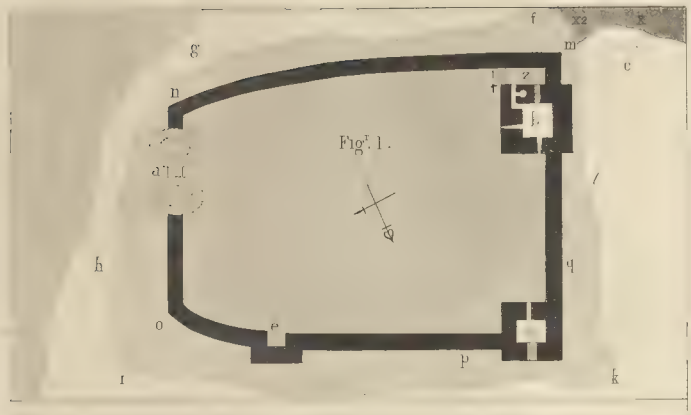
In one of the corners, at (h), is a very narrow passage, to a small closet in the wall, which seems to have served for a privy; and had an outlet, at the bottom, as a drain, through a loop.

And at (i) is another very similar passage, and closet, where there are some appearances that may induce us to think there was a well for water.

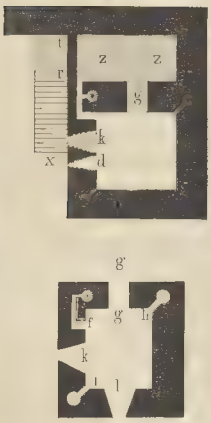
At (f) is the communication with the circular staircase, secured here, as below, by being very narrow; and also by having a sharp turn in it.

By this staircase, from this room, there was not only a descent down to the room beneath; but also an ascent to the room above; the entrance to which is at (m) fig. 4. And over the top of the stairs is a sort of rude dome of stone; very odd, yet very neat:—and which clearly shews that the stairs did not go any higher, so as to reach the top of the wall of the Tower.

In this upper room, is a large window, facing the south at (n).




Figr. 5.



Figr. 2.



Figr. 4





Figr. 3



Figr. 6.

*Castleton Castle in Derbyshire*

But a still more remarkable thing here, is a sort of recess, or *nich* in the wall at (o), with a most singular kind of canopy, or ornament, at top; which having no window belonging to it, nor any flue perceivable above, nor any outlet that could possibly induce the least suspicion of its having served for a chimney, leaves us room to suspect that it might have been designed, in Pagan times, for the same sort of purpose, as there was reason to conclude the *nich* in *Conisborough* Castle was designed for, namely, to be an *idol cell*.*

There is also another most strange appearance in the north wall. —For, about (p) there are projecting mouldings of stone, in the form of an inverted pointed roof, or like a V, as shewn in fig. 6; as if such an odd kind of roof had been let in there, much lower than the top of the Tower.—Possibly, this might be done in later *Saxon* times, from an abhorrence of *this cell*, and on purpose to exclude it from view, as it must have done;—leaving the window (n), as a mere opening between the two sloping parts of the roof, to be a means of annoying beseigers with missile weapons.†

* Mr. Gough, in his additions to Camden, (Vol. II. p. 319,) controverts this idea: and although some antient idols were actually dug up in the very neighbourhood; yet intimates, that *they* might possibly be *Roman lares* or *penates*, and affirms *that we have no authority for placing any religious apartment in our Castles, prior to the introduction of Christianity among us.*

But the curious investigator of antiquities will recollect; that we have even the authority of Holy Scripture itself, to inform us, that in the very earliest ages, when the abominations of idolatry were in use, the idol of *Baal-berith*, was actually placed *in a Castle, or Stronghold*; which, from the description given of it, and from the use made of it, seems to have been very much such a sort of a Tower, as either *Conisborough*, or *Castleton*.—See the Book of Judges, chap. ix. ver. 46, 49. And see before, p. 80.

† If this was the case, there could be only one apartment in this Tower left for habitation.—After all, therefore, this appearance of projecting stone work, in the upper part of these Saxon buildings, is a most strange circumstance; and deserves still further investigation, by any persons who may be able to obtain the assistance of long ladders, or any means of making nearer search than a mere viewing of them from the ground.—It has been thought possible, from the apparent smoothness of the stone work, that these mouldings were hollow, and contained pipes for the communication of sound, and intelligence, from this apartment, to watchmen on the leads above, standing on a flat roof, which originally covered the Tower on the very top, where the walls are now partly broken down.—And unquestionably, the mouldings being in the form of a V, if hollow, might convey sound from a mouth applied at the bottom, to either corner at the top;—or possibly, might even convey sound along the smooth exterior surface of the moulding, confined next the wall, after the manner of a whispering gallery.

This appearance has been already slightly represented, in Vol. II. by the dotted lines at (p), fig. 3, Pl. $\frac{XXI}{4}$, where also this appearance at *Castleton*, is compared, with somewhat the same sort of appearances on the inside of the walls of the Keep Tower, at Portchester, shewn fig. 2.—

And that these sort of stone mouldings, as if designed for a roof, were often introduced in *Saxon* Castles, seems to be confirmed, by what was observed of the appearances in *Bamborough* Castle, in *Northumberland*, before it was altered, and fitted up in its present state.

It has already been remarked,* that there are strong reasons to believe, *Ida, King of Northumberland*, built a *Tower of Stone at Bamborough*, about the year 548, or 550;—which became the Capital, and a Palace of Royal residence, in this most northerly kingdom of the *Saxons*.

And from a variety of circumstances, we may justly be led to conclude the very structure that still exists, though now so greatly altered and improved, to have been that identical Palace.

That excellent and worthy man, *Doctor Sharp*, (by his constant abode in this Castle, for many years, in consequence of his own benevolent plan, to save mariners from destruction, under the support of *Bishop Crew's* magnificent and liberal benefaction, rendered this antient Castle, a place of help, and refuge, instead of its being a den of ruffians.—Under his immediate direction, the whole of the alterations were made, in order to fit up this Tower for the purpose of receiving ship-wrecked mariners.—And from his account, which I received with several most curious drawings, it appears, that many strong vestiges of its real antiquity, actually *remained visible*, before Bishop *Crew's* charity was applied to make that great change in the whole appearance, which now deceives the eye of the antiquary.

The substance of Doctor Sharp's account, agrees perfectly, in many respects, with that inserted in Vol. III. of Mr. Grose's Antiquities, as does his general plan;—but I find myself compelled to draw from both, a very different conclusion from that which Mr. Grose formed; and indeed, am led by every circumstance

* See page 208.

contained therein, to support the antient tradition of the country, that the Tower was built by *Ida*, instead of deeming it to have been of the age of Henry II.*

We have already had occasion to remark, that it is a great mistake to suppose every work that is found constructed of *small squared stones*, to have been *Norman*, and to have been built with *Caen stone;* and there is a strong proof of the truth of this remark in this structure, for we find *here* that the stones, though squared, and therefore by some persons mistaken for *Caen stone*, are most remarkably small; and that they were obviously taken from a quarry at *Sunderland-sea*, only three miles distant.

The Tower, like that at *Portchester*, and like that at *Corffe*, is of much larger dimensions than the old *British Castles*.

But like *Portchester*, to whose dimensions it very nearly approaches, and like *Castleton*, it was in many respects different from *Gundulph's*, or Henry the Second's *Towers*.

And from the peculiarity of its proportions, as it appears in Doctor Sharp's Plan, I cannot but acquiesce somewhat to the opinion† of those, who apprehend that there was an original Roman building here, of the foundation walls of which, at least, *Ida* might take advantage.—About 64 by 58 feet without;—and about 48 by 41 within;—are proportions that may very well countenance such an idea;—and especially as Roman coins, and particularly one of *Vespasian*, have been dug up in the Castle area.

It stands near the sea, on a rock almost perpendicular; about one hundred and fifty feet in height, above the low water mark; and accessible only on the south-east side.—The walls on this side are

* Additions to Camden, Vol. III. p. 258.—Mr. Grose concluded the Castle built by *Ida* must have been only of *wood*, because of *Penda's* attempting to burn it in 642; for which purpose he laid vast quantities of wood under the walls, and set fire to it as soon as the wind was favourable; when (the legendary account adds) by the prayers of *St. Adian* the wind changed, and carried the flames into *Penda's* camp, so that he was obliged to raise the siege.—It is not probable, *Mr. Grose* adds, that King Penda would attempt to set stone walls on fire:—but, I must add, it is very probable, that like either *Gideon*, or *Abimelech*, he would endeavour to set fire, by means of heaps of wood, to *the door* of a Tower of stone, in order to destroy the inside floors, and all that were within; in the manner that has so frequently been referred to in the preceding pages of this volume,—see especially p. 36, 80.

† See Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 35.

eleven feet thick; but on the other three sides only nine.—As high as the first story the fillings up, in the inside, are mixed with fragments of whin stone, which seem to have been taken off the surface of the rock itself in levelling the foundations; but there are no such whin stone fragments found higher up; and the walls appear to have been built, from thence to the top of the Castle, without regular scaffolding, in a manner called by the masons *over-hand work;*—circumstances which seem plainly to shew it to have been a building of early, and rude ages, prior to the time of *Gundulph* and the *Normans;* notwithstanding its having been so modernized, as to have been mistaken for a structure of their age.

Instead also of there having been magnificent State rooms in the *upper stories*, at a great height, as in *Gundulph's* Towers, there appeared to have been a roof let in low, beneath the top of the building, as at *Portchester*, and at *Castleton;*—and even to have been placed no higher than the top of the second story, from the ground;—insomuch that the middle old small window of what is now the third story, must have been a mere large loop, for shooting arrows, or used as a sort of *look out*, between the slopings of the roof, to which the walls, carried up so much higher all round, were a defence.

In subsequent ages, indeed, the Tower was covered at the very top of the third floor; but the vestiges in the side walls of the stone mouldings,* in the form of a V, remained to Doctor Sharp's time.

It clearly appeared also, that *originally* all the rooms beneath were lighted, only by very narrow loops, or small slits in the wall:—and even the chief room on the first story, only by a window, near its top, three feet square, far unlike any Norman windows:—whilst, in each of the deep gable ends of the old roof, was a window only one foot broad.

Another circumstance also distinguished this Tower from *Gundulph's*, and the *Norman* Towers.—It had originally no chimney,

* It is possible, however, as has been mentioned with regard to *Castleton* Castle, that these might be intended as some means of conveying sound;—instead of being designed to support a roof.—And the two small square windows, remaining 'till Doctor Sharp's time, in the third upper room, that would otherwise have been in a most strange situation, rather confirm this suspicion.

or flue in the wall; but instead thereof, the only fire place, was in the middle of the floor of a room; where some stones remained, that had manifestly once been burned quite red, with evident marks of there having been a fire hearth.—The floor of this room was all of stone supported by arches.

And this circumstance of the want of chimneys, and of the mode of warming this room, does indeed still further induce a suspicion, that *Ida* found here some original Roman structure, which he made use of in building this Castle.

The well at *Portchester*, has been mentioned; and also reasons for believing that there was one in the Tower at *Castleton*.—And here, at *Bamborough*, in sinking the floor of one of the vaults under the Keep, to form a better cellar in 1770, an antient draw well was discovered, of the depth of 145 feet;—75 feet of which was cut through the solid whin stone rock.

In 1773, on removing a prodigious quantity of sand, in the area of the Castle, the remains of a Chapel were discovered; which had every appearance of having been *Saxon*, and long prior to the times of the *Normans*, as well as the Keep.—For the Chancel of this Chapel, had its east end semicircular; and the foundation of the altar, was discovered standing *in the centre* of the semicircle.—This Chancel was 36 feet long, and 20 broad; and the whole Chapel was about an hundred feet in length.

All the other old buildings, in the Castle area, appeared to have been of *Norman* times; and were clearly to be distinguished by the style of their architecture, from the more antient Keep.—They had all chimneys; and large windows, such as are usually met with in truly *Norman* buildings.

In the Keep, in a narrow cavity,* within the wall, near the top of the building, and near the small windows that have been described,

* Stores of darts, and arrows, were frequently laid up in this manner.—And it can hardly escape the recollection of the curious, that on the confines of Spain, about the year 411, *Gerontius*, when abandoned by his troops, finding such a store in the building to which he had escaped, did by the assistance only of his wife, of one friend, and of a very few slaves, defend himself against a great force;—slew three hundred of the assailants, and afterwards, when the weapons were spent, and when the few slaves had fled, slew his wife at her own earnest entreaty, and then himself.—*Sozomen*, p. 815.—*Orosius*, p. 224.

there were discovered more than fifty iron heads of arrows; from six, to seven and an half inches long;—all combined together by time and rust into one mass;*—a further proof, surely, of the great antiquity of the building; and of the age in which they must have been originally deposited, as well as of the use made of those small windows.

To all these observations; (from the peculiar representations in the drawings, sent to me by Dr. Sharp,) it may be added, that it seems as if there originally was an antient entrance to this Castle, up a flight of steps, on the outside, to a very old portal; where is now a great modern window, on the south-west side, placed with its bottom level with the first floor;—and as if the present Grand Entrance, near the ground, on the south-east side, was only an addition in some later age.

What confirms this idea is, that the present and later Grand Entrance, on the south-east side, does indeed front the great open area of the Castle, and the *accessible* part of the rock, where is the first approach;—but that this old entrance, on the south-west side, which must apparently have been up a steep flight of steps, is just like that at *Castleton*, turned quite *from* the outward gate; and (like that) is very *near to*, and *fronting* the side wall of inclosure.

In Pl. XXVIII. is given the plan of this Castle, which was communicated to me by Dr. Sharp.—In which not only appears the plan of the Keep Tower, with the *modern* divisions made in it, and the situation of the well; but also the plan of the foundations of the great subsequent *Norman* buildings, which were discovered under the sand that had accumulated in the Castle area.

At (a) is the south-east front of the Keep Tower, where the present, and *later Saxon entrance* is near the ground.

At (b) is the south-west front, where the original *first Saxon entrance*

* I have been lately shewn a considerable mass of *iron nails*, which were thus combined into one solid mass;—which were found in that state, amidst the ruins of the *salt-petre* warehouses formerly belonging to the East India Company, that had been burnt down;—and which seemed to be an *additional proof* of the property of *iron* to hasten *petrifaction*, when it meets with water, and clay, or sand, and proper salts;—consistently with the observations I ventured to make in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LXIII. p. 241, and Vol. LXIX, p. 15;—and in my little Pamphlet, intitled, *Remarks on Stones said to have fallen from the clouds*, p. 10, 11, 12, printed in 1796.

seems to have been (somewhat like that at *Castleton*) up a flight of steep steps; with a platform, and drawbridge, between the Tower, and the surrounding wall of the Castle.

At (c) was the antient *Saxon* Chapel.

And in this very building probably it was, that the arm of King Oswald, supposed to have been miraculously preserved uncorrupted, was kept in a silver shrine, as mentioned by Bede.*

(d) Shews the large addition to the Chapel, which appears to have been made in Norman times.

(e) and (f) were Towers of defence; to protect the inner court (or inner *Ballium*) in case the first entrance, and covered way should be forced.

(g) Seems to have been a sort of parlour, or retiring room from the great hall.

And (g 1) To have been a sort of anti-room, or guard room, added in the later *Norman* times.

(g 2), and (g 3), seem also evidently to have been guard rooms.

And (g 4) a centry lodge, or watch-box.

(h) Was the Great Hall, built on the same kind of plan with those that were added in so many Castles, in the time of Edward the First.

But there appeared a very great peculiarity, in the walls of this hall.—For it not only had two fire places of a vast size; but from the top of every window ran a flue, like that of a chimney, which reached the summits of the battlements;+—which flues were evidently designed as so many supernumerary chimnies, to give vent to the smoke, and foul air, with which the immense fires, and immense crowds in early days filled the room.

(i) The passage leading formerly to the kitchen.

(k) and (k 1) The kitchen, and office belonging to it.

(l) A sort of larder, or office also belonging to the kitchen.

(m) The old buttery.

* Lib. iii. cap. 6, 12.

+ See Mr. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 34.—Who adds an odd anecdote of one of his countrymen, *Howel ap Rys*; who when his enemies had fired his house over him, told his people to rise, and defend themselves, *for he had known there as great a smoke, in that hall upon a Christmas eve.*

(n) The old wine cellar;—very small; as such usually were, belonging to the great halls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

And at (9) was the great door of the hall;—as usual *near* the doors leading to the offices.

(o), (o 1), (o 2), and (p), and (q) were Rooms, which may very probably, have been antient beer cellars, and granaries, with apartments over them, as there were also over the kitchen offices, for the garrison, &c.

(r r) Galleries, in the wall, originally leading to loops of defence.

(s) Narrow stairs, leading up the rock, from the great gate of entrance, to the inner court.

(t t t) Towers of defence, next the land.

(v) A Tower of defence, next the sea.

(w) The great outward Postern, and descent towards the sea shore.

(x) Another Tower of defence next the sea.

(y y y) A long fenced, winding way, (a sort of covered way,) between two strongly fortified walls, leading to the inner ballium, and to the Keep Tower;—from the first great gate of entrance of the Castle at (z), which is at the top of an high steep way, on the land side, up the rock.

(1) The inner Postern gate.

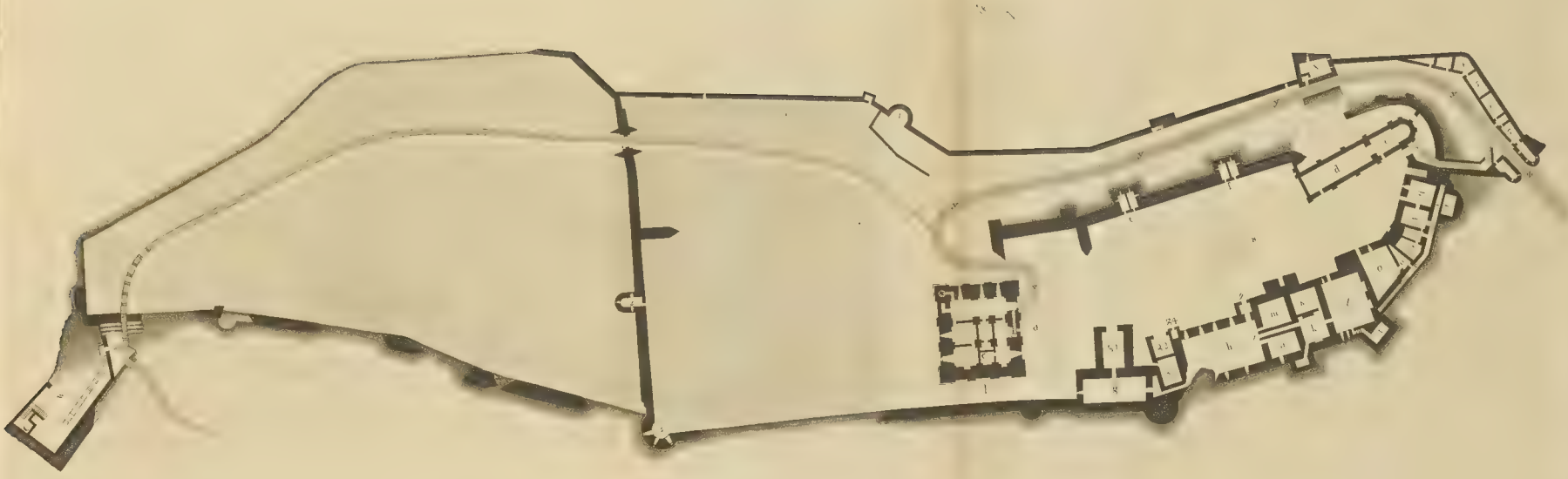
(2) A Postern Tower.

(3) A sort of bastion Tower of defence, on the land side.

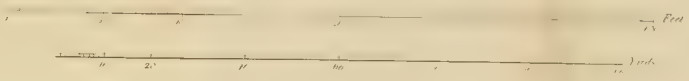
(4 . 5 . 6 . 7) Modern buildings chiefly; but where seemed also to have been antient barracks.

(8) Foundations of some very antient buildings;—possibly stables.

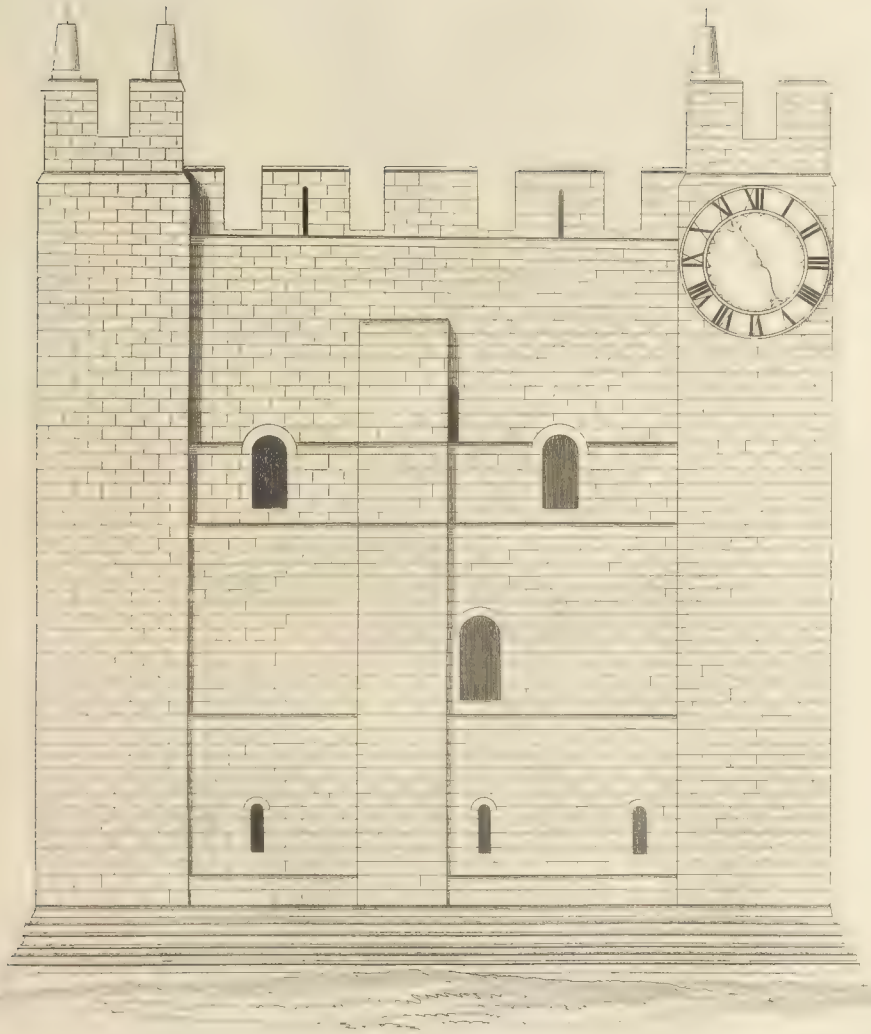
Pl. XXIX, is a representation of the modern appearance of the south-west front of the Keep Tower; as it has been modernized by *Doctor Sharp;* who repaired, and fitted up the whole Tower, as the faithful executor of *Bishop Crew's* munificent benefaction.—The representation is here given on this large scale, for the sake of shewing the more exactly where appears to have been the original door of entrance; at the head of a flight of steps, that were placed



Plan of Bamborough Castle, with the Norman additions &c.



Back of
Foldout
Not Imaged



*SOUTH WEST SIDE of the KEEP TOWER of BAMBOROUGH CASTLE.*

1 1 1



2





3

*Bamborough Castle.*

Published as the Act directs 1st Jan. 1786



N Bamburgh Castle, from the Sea.

Back of
Foldout
Not Imaged

in the narrow space, on the outside, between the Tower, and the outward wall of the Castle area.—This entrance however at present, is converted into a large window, and no traces of the steps are now left remaining.

And unquestionably, with this modern altered appearance, the whole of this Keep Tower, does very much resemble a Keep Tower of the age of Henry II. except in having so many windows, and in the entrance being near the ground, of a kind that never existed in any Tower of *Gundulph's*,—or of the age of *Henry II.*—or of any of the *Norman* princes.

But it ought not to be forgotten, that from Mr. Grose's own account of the *original* state of this Tower, as well as from the account which I received, it appears, that there were not originally, before Doctor *Sharp's* time, any such windows as are now seen in the building; but merely, in the places where they have been inserted, loops only six inches wide; and windows *above*, only one foot wide:—and one single window three feet square.

Fig. 1. Pl. XXX, is an east view of the modern appearance of the Keep Tower; shewing the subsequent Saxon door, near the ground, on the south-east side; and the modern alterations, and forced out windows on the north-east side.

Fig. 2, shews the appearance of the Castle, on the land side, towards the south;—with the steep winding ascent up to the great gate of entrance.

Fig. 3, shews the appearance of the Castle from the sea, on the south east side.

And fig. 4, shews the north-west side of the Keep Tower.

And fig. 5, the north-east side, more clearly than it is seen in fig. 1.

And in each of these figures, as well as in Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIX. is shewn still more distinctly, what Mr. Grose calls the *Doric Base*, in this building.—Which indeed now appears (since Doctor Sharp's alterations) as regular steps running all round at the bottom; but which originally seems to have been neither more nor less, than either such sort of sloping abutment, for the greater strength, as we have seen was usual at the bottom of some of the antient *British* Towers; —or else the remains of the foundations of a prior *Roman* structure,

whose walls were thicker than those of the present Saxon Tower, by the whole of this projection.

Pl. XXXI, shews the appearance of the Castle from the sea, on the north, or rather north-east side, representing the steep cliff, and the way *from the sea*, up to the Castle.

A transient view of the building, and of its several fronts, might indeed, as has been already observed, induce, an hasty observer to take it for a *Norman* structure;—but in what truly *Norman* structure were there ever found so many, and so large windows, in the lower stories, as now appear here?—Or in what truly *Norman* structure, were ever found so small, and so few windows as appeared in the upper stories, before *Doctor Sharp* began his munificent alterations?—Whilst as to the dimensions of the whole, we may remark that they are, after all, too small for a really *Norman* structure.—And if they are indeed larger than those of the Castles of the Heptarchy are found to have been in general, may be accounted for from *King Ida's* having met with the foundations of a prior *Roman* Tower to begin upon.—And most surely the projecting part of the structure, in which is the grand portal on the ground, has far too little projection to have been a *Norman* work.

Finally; before we quit the consideration of this interesting antient Castle, having shewn the vast additions made in Norman times, according to the improved modes in the age of Edward I. with which, we shall hereafter find these additions do most exactly agree, it may not be improper to add, that in this very Castle, in 1296, *Edward I.* summoned *John Baliol*, King of Scotland to appear before him, to answer for breach of faith;—and on his not appearing, marched from hence, and took *Berwick*, and put the garrison to the sword;—and afterwards marching towards *Dunbar* met the Scottish army, and overthrew them, took *Baliol* prisoner, and brought him, together with the *stone of Scone*, to England.

In this very Castle, also *Edward II.* his son, caused *Piers de Gavaston* to be placed for a time, to save him from the vengeance of an incensed nobility; who afterwards dragged to justice, from the Castle of *Scarborough*, that wretched man, whose fatal errors had introduced the whole train of ruin, that hurled his master from the throne.

The next building that deserves our attention, as being one of the early *Saxon Castles*, is at *Guilford*, in Surrey. Where the existence of its Keep Tower, before the Norman Conquest, is fully evinced, by the whole style of its architecture;—by the abundance of herring-bone work, to be seen in its walls;—by its never having had any portcullis;—nor any of that mode of defending loops, with hanging arches, so usually found in *Norman* Castles;—by its *Saxon* windows;—and by its entrance having evidently been, up a steep flight of *projecting* steps, to an high *narrow* portal.

Its walls, very unlike those that are either *Roman*, or *Norman*, are constructed partly of squared chalk, partly of flints, and partly of sand stone, cut in the form of Roman bricks; and in many parts placed in triple rows, alternately with rows of flints, in imitation of Roman work;—but still more conspicuously placed in rows of *herring-bone work*.—The internal corners of the apartments *within* are finished, in some parts, merely with squared chalk.—The external corners of the Tower, and a space in the middle part of each front, five feet four inches wide, was cased with squared stone, very much resembling casings of Caen-stone, (in the same manner as appears in several other *Saxon* buildings.)—Some *Roman bricks*, (or perhaps rather *Saxon* bricks made in imitation of such as were Roman,) are seen in the lower parts of the building, especially on the north side; and some thin, evidently *Saxon* bricks appear in the windows, though they are now partly mixed, with bricks of reparation since the time of Henry VI.;—and though there appears on the south side, an original *Saxon* window altogether of stone, as if such was the construction of all the windows at first.*

Neither the founder, nor the æra of the construction of this Castle are known by means of any record; as is the case with all the most truly antient structures; and therefore neither *Leland*, nor *Aubrey*, nor *Salmon*, who wrote the antiquities of Surrey, do venture at all to fix its date;—nor to say any thing further on the subject, than barely to mention its early existence.—But Camden says+ expressly that *Guilford*, or *Guildford* or *Gegldford*, was formerly a

* There are two views of the present appearance of Guilford Castle, in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. III.

+ See Gibson's Camden, p. 154; and Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 167.

village of the English *Saxon* Kings; and was given by will to *Æthelwald*, by his Uncle King *Alfred*.—From whence we may fairly conclude, that here, as well as at *Corffe Castle*, was a real Palace of the *Saxon Monarchs;* and that this identical Tower, whose architecture shews such an early period of Construction, was that very Palace.—And we may much more reasonably and fairly form this conclusion, than assent to that idle dream of *a Saxon King's house*, at Guilford, distinct from the Castle:—a dream confounding every idea of the Saxon mode of residence, with the idea and account of that *mere modern building*, in much later days, which Camden speaks of, as being the *King's palace*, or house, in *his* time.*

We are assured of the existence of this Castle in the time of *Edward the Confessor*, and indeed, even before *his* days; because it was made in 1036, the theatre of that horrid tragedy, of the seizing of Prince *Alfred* by *Earl Goodwin*, and of the putting to death with tortures, nine out of ten of the whole of his train, after he had been craftily invited to stop there, and received with the most solemn assurances of peace;+—which prelude, to still further villainy, was followed by his being delivered up to *Harold the Dane*, who put out his eyes, and imprisoned him at *Ely*, until his death.

The Keep Tower of this old Saxon Palace is, (like that at *Castleton*) of much smaller dimensions than that at *Corffe*, or than that at *Portchester*, or than that at *Bamborough*.—The space within being only about twenty-six feet, by twenty-four;—but (the walls being in general about ten feet thick) the outside is about forty-seven feet, by forty-five.

These measures, however, are very difficult to be taken with exactness; because the outside corners, near the ground, are exceedingly ruined, and broken; whilst a great part of the outside casing of all the four sides has also been torn away, higher than one can reach.—And by this means the thickness of the walls is become

* The King's house, which Camden referred to, had indeed no connection with antient times whatever; but was a mere modern structure, in use in the time of Charles I. and granted by him to *Murray Earl of Anandale*; and was pulled down in 1630.—See Gough's additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 173.

+ See R. Hoveden Annal, p. 438.—Alured Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. Leland Collectan. Vol. I. p. 241. H. Huntingd. p. 365. Sim. Dun. and almost every writer of the events of those days.

quite different in different parts.—The least thickness, however that I could any where find, was nine feet.

It stands boldly, on the brow of a steep hill, fronting the west: —and appears to have been surrounded with a small inner court: —a part of the inclosing wall of which, opposite to the south-east corner, about twenty-seven feet in length, and above four feet in thickness, still remains in a sloping direction, that seems to point out the original form of the inclosure.—The nearest distance of this wall from the Keep is eighteen feet six inches;—and its furthest distance twenty-two feet.

Within this little court, opposite to the west front, was a well; now quite filled up; but which is perfectly remembered, to have been open, by persons still living.

On the east side, the ground has been removed very deep, so that the bottom of the Tower is seen here more than twelve or fifteen feet lower than on the east side; in a manner that plainly indicates there must have been a dungeon, under the present ground floor. —And on this side appears again, at a little distance, still more fragments of a wall of inclosure, with evident remains of small apartments adjoining to them.

Pl. XXXII. represents this east side of the Tower.—And here may be observed most evidently, what was the mode of building the whole structure.

For about fifteen feet from the bottom, the whole casing has been torn off;—but above that we find, in successive order upwards,

1st. A row of herring-bone work.

2d. Then a row of flints one or two feet broad.

3d. Then herring-bone work again.

4th. Then a row of flints again.

5th. A row of three layers, of thin smooth sand stone, like Roman bricks;—and somewhat resembling the Roman Θεμέλια, or (as the word has sometimes been translated) *rows of foundations.*

6th. A row of flints, of about a foot, or more.

7th. A row again of three layers, of thin smooth sand stones.

8th. Another row of flints, of some thickness.

9th. Again a row of three layers, of thin sand stones.

And in this manner, with rows of more or less thickness, (for

in that respect the work is irregular,) the whole masonry was continued, to the very summit of the Tower, near the top of which the *herring-bone work* is again very conspicuous; and another remarkable kind of *rag-stone bone work*, which is also introduced in some other parts.

The rows of herring-bone work were, in general, from a foot, or a foot and an half, to two feet broad;—those of flints from six or eight inches, to one foot, or one and an half broad:—and in some parts they were even some feet deep.

And those of the three layers of sand stone, were from eight to ten inches, or a foot broad, and sometimes more.

Fig. 2. Represents, upon a large scale, more exactly the manner of the *herring-bone* work, of rag-stone.

Fig. 3. In like manner, represents more exactly the manner of the other *rag-stone bone-work*.

And fig. 4. shews the manner of laying, of the regular intervening courses of rag-stone.

And all the three kinds bind so strong, as to be very firm, and compact, even without the aid of cement.—As, indeed, in several parts, cement seems to have been entirely omitted.

At the two ends of the Tower, at the corners, are represented the projecting facings of the wall, like thin buttresses, about four feet six inches wide, of regularly squared stones:—and in the middle is also shewn the slightly projecting facing, about five feet, four inches wide:—and the same sort of work was continued on every side of the Tower.

But one of the most striking circumstances with regard to its architecture to be observed is, that on all sides, both within the Tower, and without, and in every part, (both where the casing is left, and where it is torn away,) small square holes still remain, which evidently were used for the timbers of different stages, placed for the construction of the whole; and which point out what was the mode of building.

These holes are, without exception, about six, or seven inches square;—and in this Plate, (Pl. XXXII.) they are, as nearly as it was possible to ascertain by the eye, placed in the same relative situation, in which they are found in the Tower itself.—And both

Fig. 1.

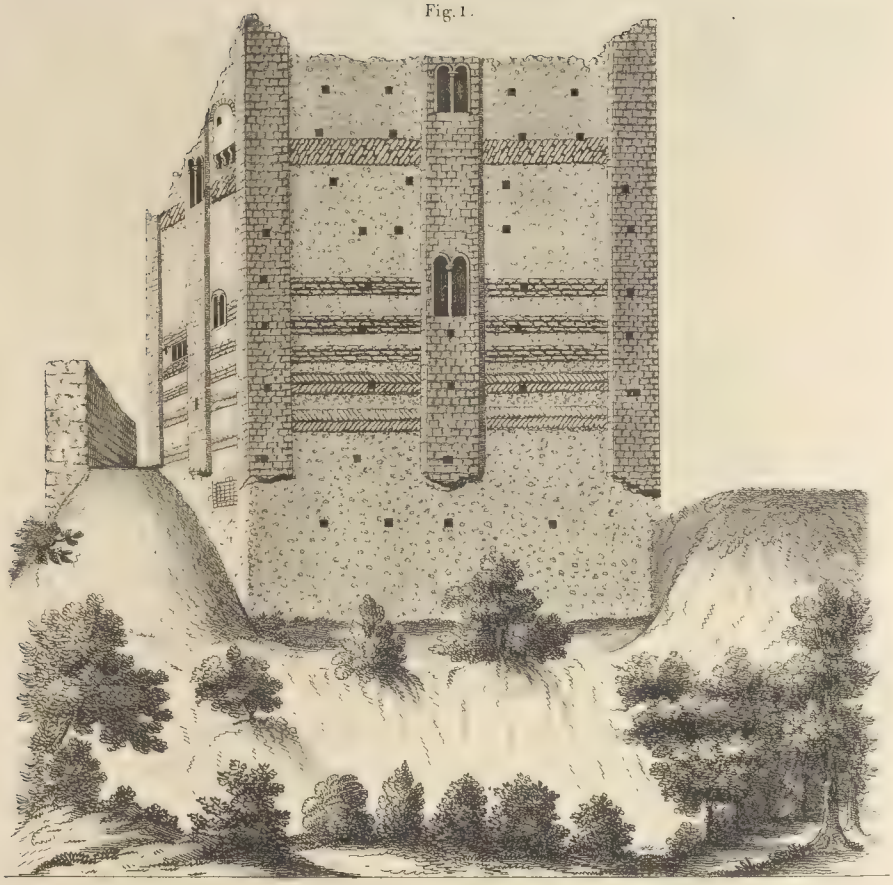


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

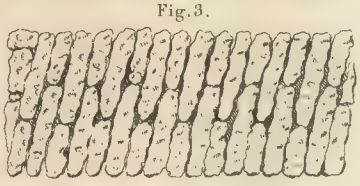


Fig. 4.



*Guilford Keep.*

Published as the Act directs March 1st 1784

from them, and from the appearance of the remains of the holes in the substance of the walls, in the ruined parts, we may be led to conclude, that there was no great high scaffold, with tall poles, ever set up, in order to build this Tower;—but that, when its walls were raised from the ground nearly as high as it was possible for labourers standing on benches to reach, that then pieces of squared timber were laid on the wall crosswise, and projecting;—and when these were sufficiently secured from tottering by an incumbent weight of a continuation of the wall upwards, then boards were placed upon the projecting parts, by way of scaffold, to enable the workmen to continue the work still higher.—And the mode of their working seems to have been, first to place the regular rows of herring-bone work, and rag-stone bone-work, and the alternate regular rows of smooth sand stones, and of flints, as an *outward* secure casing;—and a facing of squared chalk, and regularly placed flints and sand stone, though not in so regular rows, as an *inward* casing;—and then to fill up hastily the inward space, with flints, chalk, rude fragments of sand-stone, or rag-stone, and mortar flung in carelessly all together.

After this, another row of timbers was laid a little higher up, and secured in the same manner; and boards placed upon their projecting parts as before; and the others were taken away.—And in this manner, by successive stages, it is probable the whole edifice was constructed, much more expeditiously than it would have been with a regular scaffolding;—constructed with the help only of a few ladders, and of no great number of timbers, and boards;—whilst such an expeditious mode of building, may no less account for the holes not being filled up at the time, than that which has generally been assigned as the reason,—their usefulness, in aiding the drying of the work.

On this west side appear two of the large state windows.—And on the south side are seen two others of them, not placed quite so regularly;—but the third long square window, (though now antient) appears evidently to have been forced out in much later ages, in a place where originally was only a small loop window.

On the south side, near the south-west corner, on close inspection is found, at the lower part of the Tower, a door case, now stopped

up with large square stones; and so level with the surface of the rest of the structure, that it may easily escape notice. But when once discerned, this door, as well as the great depth of the ground, and of the whole building on its west side, beneath the bottom of the building and the surface of the ground on the east side, evidently shews that there was a vault, or dungeon, to which this was the entrance; whilst a very remarkable projecting part of the building, with machicolations, high above, directly over this door, seems to have been designed to add to the strong protection, and guarding of it; as affording a means of flinging down stones, hot sand, and melted lead, and even of shooting down arrows.

At a little distance from the Tower, is seen, in this Plate, the remaining fragment of the wall of inclosure of a small inner court; —to which wall there seems to have been some other building adjoining on the outside.

Pl. XXXIII. fig. 1. Represents the west, and the north sides of this curious Keep Tower.—And here on the west side, or towards the right hand of the plate, appears, at bottom, the present entrance to the ground floor; just on one side of the middle projecting facing of stone work;—and (whether there ever was, or was not any entrance here originally) it appears now on the outside very much broken away, and rude.—On the inside indeed is a regular circular arch; but this might equally be either the continuance of some passage of entrance from without, or the mere approach from within, to an original loop in the wall, in this place, like those on two of the other sides.—Certainly, however, if this was not a door of entrance, there was no possibility of getting into the room on the ground floor of this Tower, except through some opening of the floor of the apartment above; as there was no staircase of communication whatever in the wall.

At the height of at least fifteen feet above the ground, appears, in the midst of the middle projecting facing, the original grand portal of entrance.—And this has, very strangely, *a pointed arch*.—The so very uncommon appearance of such in this, and in some other *Saxon* buildings, has already been mentioned.*—But it deserves attention, that this pointed arch is, after all, merely an ornamental

* See p. 164.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

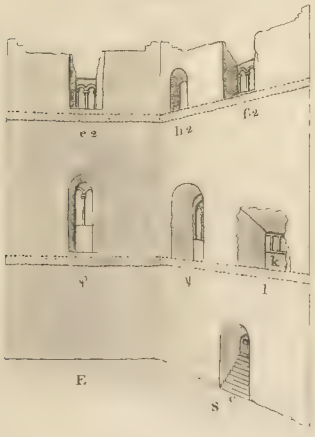



Fig. 3.




Guilford Sculp.

Published as the Act directs March 1st 1814.

facing, on the outside;—and that the real arch of entrance, almost level with this pointed arch, and just within it, is circular:—as is shewn exactly in Pl. XXXIV. fig. 4.

That this arch was not a window, but a real door of entrance, appears in the most decided manner, not only from its very different dimensions from the real windows; but also from its bottom being just level with the floor, as are the mere recesses leading to those windows, and far lower down in the building than any of those windows themselves;—and also from there being, on each side, remains of holes in the wall, for great bars, or beams of timber, as if to secure a strong door.

High above appears a large window of the state apartment;—Near the corner appear the loop-holes of the staircase;—and on each side, the small loop windows of two small chambers, in the thickness of the wall, which will be soon described.

On the North side of the Tower, and towards the left hand of the Plate, appear two other large state windows;—a small loop window, originally belonging to a small apartment in the wall;—and a loop-hole belonging to the ground floor.—And their use will be best understood by adverting to the plans of the whole.

Pl. XXXIV. fig. 1, shews the plan of the ground floor.—At (a) is the entrance, on the west side, that has already been mentioned, as being just on one side of the middle projecting facing of stone.—The passage is about ten feet in length,—four feet two inches wide;—and about six feet five inches high;—having evidently a circular arch at the top, though outwardly it is much broken away.—If this really was an original door, and not the mere approach to a loop, it might be very well protected, by being just under the platform of the steps, leading to the door of entrance above.—At (b), and at (c), are similar arches, leading to small loops in the wall, at a great height; and having exceeding steep steps, very much like those in the *British* Castles;—but without any hanging arches for the stopping of missile weapons, as in the structure of *Norman* Castles.—And except in these three parts, the walls are perfectly smooth, and entire:—so that it is evident there could be no communication with the room above, unless by some trap-door, in the floor of timber;—nor could this room have any light, or air,

except from the small loops.—It however was not vaulted;—for at the height of about fifteen feet, still remain the very cavities in the walls, where timbers were placed for supporting a floor; and they appear to have been so numerous, that it must have been an exceeding strong one.

Fig. 2, is the plan of the first floor above;—and here we find, at (d), what must have been the portal of entrance, at the head of a flight of steps, that were straight before it on the outside; for (as has been already mentioned) it is quite level with the apparent traces of the floor within, and of less width than the recesses leading to the windows, and has evident remains of places for strong bars of timber to secure it;—but it had no portcullis, such means of defence having not been invented when this Castle was built.

Of this door of entrance the structure is very remarkable, as is shewn, fig. 4.—It is placed exactly in the middle of the projecting facing of stone work;—and the outward arch is pointed, in that singular manner which has sometimes been found in other *Saxon* buildings.—The pointed-arch form is used, however, only as a facing; for immediately within it is a truly circular arch.—And this, as well as the whole passage, is three feet, four inches wide, and nine feet, seven inches high.

The passage, like that beneath, is about ten feet long, and is of a structure even still more remarkable than the external entrance.—For again just within this very door-way which has the circular arch, the top of the passage itself is a sort of pointed arch; yet not corresponding with the external pointed arch; but as if the work had been hastily finished in that form, merely to avoid the necessity of a centre arch of timber; and at the other end of the passage, though so short, next the inside of the room, at (e) the top is circular again; the circular part of the vaulting, and the pointed part running insensibly into each other.

The outlines, fig. 5, will better explain the whole of this strange mode of building;—where (a b c) shews the door of entrance, with the circular arch;—(d l o n f) shews the pointed arched vaulting immediately *within;*—(g k e m h) shews the circular vaulting at the other innermost end of the passage;—and the lines (m n,—e o,—k l) shew the strange manner in which the circular vaulting runs in its

continuance into a *pointed* vaulting, as if the latter was occasioned merely by an hasty, and irregular mode of building.

On the right hand of this entrance is found, within the great room, another smaller door-way, two feet four inches wide, and seven feet seven inches high, with a neat circular arch, which leads to a small very remarkable chamber in the wall, that seems to have been designedly distinguished by its ornaments.

In the plan, fig. 2, this door-way is shewn at (f).—And also the whole form of the little chamber;—the first part of it is fourteen feet long, and five feet six inches wide; and was lighted by a very small loop window at (g); and by another similar one at (i); whilst at (h) appear four seats in the wall, adorned with pillars, having truly *Saxon* capitals, and circular ornamental arches above.—These pillars, and these arches, as well as the back of the seats, are formed merely of squared, hard chalk, on which have been scratched those rude, preposterous figures, of various kinds, mentioned by Mr. Grose; but which, any one who sees them must instantly be convinced, could only be the works of boys, or of idle persons who had climbed up to this place since the building was a ruin; and could never have been designed for any, even superstitiously, religious purpose; or as any ornaments for an oratory;—or have been the sad leisure work of any serious desponding prisoner here confined.

The four arches, and the seats under them, are represented, fig. 6.

It is possible that this little room may have been an oratory, or sort of small chapel;—but it is much more likely to have been a bed-chamber.—For at the dotted line (m), is what appears to have been most manifestly a mere modern wall of partition, of modern bricks, so evidently stopping up a former return and continuation of this little chamber, that it is even placed directly against the centre of a circular ornamental arch in the side wall, that was constructed similar to the other arches, with a seat under it, on one side of the little window (i); by which means this wall exactly bisects both the arch, and seat.—Supposing it removed, the little chamber will appear to have been continued in the return of the wall so far, that the return this way in length, measuring from (h)

to the end (n), was about seventeen feet, six inches;—having this part of the chamber four feet ten inches wide.

Here indeed at present are, on one side, the remains of a wide square window of stone at (k), which by its style of architecture, was evidently inserted, as lately as the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, or after;—and on the other side, at present, appears a great breach in the wall at (l); where seems to have been some door *forced out*, at the same time that the great square window was made at (k), and when the modern partition wall was run up at (m).—But there is the utmost reason to believe, that originally, instead of the great window at (k), there was only a small loop window, similar to the other two (g) and (i); and no door whatever, but a continuation of solid wall at (l);—and the whole may be concluded to have been only *one room*, in the form of an (L), and (as it appears to me, consistently with what may be observed in other Castles) designed for a little state bed-chamber, in which the bed was placed at (n). —That in which *Edward II.* was murdered, at *Berkeley* Castle, was not much larger; though of a different form.—And the cell, in the wall, in which *Richard II.* was murdered, at *Pomfret* Castle, was rather less.—And neither that in which Edward II. was born at *Caernarvon*, nor in reality that in which Henry V. was born at *Monmouth*, were much bigger.

The vaulting of this little chamber has again a kind of pointed arch; but of the same sort of rude, hasty construction as that in the first passage of entrance.—Its dimensions are given in the section, Pl. XXXIV. fig. 7.

At (p), on the left hand of the grand entrance, is another small door-way, of exactly the same dimensions and form with that of the little chamber on the right, and which led to a small chamber, or closet, nine feet two inches long, and five feet one inch wide, lighted by a very small loop window at (o), whose external appearance may be seen Pl. XXXIII. fig. 1, as also that of the small loop window at (g).

And at (q) is an arch four feet four inches wide, and about twelve feet high; serving both as the entrance to a recess, leading to a large window at (r); and also, by a passage on one side, as the entrance to a newel staircase, which is six feet seven inches in

diameter, and which went up quite to the top of the Tower; but did never descend any lower than this floor.

The loops that lighted it, one of which is marked at (s), appear on the outside of the west front of the Castle, in the manner that may be seen Pl. XXXIII. fig. 1,—and in the same Plate, on the north side, is shewn the external appearance of the large window (r).

At (t) was evidently a fire hearth, with a chimney in the wall. —And at (u) was as clearly, originally a door, and passage, that led to the little chamber (w); and was lighted by a small loop window (x), that may plainly be seen in the north front, as is shewn in Pl. XXXIII. fig. 2:—but it is now stopped up, whilst at the same time, the partition wall, between this passage and the fire hearth is quite broken down;—this wall, however, may be traced at the bottom, at (ζ); though indeed the whole of the passage, together with the place of the fire-hearth below, and also with that of the fire-hearth above, do at present form only one great open breach, on the inner part of the wall, as is shewn in the inside view of the Tower Pl. XXXIII. fig. 3, on the north side.

This chamber (w), at present appears to have been a very small one indeed; only about fourteen feet in length from the original partition, and not four feet wide.—But it is very remarkable that, at (y), is the appearance of a wall of much later date than the rest, which seems to have been built on purpose to stop up some return, or passage, that went further towards (z); nearly as the return of the chamber was formed in the opposite corner of the Castle at (m). It is much to be suspected therefore, that there was here, as well as there, a small apartment, in the form of an (L).*

At (φ), and at (ψ), are arched recesses, four feet four inches wide, and twelve feet high, leading to large windows;—the form of one of which is represented (fig. 8).—The little pillar, in each of these windows is hexagonal.—That at (φ), as well as the side frame of

* If ever there was a place that might excite an idle curiosity to search for *hidden treasures*, *Guilford* Castle surely is one.—This strange walled up cavity;—the unaccountable circumstance of there being no little closets, or small chambers in the wall of the state apartment above except one, notwithstanding the great thickness thoughout;—and the large dungeon beneath all, with its door now so carefully walled up, as almost to escape sight; yet originally so well guarded;—might easily tempt a sanguine imagination to search.

the window is of brick, which seems to have been in part either *Roman*, or *Saxon* bricks made after the Roman manner, though in some other parts there has manifestly been a repair of modern brick. —But the window at (ψ), both pillar and frame, is altogether of stone, very much decayed. and seems evidently to have remained just in its original form.—This great room was at least twenty-feet high, or rather more.

Fig. 3. Is the plan of the apartment above, at the top of the Tower:—and here the entrance from the staircase unquestionably was at (a . 2); though there is now a considerable breach in the corner at (b . 2), which looks somewhat like a staircase door, as seen in the inside view, Pl. XXXIII. fig. 3.

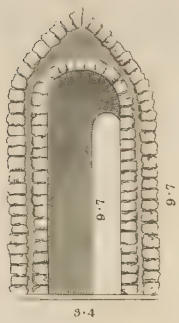
At (c . 2) was the fire hearth, and chimney in the wall.—And at (d . 2.—e . 2,—f . 2, and g . 2) were four great recesses, (whose arches at top are now broken away,) leading to four great windows, of a construction similar to those beneath, and commanding a glorious view of the country.—

At (h . 2) is an arched door, leading to a small closet in the wall, only five feet, by four feet three inches; in which are found, in the floor, two large machicolations, hanging over the side of the Castle, as is shewn at (m, fig. 9), and which, on examination, appear to be directly over the door of the dungeon (n) at a great depth beneath; and designed to guard it, by means either of stones cast down, or melted lead, or arrows, or lances, if any escape from the dungeon, or any attack upon its door, should be attempted.

For the sake of representing the whole more at large, and more distinctly; in fig. 9, a great part of the wall of the Tower, from (p) down to (q) is omitted.—The closet projected beyond the wall, as is here shewn, and was lighted by a small window, that appears against (o);—and the dungeon door beneath, is now stopped up, level with the wall, with large stones, just in the manner represented at (n).* —But the relative situation, and the due proportionate dimensions, both of the projecting closet, and of the door, may be better seen,

* In Mr. Grose's View of Guilford Castle, in Vol. III. of his Antiquities, there is a representation of *two round arches*, at the bottom, on the south side;—but I could not discern any such thing, notwithstanding the diligent examinations which I made, every time I was upon the spot.

Fig. 4.



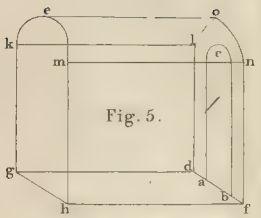




Fig. 5.

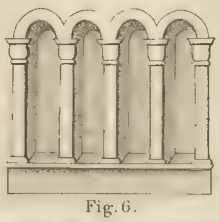


Fig. 6.

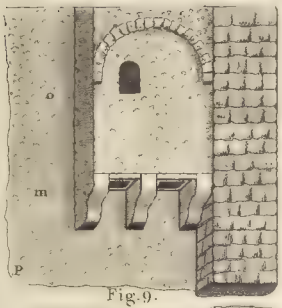
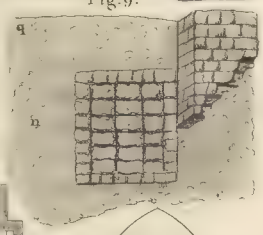



Fig. 9.



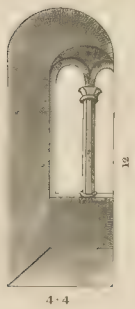




Fig. 8.

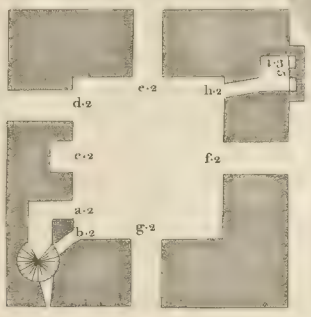



Fig. 3.




Fig. 7.

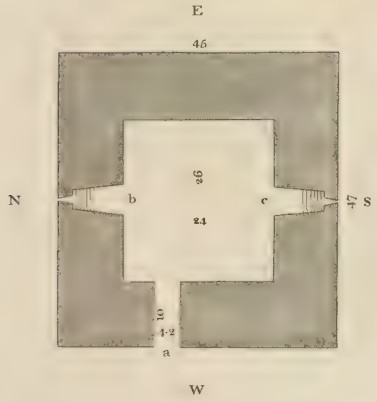



Fig. 1.

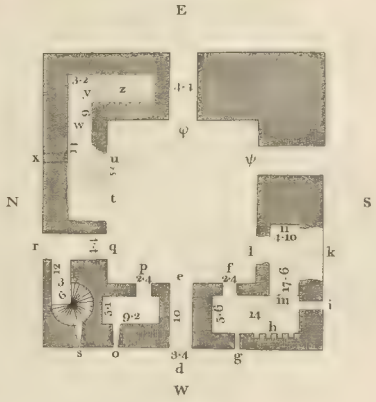



Fig. 2.

*Guilford Keep.*

Published as the Act directs 1st March 1784

in the view of the south side, near the south-east corner, in Pl. XXXII.

It is a little extraordinary, however, that in this upper State apartment, notwithstanding the great thickness of the walls, there do not appear any doors leading to any little chambers, or closets in the wall, except the one at (h . 2).

This apartment, must have been above fifteen feet high; and therefore, with the thickness of the floors, and with the depth of the dungeon, makes the whole Tower to have been, on the east side, at least seventy feet in height.

In Pl. XXXIII. are sketches of the inside of the Tower;—where the letters of reference are the same as in the Plan.—Fig. 2, representing the east, and south sides:—and fig. 3, the west, and north sides.—

The great breach, in the north wall, from the lower fire-hearth (t), to above where the upper fire-hearth (c . 2) was, is particularly shewn, fig. 3;—and the place is marked, at (ξ), where the partition wall was, which separated the fire-hearth from the passage (u).—The vestiges of the small loop window (x), belonging to this passage are also shewn.—The breach likewise, in the north-west corner, opening to the staircase, is marked above at (b . 2).

And in the south wall, fig. 2, the evident breach, on the side of the little state chamber, is shewn at (l); with the remains of part of the large square window at (k); which was as evidently inserted, in an opening made on purpose, on that side of the narrow chamber.

Both in Pl. XXXII. and in Pl. XXXIII. fig. 1, is represented the steep sloping of the ground, on the south, and north sides of the Tower, from the west front to the east front; which occasions the latter to appear so much more lofty than the former; and shews the almost certainty of there being a vault, or dungeon at the bottom.—And in both these Plates are shewn the remains of the wall, originally inclosing a small *inner court;* at least on the west side of the Tower, if not quite surrounding it.

There were great additions unquestionably made, in the outer court of the Castle, in *Norman* times, of a great hall, with a kitchen, and offices, and even with other apartments.—And on the west

side, leading to Castle street, are still remains of a *Norman* gate-way, with a groove for a portcullis.—There probably also had been an hall of some kind or other, even in *Saxon* times.—But the State apartments for residence, in every period, for several centuries, were undoubtedly in this Tower.—As in another instance, at *Portchester*, the old *Saxon* Tower was continually reserved for Royal residence, even so late as the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, who actually lodged therein, on her progress.

For the purpose of such residence, these rooms were doubtless hung with arras, of a kind whereof we may form a very tolerable idea, from the celebrated *Bajeux* tapestry ;* adorned with preposterous historical figures, of warriors ; more stiff, and more deformed than even their Saxon armour could render them.—The sides of the deep recesses also, leading to the great windows, were unquestionably hung with arras ; and these windows, commanding such extensive and beautiful prospects on all sides, would render these apartments no disgraceful, or unpleasant habitations ;—whilst the recesses to any of the windows might, to keep out wind, and for warmth, be occasionally covered with tapestry ;—and whilst, to preserve such rich hangings, deemed in early ages so valuable, the whole might be taken down, and removed, every time the Tower was left unoccupied ;—just, as it is well known, (from the curious household book,) the arras was taken down, and removed from Alnwick Castle, and from Warkworth Castle, every time the Earls of Northumberland changed their places of stately residence.—And as there also, the glass frames (after the introduction of glazed windows) were in like manner taken down ; and carefully laid by, or removed ;—so here again, that seems to have been the case ; for it is very remarkable, that no places (as far as I could discover) appeared either in the sides, or in the middle hexagonal pillars, for any iron bars, to support any fixed glass windows.

The fire places, it may be remarked, together with tapestry hangings, occasionally placed before some of the window recesses,

* So curiously represented by Montfaucon in his *Antiquitez de la Couronne de France*.—And also by Doctor Ducarel, in the Appendix to his *Anglo Norman Antiquities*. See also Memoires de l'Academie R. des Sciences, Tom. VIII.—And Memoires de l'Academie R. des Inscriptions, &c. Tom. VI.

would render these (though now they appear so dreary) even comfortable winter apartments.

Here sometimes dwelt *Alfred* the Great;*—and here, without annoyance, he might measure his well employed time, by his then novel invention of the candle, with divisions notched upon it, to tell the hours.—Here afterwards dwelt occasionally his nephew *Ethelwald.*

Here, in 1201, *King John* held his Christmas;—and as Holinshed+ relates, "gave to his servants many fair liveries, and suits of apparell, whilst the Archbishop of Canterburie did also the like at Canterburie, seeming indeed to strive with the King, which of them should passe the other in such sumptuous appareling of their men, whereat the King (and not without good cause) was greatlie moved to indignation against him, although for a time he coloured the same."

The feastings, during this Christmas, were unquestionably in some great hall, either *Saxon*, or *Norman*, in the Great Court of the Castle;—but with nearly equal certainty we may be assured, the private apartment of *King John*, was in this very *Tower:*—whilst his train, of common attendants *put in fair liveries, and in new suits of apparel*,‡—instead of any regular *yeomen*,—or of any *trained*

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 173.

+ Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 163. Matt. Paris, Anno Reg. 3.

‡ There are many other, even much stranger instances, of the odd and irregular mode of accoutring the officers in waiting, and attendants upon a court, in the earlier periods of history, which cannot but appear astonishing, and be somewhat entertaining to those in our age, who have been so long accustomed to the sight of regular, and stately uniforms.

Even so late as the time of *Lewis the Eleventh*, in France, when about the year 1475 he had occasion to send an Herald to our *King Edward the Fourth*, he had no dress ready for one; neither had he either *Herald*, or *Trumpet* in his train;—but his *Master of the Horse*, and one of *Philip de Comines's* servants, made up the Coat of Arms, as well as they could, having borrowed a scutcheon for the purpose, from a little herald belonging to the Admiral of France.

And the dress of the King himself, about the same time, is curiously described.—He wore, in general, a short coat, as ill made as was possible, and of very coarse cloth; and his hat was old, and differing from every bodies else, by an image of lead, which he carried, out of superstition, fixed upon it; and on account of which, he had worn it so long.

This prince, in the latter part of his life, caused his Castle of *Plessis les Tours*, to be encompassed with great bars of iron, fixed in the ditch, in the form of strong gratings; and

*guards, in uniform,*—and instead of the well disciplined troops of a standing army, (not any one of which orders of military persons

caused *spikes of iron, which had every one three or four points, to be fixed in the wall as thick as possible*;—and there were also four small sort of *bastion works of iron, (moineaux de fer) strong, massy, and thick*, at the four corners of the little square surrounding court;—ten cross bowmen watched all night on the ditch, to shoot at any one that should approach;—and the gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down, before eight in the morning; at which time the courtiers were let in, and the captains ordered their guards to their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the little court:—nor was any person admitted to enter but by the wicket; and those only by the King's order.—Though so great a monarch (says Comines) he had but *a small court* of the Castle to walk in, and indeed seldom made use of that.

This prince also, not only had a dungeon in the Castle where he dwelt, but had introduced the further dreadful security of small cages, about eight feet wide, and seven high; either made of iron, or of timber covered with iron plates; in one of which *Philip de Comines* himself was imprisoned, for eight months together. They were invented by *the Bishop of Verdun*, and (as he justly deserved) he himself was one of the first that handseled them; being confined therein for fourteen years.

The strange manners of the times also, in neighbouring countries, were compatible with all this.—Prelates, and Ecclesiastics in Germany frequently wore arms.—And individual persons in Germany possessing estates were a kind of robbers;—"a private person (says "Comines), with only one servant to wait upon him, will have the confidence to defie a "whole city, and declare war against a Duke, that he may have a pretence to rob, and "plunder him; especially if such person has but a Castle, or any strong fort situated upon "a rock to retreat to, where he keeps perhaps twenty, or perhaps thirty horse, to scour "up and down the country, and to plunder according to his directions.—And instead of "suppressing them, these kind of robbers are employed by the German Princes, on all "occasions.—But the towns, and free states punish them severely whenever they can "catch them."

The want of regular discipline also, in the early ages, was frequently as curious.—Of twelve hundred Burgundian horse, (*Comines* tells us) scarce fifty understood how to manage a lance; and not four hundred were armed with back, and breast plates.

And, against such a kind of army, the *Liegeois* stood a siege, without gate, wall, or fortification; and with one piece of cannon only.

Nor was the cruelty of the times less than the want of regular discipline, and array;—for the same *Liegeois* killed several Canons of their church, and among the rest one Monsieur Robert, an intimate friend of their Bishop's, whom they slew in his presence, and cut into small pieces, and then in sport threw those pieces at one anothers' heads.

All these circumstances may be seen detailed at large, by that faithful and celebrated historian, *Philip de Comines*.—Liv. iv. chap. 7.—Liv. ii. chap. 8.—Liv. vi. chap. 12.—Liv. ii. chap. 7.—Liv. v. chap. 18.—Liv. i. chap. 3.—Liv. ii. chap. 12.

And they are inserted here, not only for the sake of illustrating what is related concerning King John's manner of clothing his train on a particular occasion, at *Guilford Castle*,

did in that age exist) were each night crowded together on straw, on the floors of the small surrounding Towers of the outward court, (*or utter Ballium*); or even on the floor of the great hall itself, of whatever kind the hall at that time was, whether of wood, or stone.

As this was one of those Castles which, in consequence of its immediate connection with the crown, was *from the first* (according to the then laws of the land) *a legal place* of confinement;—and as it is known to have been used as a common gaol, as far back as the 35th of Edward the First;† it is highly probable, that the dungeon, whose entrance was defended, and secured, in the remarkable manner that has been described, was that very *gaol*:—even whilst the State apartments above, were continually destined for Royal Residence.

It should seem therefore, on the whole, that in this instance, at *Guilford*, as well as in all the preceding ones, has been preserved, through a long succession of ages, and notwithstanding the changes made by subsequent repairs, and alterations, one of the identical Palaces, and Castles, of the earliest *Saxon Kings*.—Such, then as these Castles, which we have just been describing, we may now fairly conclude were, in general, all the fortified mansions of Royal Residence, during the *Heptarchy*.

Nothing can be more erroneous, than the mistaken hasty conclusions of some antiquaries, that the *Castles* of the *Saxons* of the Heptarchy, consisted merely of entrenchments of earth.—

That they had *such* earth-works, in various parts, besides their Castles built with stone, both at first, and at last, is most unquestionably true;—as the *Danes* also had, who yet in the end raised even more magnificent Structures than those of the *Saxons*;—and

and the rude state of things in those past ages; but because many of those *German Castles*, and Keep Towers, mentioned by *Comines*, may be concluded to have been the very ones, which (as has been already suggested (p. 123, 124 of this Volume,) were probably built originally by *British Workmen*, drawn from this Island in the time of *Theodosius*, and *Honorius*.—The remarkable resemblance which some of the German Keep Towers have to some in this country, has been particularly taken notice of, by curious persons; whilst it is well known there could none exist in *Germany*, but of a later date than many of those in this Island which they so much resemble.

† In that year, *Edward de Say*, Keeper of the King's prisoners at Guilford Castle, had orders to repair it if necessary.

as the *Normans* also had, in the midst of all their grandeur, and magnificence, from age to age, in *Scotland*, in *Ireland*, and in *France*:—and as indeed even the armies of modern ages have had almost to this hour; at least even down to the battle of *Colloden*.—But such sort of *temporary* occasional *camps*, deserve not attention, on the present occasion, though a few of them shall hereafter be taken notice of, in a proper place.

It is more to the purpose now, to turn our attention to some buildings, which though not the actual residence of *Saxon Kings*, seem to have been coæval with their times, and do still remain.

Amongst these may be reckoned the now leaning Tower at *Bridgenorth*;—the exceeding solidity of whose structure has defied the decay of ages, the blasts of gunpowder, and the continually active power of gravity, notwithstanding its apparently tottering state.

Its present appearance is represented, Pl. XX. fig. 2; and every circumstance, both of its dimensions, and construction, seems to indicate it to have been of the very early *Saxon* age; and before the time of *Ethelfleda*, who is said to have built a Castle here, and unquestionably might add some certain works, now no longer existing.

Like *Guilford* Castle, it most evidently contained three apartments, one above another: each of which were of small dimensions; being only 23 feet 10 inches in length; and 21 feet 2 inches in breadth.—And the entrance was manifestly by an arched doorway at (d), up a steep flight of steps on the outside.—The marks of the places for the timbers supporting every floor, are still very visible.—And there appear also above, on the side wall, just as at *Castleton*, and at *Portchester*, and formerly at *Bamborough*, the truly *Saxon* marks (a, b, c) resembling those of a roof let in below the battlements.—The walls are between 8 and 9 feet thick, or rather more;—but not quite uniformly so, on each side; for the external measure of the Tower, is nearly about forty-one and an half feet square.

Just as at *Castleton*, the outside wall, next the town, which is that still remaining so entire, has not even a loop hole in it.—This side, however, is very oddly covered with iron hooks; which are said, by tradition, to have been placed there, so late as in the time

of Charles the First, during the Civil War, to hang woolpacks upon, in order to protect the walls from the effects of cannon.—But as this tale is not very credible, and the hooks themselves have the appearance of being much more antient, they seem rather proper to remind one of a savage custom, which sometimes prevailed in early ages, of fastening the bodies of enemies slain, on the outside of the walls of fortresses.

It cannot be forgotten, that we have an instance of this, in so very remote a period, as in the time of the first Kings of Israel; when the dead bodies of *Saul*, and of *Jonathan* his son, were by the Philistines fastened to the wall of *Bethshan*.*

And savage instances of a somewhat similar sort are not wanting even in our own Island.†

This Tower, at *Bridgenorth*, now leans with an inclination of about seventeen degrees from the perpendicular;—still, as it were, trembling, on the summit of the mountain, and ready to fall;—but yet enduring, as one of those truly cloud capped Towers referred to by our sublime Poet *Shakspeare*.—Nothing can be imagined more majestic than its elevated situation must formerly have appeared, on a wondrous precipitous rock, overlooking, and commanding the whole surrounding country.

Like *Castleton*, in the most antient times, this place had a *Saxon* denomination, which indicated its being of *Saxon* construction.—

* 1 Samuel, chap. xxxi. ver. 10, 12.

† Fixed on the top of the Church, near *Grismond* (*or Grosmont*) *Castle* in Monmouthshire.—I was shewn long horrible spikes, or hooks, still remaining in the year 1788, on which, tradition affirms, the heart and entrails of *John of Kent* were fixed, after his execution, in the time of Henry the Fourth.—It is well known how strange the many tales concerning this man are.—They make him a sorcerer, a soldier, a monk, and a physician, a valiant knight, and a rebel.—Such kind of traditions deserve not much credit, but yet some truth may always be gleaned out of them.—And it is probable, that he was a man more than ordinarily learned for his age; whose knowledge of some simples, had sometimes enabled him to aid the sick; and who had dared to oppose somewhat the strong current of superstition, and monkish bigotry, and blindness;—and who having been, in his youth, a soldier, and a traveller, and afterwards a religious recluse, was at last, by crafty persecution, and false accusation, cruelly put to death as an heretick, and a rebel, as well as the good *Lord Cobham*. Certain it seems to have been, that such a man once harboured here;—and certain it seems to have been, that those spikes, and hooks, once supported a part of his bloody remains, exposed to the fowls of the air, less savage than his persecutors.

This is acknowledged both by *Camden* and *Gibson*;* though they differ as to the precise import of the word.—*Camden* deeming it to have been *Burgh;* and *Gibson Brugge* (Bpiege)—which ever it was, the very having such Saxon denomination imports its high antiquity. And we find established *here, afterwards,* in consequence of its pre-eminence, by *Henry the First,* one of the very curious early *Norman* feudal tenures; *King Henry* having given lands, at *little Brug,* or *the lesser Castle,* in this neighbourhood, on condition of the service, *of finding dry wood, for the Chamber in this Castle, when the King came hither*;†—a chamber doubtless in this very Tower, and which was furnished unquestionably in a manner very similar to that at *Guilford,* which has been already described, as having been the chamber of King John.

*Bishop Gibson* thinks the *Danes* built here.‡—And tradition says *Edelfleda,* Lady of the *Mercians,* built here.—Probably both might cause additional structures to be added to this Castle;—but this Tower seems to have been prior to the times both of the one, and of the other.

However that fact may be; this has always been a place of very great distinction, from the highest antiquity.§

At the siege of this Castle in 1165, *Henry the Second,* having been aimed at by an arrow, shot from it, escaped only through the zealous ardour of *Hubert de St. Clare;* who instantly interposed himself; and received the arrow in his own body;‖—and dying, recommended his orphan daughters to his Prince.

Amongst Towers, coæval with *Saxon* times, there is one also at *Goodrich Castle,* in *Herefordshire;* which afterwards became, in later days, in the time of Henry the Sixth, the actual residence of the *Earl Talbot,* so justly celebrated by our Poet Shakspeare.

* See Gibson's Camden, p. 542, 551. † Lib. Inq.

‡ Gibson's Camden, p. 551, 542.—Gough's Edition, Vol. II. p. 396.

§ In the view of the Tower, Pl. XX. fig. 2, *the precipice* is beyond the Tower, and therefore, its steepness could not be represented, because its edge only is seen.

‖ See Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry the Second, Vol. II. p. 13, and Radulphi Nigri Chronicon, MSS. Bib. Cotton. Vespasian, D. x. 1. fol. 33.—It is very remarkable also, that Henry the Second was saved another time, in Normandy, by his horse's flinging up his head and receiving the point in his forehead, just as an arrow was ready to pierce the King's heart.—Daniel's Hist. p. 147, Kennet's Collection.

The Keep Tower of this Castle is acknowledged, by all writers, to have been of the highest antiquity; whilst as usual in such cases, there are no written records concerning it: and the idle tale of its having been built by one *Macbeth*, or *Macmac*, an Irish Chieftain, taken prisoner by the Earl of Shrewsbury, as a payment of ransom for himself and his son,* is just as much deserving of credit, as that the iron helmets formerly preserved in this Castle, were fitted to their heads;—one of which would hold half a bushel.—If this Keep Tower had been so built, in *Earl Talbot's* days, during the reign of *Henry the Sixth*, there would at least have remained some sort of *written testimony*, concerning its so late construction; whereas there is none; and on the other hand, we not only know, from authentick records, that this Castle was in being in the time of *King John*,—but have reason to suspect, that its very name was connected with that of *Godricus Dux*, in the time of *King Canute:* as the signature of such a person, appears twice in Dugdale's Monasticon, among the witnesses to two Charters of that Great Monarch,+ granted to the abbey of *Hulm* in Norfolk, on his return from Rome.

This Keep Tower has every mark, in its style of architecture, of being coæval with the *Saxon* age.—And, considering its situation, may justly be deemed amongst *Welch imitations*; for it certainly can never be considered as having ever been the residence of any *Saxon* Monarch.

It is itself situated in *Herefordshire*, on a precipitous rock, on the north western bank of the river Wye;—but two pieces of pasture belonging to it, that are immediately beneath the Castle, and most closely adjoining, are in the county of *Monmouth*.

This Keep stands, somewhat in the same manner as those at *Portchester*, *Pevensey*, and *Castleton* do, close to the outward wall of the Castle:—and, like them, had no window on the outside next the country.

Its elevation is shewn, Pl. XXXV. fig. 1,—and the plans of its different floors are represented, in fig. 2,—and fig. 3,—and do conjointly strongly mark its age.

* See Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II. where are two views of this Castle; but not such as do at all convey proper idea of it.

+ See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 285, 288.

The original windows, though different from those at *Guilford*, are the most truly *Saxon* that can be.—That in the middle of the upper story, seems to have remained just as it was from the very first, without any alteration.—And the manner in which the two large side pillars stand, somewhat *within* the arch, is consistent with a fashion which we shall find was adopted by the *Saxons*, and continued even to the time of *Edward the Confessor*. The large zig-zag ornament, on each side, is in the rude form in which it was generally used by the earliest Saxons; and so also is that of the moulding, or band, that is carried by way of ornament quite across the Tower, just under this window.—And it is very remarkable, that the middle projecting buttress is carried no higher than this ornament.

In order to shew the peculiarity of the architecture of this uppermost window more exactly, it is represented on a larger scale, Pl. XXXVI. fig. 1;—as is also the window, in the apartment beneath, at fig. 2.

This latter, however, does not remain so entirely in its pristine form as the other, for there has plainly been inserted into it *a stone frame for glass*, of the style and age of Henry the Sixth; which we may, therefore, very well believe was indeed placed there, in the time of the celebrated *Earl Talbot*, whose *own* apartment tradition affirms to have been in this Tower.

It evidently contained three rooms, one over the other. They were, however, all very small; being only fourteen feet and an half square.—And the room on the first floor, had no sort of communication within, with the dungeon beneath.

The entrance was by a flight of steps, which may be seen on one side, at (L), much in the same manner as at *Portchester*, and at *Castleton*.—And there was no *portcullis* in the portal here, any more than in those so antient Towers.

Fig 2, Pl. XXXV. is the plan of the ground floor.

At (f) is a low door of entrance to the apartment on the ground; (much in the same manner here, as at Guilford.)

This den has not even one loop hole for light and air.—But at (c d) is a very narrow passage to a still smaller dungeon (N), strongly secured under the platform belonging to the steps; and to

FIG.1



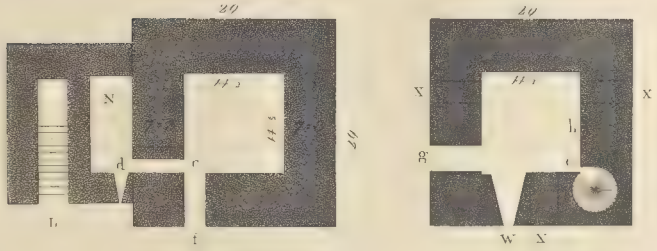


FIG. 2.

FIG 3

Keep Tower at Goodrich Castle, in Herefordshire.

Lordship of *Urchenfield*, to the possession of this Keep Tower, (both of which the Lord *Talbot* appears to have been possessed of before this *License* was granted) shews the exceeding high antiquity of the Castle; since *Urchenfield* was indeed the very place where *St. Dubricius* founded his college of religious, about 512, to live (like the original Eastern Recluses) by the work of their own hands.

The remarkable sort of arch, or covering of this door, is similar to that of a window in the great East Tower; the whole of which was evidently built about the time of Edward the Third.—And this latter window, so different from any thing Saxon, is shewn Pl. XXXVI. fig. 7; in which Plate also are represented the two *Saxon* windows of the Tower;—and by way of comparison is added, (fig. 4,) the form of the lower Saxon window which has been mentioned* as still remaining at *Portchester* Castle; where indeed the uppermost windows have likewise a resemblance as to form, and dimensions, to those which are on the two sides of this Keep Tower above.

At (L), fig. 2, Pl. XXXV. is the beginning of the steps,—leading to the habitable state apartments above.

And over the passage (c . d) is the portal of entrance, whose greater width than the passage beneath is marked by a dotted line.

Fig. 3, shews the Plan of the first, and principal apartment above.—At (g) is its entrance;—and at (w) its one only window, in which is inserted the more recent frame work of the age of Henry the Sixth.—There is a fire-hearth about (h);—and at (e) is a circular staircase, which goes no lower down; but leads from hence to the upper apartment;—wherein were three large windows, just over the places marked by the dotted lines (x . x . x).

To this staircase there is a most remarkable door-way; which is represented Pl. XXXVI. fig. 3.—It has one large transom stone, like the still more antient door at *Conisborough*, as if to aid the arch to support the wall above: and, in this respect, resembles several other Saxon structures, in which this strange kind of fashion seems to have been uniformly adopted; until it became gradually altered, by the introduction of a flattish *under arch*, substituted in the room, of the *transom stone*.

* See p. 30, 33, 34, of Vol. II. of this Work, and Pl. $\frac{XXI}{5}$.

2 1 3



4



6 5 7

*Windows and arches, in Goodrich Castle.*

This kind of gradual alteration may be discerned, in the door way of an old *Saxon* Tower, of a church at Lincoln, shewn Pl. XXXVII. fig. 1.—As also in the door-way of an old Tower,* shewn in the same Plate fig. 2, which Tower, from every part of its external architecture, and ornaments, appears to have been *Saxon*, though found amongst the ruins of an old church of the Knights Templars, to whom it afterwards belonged, at *Temple Bruer;* in consequence of which the inside of the building became adorned with pointed arches, of a much later date than the door of entrance.

The same sort of gradual alteration may also be discerned in the old Saxon arch, of a building at Lincoln opposite to the remains of the palace of John of Gaunt, shewn fig. 3.

It may be discerned also, in the great gate-way, of the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury*, in Suffolk, built in the time of *King Canute*.—And in the still more antient arch of the door way, of the church at *Barfreston*, in Kent;—whilst the gate way of the Abbey at *Reading*, in Berkshire, may be mentioned as an instance of the continuation of the fashion of the double arch in architecture, so late down as after the time of *Henry the First*, when its origin was probably quite forgotten, and when it was considered only as a sort of handsome ornament.

Whoever was the original builder of *Goodrich* Keep Tower, whether the *Godricus Dux*, who witnessed King *Canute's* Charters, or any Chieftain prior to him, it certainly came afterwards into the hands of the most distinguished Normans. It was given by King John, in the fifth year of his reign, to *William Strigul, Earl Marshall*,† to hold by the service of two Knights fees.—Walter, Earl of Pembroke, his son, died here in 1246.‡—And afterwards, the illustrious *Aymer de Valence*, third son of William Earl of Pembroke, became Lord of Goodrich,§ who was murdered in France in 1323, and as well as his father, was one of the first personages that was entombed

* I mentioned these before, in my paper in the Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 46.

† Dugdale's Bar. Vol. I. p. 601.—And see Brooke's Catalogue, p. 269.—This celebrated man was Governor to *Henry the Third*, during the first four years of his reign; and lies buried in the Temple Church.—He was created *Earl of Pembroke*, on marrying Isabel, the grand-daughter of *Gilbert Strongbowe*.

‡ Brooke's Catalogue, p. 272.

§ Mill's Catalogue of Honour.—See also Dugdale's Bar. Vol. I. p. 776, 778.

in so great state in Westminster Abbey.—Afterwards this Castle descended, in the female line, to the *Talbots*;—the first of whom who dwelt at Goodrich, was *Richard*, in the time of Edward the Third, about 1347, who obtained the license for having a *State Prison*:—and the last who resided much, was *Gilbert*, in the time of Henry the Fifth, the eldest brother of *John* the famous Earl of Shrewsbury.*—Afterwards, in the female line again, it came to the Greys Earls of Wilton, the last of whom became Duke of Kent.

As in some former instances, after describing either *Roman*, or *British*, or *Saxon* buildings, an account has also been given in the preceeding pages of the *Norman* additions to the same Castles, for the sake of shewing the more evidently the different kinds of architecture, and of fortification, in a comparative point of view;—so here also it may be peculiarly useful, to subjoin a plan of the more extensive buildings, and strong modes of defence, that were added, by the great *Earl Marshalls*,—and by the *valiant Talbots*,—and indeed continually even down to the time of Henry the Sixth,—insomuch, that Gothic Arches precisely of the same kind with those that came into common fashion in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh are found here, together with those that were *peculiar* to the days of Edward the First, and with those that were as peculiar to the days of Edward the Third.

The long, dark, and strong, fenced *Norman* passage of entrance at *Portchester*, with the threatening machicolations the whole way over-head, has already been described;†—and the remains of another, somewhat similar, at *Launceston*, of the same *Norman* age, has also been mentioned;‡—and the traces of a third have been spoken of, as discernible at *Conisborough*;§—but one here at *Goodrich*, about fifty feet in length, surpassed all the rest in strength.

Pl. XXXIX. contains a plan of the whole Castle, in which appears this strong fortified entrance at (A. E.)—But as it is more exactly represented on a larger scale, in Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 1, (where the dimensions of all the different parts are laid down exactly as I measured them in 1788) it may be more satisfactory first to refer to it;

* Dugdale's Bar. Vol. I. p. 326, 328, 330.—*The Earl of Shrewsbury* himself, though possessed of *Goodrich* for forty years, from 1413, to 1453, was but seldom there, being almost continually engaged in wars abroad.

† See Vol. II. p. 35. ‡ See before, p. 29. § Ibid. p. 50.



3

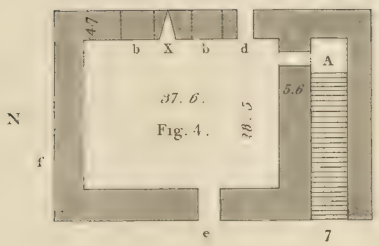


1



2

E

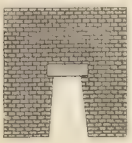



N

Fig. 4.

S

Fig. 5.



W

Saxon Doorways & Plan of Pentlow Church.

Published as the Act directs March 1st 1804

—only remarking, that there is a peculiarity in the *unequal* dimensions of the Towers on each side the gate; which together with the form of the pointed arch of the gate-way, may lead us to conclude this external part of the Castle at least, to have been of the age of King *Stephen*, consistently with some observations that will be hereafter made in the progress of this work. But the stronger munitions of the long passage, that may be perceived on passing further on, have the appearance of being of a later date.

At (D) is a very deep pit, hewn out of the hard rock, and which was directly under a draw-bridge between the two Towers;—the massy wooden lifting part of the bridge is now gone, but it most evidently appears that, when drawn up, it exactly fitted, and closed the whole front of the gate-way:—whilst the further part of the bridge beyond this, which is carried over the ditch, at a little distance, was protected by means of the loop holes in the Towers (y) and (z).

At (g 1) was the first massy gate; the strong iron hinges of which still remain.—And the draw-bridge, and this gate were defended, on each side, by the loop holes ($\alpha$) and ($\beta$);—and over-head by rows of machicolations, or square holes in the vaulting, for pouring down hot sand, and melted lead,—or for flinging down stones.

A little further on, at (p 1) was the first portcullis: and the wheel and axis for drawing it up remained in the chamber over-head, within the memory of a person who was living in the year 1788.

Still further, at (p 2), was a second portcullis.—And the space between these two was again protected, on each side, by the loop holes ($\gamma$) ($\delta$); and over-head by machicolations;—which indeed appear above in almost every part of the whole passage.—But are most numerous over (M) just behind the first gate.

At (g 2) was a second strong gate,—and just beyond it,

At ($\varepsilon$) is a little door, leading to a long narrow gallery (c . c . c) only three feet wide, formed in the thickness of the wall, and which was the means of access to the loops that have been mentioned ($\delta$ . $\beta$ . z), and also to three others ($\zeta$ . $\theta$ . $\Omega$) that commanded the outside, on the brow of the steep precipice, towards the north-east.

On common occasions, the defence of the passage of entrance seems to have been completed at the second gate (g 2):—but in case of these strong safe-guards, the draw-bridge, the two strong gates,

and the two portcullisses, being all forced, there was still a last, and almost impenetrable, resource for defence.—For a little further on, at (E), and from thence to (B), are massy stone projections in the wall, on each side, like pilasters; manifestly designed for inserting great beams of timber between them, like bars, from one side of the passage, which was about nine feet ten inches wide, to the other, so as to form a strong barricado;—with earth or stones between the rows of timber; which would in a short time, and with rapidity, form a strong massy wall.—

At (B) was the complete entrance into the great inner court.*

And having proceeded through this; immediately on the left hand, at (F), Pl. XXXIX. appear the remains of the Chapel; some of the broken ornaments of which, and especially about its great window (w), shew it to have been repaired, and adorned, even so late as the times of Henry the Sixth, and Seventh.—At (a) is a very remarkable nich, which is represented Pl. XXXVI. fig. 5;—and near adjoining is a much smaller nich for an holy-water bason; shewn fig. 6.—And (h) was another nich, with another bason for holy water.

Underneath this chapel was a deep vault;—and over it, a chamber, which had a fire place, that still appears projecting from the wall.—And very close adjoining is a small octagonal Tower (G), containing a staircase, which led from the court, up to a chamber over the apartment (S), and also to the chambers over the chapel, and gate-way, where probably the chaplain, and warders had their abode.

This little Tower, still remains carried up very high, so as to serve for a Watch Tower, where a watchman might be placed:—whilst the Daily Warder had *his* seat in a small recess (X), in the side wall, just beyond the great entrance, where was a large loop commanding the outside over the precipice.

At (Q) appear foundations of a building, which seems to have

* The whole length of this fortified passage was just about fifty feet; as may be seen by the exact measures annexed.—That at Portchester was ninety-four feet in length, but not so strong.—See Vol. II. p. 55, and Pl. $\frac{XXI}{4}$.—The passage at Launceston was one hundred and twenty feet in length.—And that at Conisborough was long, and strong;—but none of them equal to this.

served for a stable.—And from the chamber over (S), was a covered way, or passage (H . H), on the top of the wall, leading to the upper part of the strong *Garrison Tower* (I).

This latter is a most remarkable structure, and like the great gate-way itself seems to have been constructed about the time of King Stephen;—and deserves a particular description; especially as it is very near adjoining to the *Saxon Keep* Tower, on account of which alone it is that *Goodrich* Castle has been now mentioned.

The Garrison Tower (I), is square at the foundation; and about thirty-six feet on each side;—but three of the corners rise in great triangular buttresses, nearly to the third, or upper floor, so that (above) it ends in a round Tower,—the walls whereof are at least eight feet thick.—The inside is octangular, but irregular, about twenty feet in diameter from corner to corner; and a little more than seventeen, from side to side:—and the entrance on the ground is a very singular one, as may be seen in the plan, Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 2, where all the dimensions are exactly laid down.—This entrance (a) is near the south corner of the court; and within are found two loops at (b) (b); but this lower room has no communication by any staircase within the Tower, with the room above.—Just by the entrance however, on the outside, are the steps (L) that lead up to the grand entrance of the *Saxon* Keep at N; and from the same platform, on the top of these steps, is also the entrance (o o) to the first floor above:—at (d e) was a loop to this first room above:—and at (t), still higher up, was a door of entrance, from the covered way, and passage (H . H) on the top of the south-east wall, to the third room on the top of this Tower; so that there was access to this building from every part of the walls.—The rooms had each of them a fire-hearth: and, from the peculiar situation of the doors of entrance, the lowermost room seems to have been the lodging of those who had the care of the stable;—the middlemost, the lodging of the officers on guard;—and the uppermost, the lodging of the garrison soldiers.

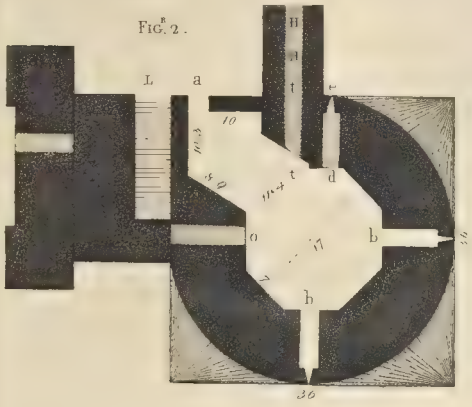
It has been already mentioned, that the dungeon, under (N), was strongly vaulted, and that over this vault was the platform, that ran along the side of the Keep to the grand entrance.

At (P) were three small doors, leading to privies constructed in a strong projecting buttress, under which is a deep vault.

The walls of the Castle are in general from seven to ten feet in thickness;—but between the Keep (K) and the great western round Tower (T) they are now broken down.

The great Tower (T), is very different from the former one at (I), as well as from the Keep, and seems to have been of the age of the *Edwards*.—It is much larger than either of the others within, being thirty-three feet one way, by twenty-five the other;—of a very irregular somewhat octangular figure;—and it seems to have served for the great kitchen to the hall.—In it may be still distinguished the fire-place;—two large recesses, on each side, with loops;—a small door into the outer Ballium, that might occasionally serve for a sally port;—and another small narrow loop just beyond it.—And that this was in reality *the kitchen*, appears from every circumstance of its situation with respect to the other offices appertaining to the hall, and with respect to the hall itself.—For this magnificent room was evidently at (R);—and its tall, slender, narrow windows, and whole style of architecture, as far as remains, shews it clearly to have been of the age of *Edward the First*.—At (r r) was the great door; and it is well known, that at the end nearest to it, were usually the kitchen, and offices, in all the halls built during the reigns of the *Edwards*:—accordingly here at (x x), on the left hand on entering, was an arched door-way, and staircase, leading down to the kitchen;—then at (y y) another small arched door, to a wine cellar, as usual very small;—and then at (z z) a third leading up to the buttery, which seems to have been over the kitchen, in the same great Tower:—and here, as in the kitchen, and in other parts of the Tower, appear those remarkable sort of recesses, and loop windows, shewn fig. 7, Pl. XXXVI, with the *straight sided arch*, so peculiar to the time of *Edward the Third*.—At (s s) also, at this lower end of the hall, is still another door, and staircase, that may be called *the Retainers staircase*, which led up to the top of the adjoining wall, and to some apartments, for Retainers, that seem to have been adjoining both to the hall, and to the Keep Tower, over the space (t t), but which are now, as well as the adjacent wall, ruined, and destroyed.

FIG. 2.



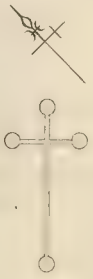
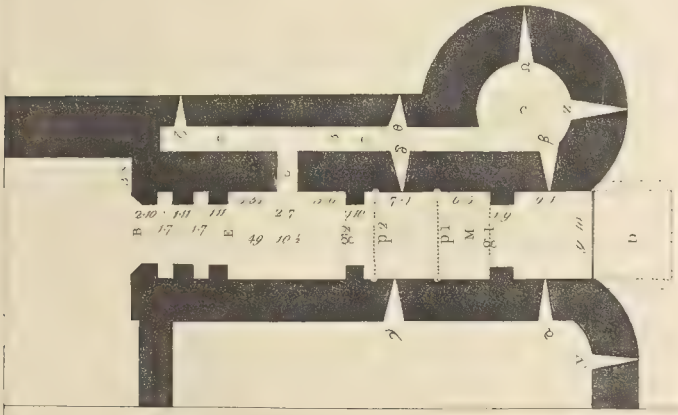



FIG. 3

FIG. 1.




Goodrich Castle.

At (q) was the great fire-place in the wall, with a vast extended, projecting solid mass of stone-work, (q q), or sort of buttress behind it; which seems to have had some little apartment, or closet, *upon it*, on the outside, and overlooking the sort of small outer *Ballium*, that was on this part of the Castle, inclosed by an outer wall. Possibly it might serve for a centry lodge, or small guard room.

At (n n) was a door leading to a parlour (V), or retiring room from the hall;—over which was a chamber, having a window that looked into the hall at (m).—And there seems also to have been a large window looking into the court, at (v v).

Belonging to this hall, which is sixty-four feet eleven inches in length, and twenty-seven feet eleven inches in breadth, according to the most accurate measure I could take, is said to have been (and within the memory of a person living in 1788) a long beam of oak, without blemish, or knot, sixty-six feet in length, and near two feet square; and one of the places whereon its ends rested remains still visible in the walls.

At ($\chi$) was a door, leading from the retiring room, to (w), which seems to have been the great State Room;—and which has, at the upper end, a beautiful well wrought stone pillar ($\xi$), standing between two beautiful Gothic arches, one on each side.—This room is fifty-five feet six inches long, by twenty in breadth, (according to my measures,) and seems to have had two great windows, one at (x x), and one at ($\xi$ $\xi$); but these parts are now much broken.—The style of the arches appears to be of the age of Henry the Fifth.—They are very beautiful;—and at the corner of the room, at the upper end, is a door leading to the neat small Tower ($\phi$).

This has continually been called *the Ladies Tower*;—the little apartment within, is not above fifteen feet in diameter;—there is from it a most beautiful view, over the whole country;—and it is so situated, on the brow of a steep high precipice, as to be the best protected spot in the whole Castle:—it is an elegant little octagon;—and in short just fit to form that sort of little *boudoir*, with arras, and with trinkets placed in the windows, which (from several antient accounts) we find to have been the favourite closets of the Ladies of high rank, in their Castles; and particularly so about the time of *Henry the Fifth*.—But this neat, and strong little structure,

notwithstanding its elevated situation, was very roughly treated, in the civil wars, by Colonel Birch, by whose cannon much of it was broken down.

The great room (w), has sometimes been supposed to have been *a kitchen*.—But, on the one hand, it is absolutely contrary to the uniform mode, in all the great Norman Castles, to have the kitchen, or any offices, at this *upper end* of the hall, the farthest from the great door.—And on the other hand, it cannot reasonably be conceived, that the most elegant ornaments in the whole Castle,—such a pillar,—and such arches,—should have been bestowed merely upon *a kitchen;*—or that stately Norman Dames, should have had their favourite apartment close to a kitchen, and not to be come at, but by passing through the kitchen.—And uniform tradition has affirmed this Tower to have been *their* abode.

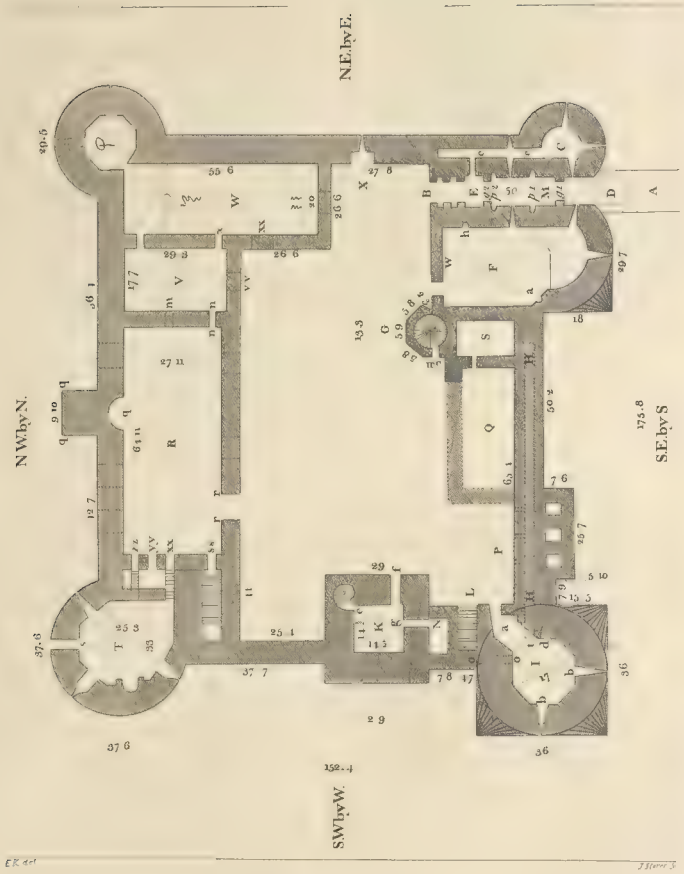
Leaving this state room, and passing through the breach where was either a door, or a large window at (ξ ξ), we come again to the Warder's seat (x), and to the great gate of the Castle.

The walls of the whole Castle, are in general above seven feet thick;—and have, in several parts, very remarkable loop holes, of the form represented fig. 3. Pl. XXXVIII.—And, according to my measures, are in length 175 feet, 8 inches, on the south-east, and north-west sides;—and 152 feet, 4 inches, on the south-west side, including the corner Towers.

On the north-east side, they are protected by the high precipice, on which the Castle stands;—on the south-east side, and on the south-west side, they are protected by an exceeding deep and wide ditch, hewn out of the rock;—the stone taken out of which seems to have been that used in the building:—and on the north-west side, was a small outer court, or utter Ballium, separated first by a ditch, and then fortified by a second, and outer wall, on the brow of a steep hill.*—

Such was the strong Castle of *Goodrich;*—and having mentioned its *Keep Tower*, as being most apparently, in the whole style of building, connected with the *Saxon* times, one other structure not very far distant, ought also just to be taken some notice of, as a sort of

* There are some very curious views of this Castle by Mr. Bonnor;—but I cannot avoid differing from him a little, in a few particular circumstances.




*Goodrich Castle.*

*Welch imitation*, of the *Saxon* mode of building, and as being coæval with *Saxon* days.

This is at *Penline*, in Glamorganshire.—Here, in the walls of the old Keep Tower, are found rude flag-stones placed *herring-bone fashion*,* without cement (at least in some parts) in the oldest *Saxon manner*.—Here also antiquaries are at a loss as to the builder, and unable to give any account of its origin, or date;—and no records are found concerning it.—But here a style of architecture, in many respects corresponding with what we have been describing, is met with.

It stands quite on the brow of a little mountain, which, descending steep from it, in a most precipitous manner, forms a perfect defence on the east side.—It was still further protected, by the lower part of the mountain having been originally an intricate wood; whilst part of that mazy defence still remained even in 1788; and the very name of the Castle still imports its being *at the top of a wood*.

The plan of the Keep Tower, is shewn Pl. XXXVII. fig. 4;—where its dimensions are inserted, as I measured them in 1788.—And the herring-bone work is most conspicuous in the building, on the north side, in the part of the wall marked (f).

The dungeon, or cellar, is now entered at (e);—but in antient times seems to have had no other entrance than that at (d), on the east side, just on the very brink of the precipice; where still remains a very singular, small, low door way, of the form shewn fig. 5; with a rude transom stone at the top, instead of an arch; and narrower at the top, than at the bottom; almost resembling some of the most early buildings in the world, those in Egypt.†

There was a small loop, or rather a mere air hole, at (x), also looking over the precipice;—but this dungeon had no sort of communication, on the inside, with the apartment above.

Whether that originally consisted of one, or of two rooms, is not

* There is a view of it in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. VI.—which, though not very exact, conveys a very tolerable idea of the external apppearance.

† It is an odd circumstance, that such sort of door-ways are found in the old *Incas Palaces*, in Peru,—See Ulloa's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 500. Some other remarks, concerning those *Palaces*, may be seen already cited in this Volume, p. 47.

now to be easily ascertained;—but the ascent up to it was very nearly as at *Portchester*,—at *Goodrich*,—and at *Guilford*,—and as in other *Saxon* Towers,—by a steep flight of steps, on the outside, which still remain as shewn at (A);—and then through a portal, which never had any portcullis, but a strong fastening by beams of timber.

And at (b), and (b), in the upper apartment, were two old *Saxon* windows.—There are remains of a *Saxon* window also on the west side;—but on the south are the adjoining ruins of a modern house, built by *Serjeant Sey*, even long since *Leland's* time, who plainly expresses, in few words, his strong idea of the real high antiquity of the Castle, by saying, *it yet stondith*.

More curious still is the yet enduring remain of *Oldwick* Castle, in Scotland, which most justly deserves to be mentioned together with these imitations of *Saxon* buildings; as being, most unquestionably, nearly of the same æra.—And as being one of those which first of all succeeded to the mere *Duns*.

It stands on a singularly wild, hideous, and nearly insulated rock, projecting into the ocean, on the coast of the shire of *Caithness*.

Its walls are, in the lower parts, built with cement; but in the upper parts are composed of thin, flat, dry stones, with little or no mortar at all to connect them; and put together, much in the same manner as in the Scotch Duns.

Like them also it has cavities, as a sort of chambers, in its walls;—but it is *square** and of the form of an old *Saxon* Castle, of which it seems plainly to have been an awkward imitation.

The walls are enormously thick; and scarcely shew any thing like windows on the outside, in any part, having only a few small square openings, for spying observation.—But the little cells *within* the walls, have small windows, just as those in the Duns have, looking into the inner room, within the building; which therefore must still, just like the old Duns, have been lighted only from the top:—and there are narrow stairs of communication, in the wall, from the bottom to the top.

* There is a curious description, and very beautiful representation of this Castle, in Cordiner's Antiquities of Scotland, p. 80.

A similar sort of square Tower, is found at *Dilred;** built upon the top of a pillar-like, circular rock, rising almost perpendicularly out of the banks of the *Thurso*, and overhanging its craggy channel; there is on no one side access to it, but by very steep, and dangerous climbing indeed.

A third fortress of the same kind was found also, on the northern coasts of Scotland, at *Boorve*.—A Tower that tradition says was once the residence of *Thorkel*, one of the Chieftains of the tenth century, mentioned by *Torfæus*,—which very tradition indicates how justly it might be deemed an imitation of *Saxon* building.

This Fortress is placed, somewhat like the former, on a lofty but oblong rock† rising out of a deep water; and inaccessible on all sides, except by a very narrow neck, which joins it to precipices on the main. The cliff on which it is situated, is about an hundred and fifty feet high, and through the bottom of the projecting rock, on which the Tower stands, is a naturally vaulted passage, for a flow of the tide, two hundred feet in length, and so incurvated, that when a person in a boat enters at one end, it appears as if there was no possibility of getting out at the other.

This curious fortress was besieged, and at last ruined, by the earl of Sutherland, so late as in 1555.

It should seem moreover, that there actually was a Castle built at *Edinburgh*, coæval with the time of the *Heptarchy;* whether any part of it is, or is not, to be traced any where remaining in the present fortress; because we find, that *Indulph*, King of Scotland, obtained a voluntary cession of *the Castle*, and town of Edinburgh, from one of his contemporaries, either *Edred*, *Edwi*, or *Edgar*.‡

And it has been justly remarked, concerning the times previous to his reign, that some at least of the *Caledonians*, learned from the *Romans* the art of covering the inner area of their Towers, with a strong roof of *stone vaulted;* and that *Dunstafnage* was probably one of the *first*, that had a Tower built, with a room thus covered in.§

Another Tower of this class seems to be that old one at *Dunvegan*

* There is also a beautiful representation of this in Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 83. See also Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 101.

† See Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 96.

‡ See Innes's Essays, Vol. II. p. 787.

§ Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 102.

in the Isle of Sky, standing on an high rock, over a branch of *Loch Falart*;—whose great antiquity is ascertained, not only by its style of building, and by tradition; but also by its still having (or at least until very lately) having had preserved within its walls, the antient *Pagan, magical standard* of the family, called the *Braolauch-shi*, or *fairy flag*.*—Together with which is also kept one of those great round shields, that were sometimes born *before* antient Chieftains, by a regular armour-bearer.

Such were the Castles of the *Saxons of the Heptarchy*,—and of their *Imitators*.—But besides these, the Saxons most unquestionably had great camps, or earth-works, which they raised occasionally from time to time, in different parts; as the *Romans* had done before them; and as the *Danes*, and indeed almost every nation, in every period, have occasionally done since.

Such kind of earth-works, wherever they can be traced to be really *Saxon*, have been deemed, by some writers, to have been the *only Saxon Fortresses*;—but we have now seen that this was by no means the case.—And indeed it was so far from having been the case, that in truth those earth-works of the *Saxons* were but slight; and are hardly worthy of notice; having nothing very peculiar, whereby to distinguish them, unless it be their having *only one entrance, and that they are neither so strongly situated, nor so well protected, as the hill Fortresses of the Britons;—nor so uniform in their figure, or regular in the construction of their Works, as those of the Romans.*

Of these *Saxon earth-works*, there is a remarkable specimen remaining at *Eaton* in *Bedfordshire*.—Camden calls the works which we see there the *Ruins of a Castle*.†—And in this account he seems to have followed Leland, from whose papers we know his history was chiefly compiled; and who says,‡ that at *Eaton* are to be seen *vestigia Castelli*: but surely nothing can be more unlike the remains of any ruins of any Castle ever built of stone, than this place is; whilst the out-works remain more than tolerably perfect.—Nor can any thing be more unlike a *British* fortress.

* There is a curious account of this Tower, and a view of it in Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 196. See also Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 291.

† See Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 324.

‡ Itin. Vol. V. p. 98.

It is situated just behind the present inn; between the church and the river Ooze, on whose high banks it stands.

The form, though very irregular, approaches somewhat to that of a semicircle, having the river for its diameter.—It is on all sides, except on this diametrical side next the river, surrounded by two complete ditches:—the outermost fosse being more perfect than usual; and the innermost exceeding deep.—And there being a pretty broad plain level space between the two; *higher* than the adjacent country.—Whilst within the innermost fosse, not only the interior *Vallum*, but also the whole space of ground rises *higher still;* quite contrary to the appearance of any Roman camps:—and, not far from the middle, rather approaching towards the south-east corner, next the river, is a sort of mount, raised considerably *above all the rest;* which commands the whole adjacent level country; and from whence is now a fine view of St. Neot's.—There are not four entrances, as in Roman camps; but one *only;*—and that narrow, and passing straight forward over both ditches, on the west side, opposite to the river.

Somewhat similar to this, is another *double* irregular work, on *Brent Knoll, in Somersetshire*, supposed, by the tradition of the country, to have been made by *King Alfred*, who may very fairly be believed, in mere temporary camps, with entrenchments of earth, to have retained nearly the same mode of fortification as was used by his ancestors in the time of the Heptarchy.

Of this sort of irregular *double entrenchments*, which may thus most justly be imputed to the *Saxons*, there are several others also to be met with, in different parts of the kingdom.—But having described one or two, it would be both tedious, and useless here, to take any further notice of them.

When the *Saxons* at last became fixed, and settled in the Island; and when the squabbling petty kingdoms of the Heptarchy were absorbed under one more regular government, and a Great Monarchy was establised;—greater magnificence began to take place, and much larger, and more magnificent Castles, of a very different kind, were built, both by the *Saxons;*—and during the interval of Danish dominion, by *Canute, the Dane.*—But as the *Saxons*, previous to the building of these Great Castles, had become converted to the Christian

Faith; and as the efforts of their piety had begun to raise religious structures; whose peculiar architecture, is not only of a most interesting kind, but will tend greatly to illustrate that of their larger Castles; it will be more regular, in pursuing our researches, *concerning the progressive civilization of mankind, and the accompanying progress of architecture in this country*, now more immediately to take a review of *Saxon Ecclesiastical Architecture*;—and of the sources from which it sprung:—and especially as Christian principles, and the knowledge of the ONE TRUE GOD, notwithstanding the subtle, crafty wickedness, of some individuals, and the boisterous blundering violence of others, and the imperfect state of science amongst all, did yet certainly become the means of changing the whole character of the *Saxons*, and of producing a more settled state, and totally new scene of things;—a melioration of the human heart, and of human manners in general;—a more peaceful mode of dwelling;—more magnificent habitations;—and such *efforts at least*, towards science, and the cultivation of the greatest powers of the mind, as can never, in any age, be despised.

Fig 1

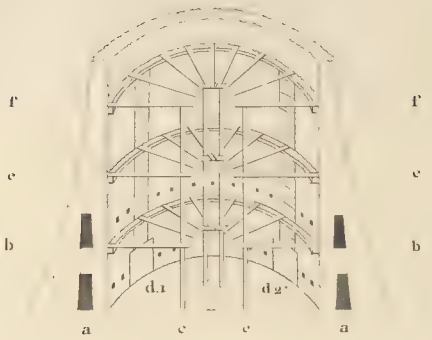
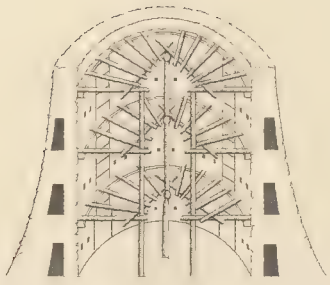



Fig. 2.



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# APPENDIX.

In order the more fully to illustrate the description that has been given of the antient *Caledonian Duns*, (p. 190, 192,) and of the manner in which rude floors of timber were placed therein, as also in some of the antient British Castles, an outline is here added, of what both the *Dun in Glen-beg*, and also *Dun Dornadilla* may be conceived to have been, in their perfect state.

| Pl. XL. fig. 1, represents a section of the Dun in *Glen-beg*. | Ft. | In. |
|---|---|---|
| Its diameter within, was - - - - - | 33 | 6 |
| Its height, within time of memory, was - - | 40 | 0 |
| but now is only - - - - - | 30 | 6 |
| The thickness of the wall, at bottom, was about - | 12 | 4 |
| And at about ten feet from the ground, where began the second, or upper gallery, - - - - - | 7 | 4 |
| The lower circular gallery (a, a) was about two feet within the wall; and in width - - - - - | 2 | 5 |
| but narrower at the top; and in height, - - | 6 | 4 |
| The upper circular gallery (b, b) was, also nearly in width | 2 | 5 |
| but narrower at the top;—and in height, - | 5 | 6 |

This had holes, pierced through its floor, into the divisions of the gallery beneath; several of which divisions could not otherwise be come at.

At (d 1) was the door of entrance from without.

And at (d . 2) was a similar rude door, leading to a part of the lower gallery; and to rude steps in the wall, ascending to the upper gallery; which had no division, but ran, without interruption, completely round the building.

And besides these two doors there were two others, just opposite; leading to other divisions of the lower gallery.

Nearly level with the bottom of the upper gallery, at (b, b), was placed the first floor; which, (from projections actually left in the wall, in several Duns,) may be understood to have consisted of

rude timbers, or rafters, laid from such projecting parts of the inner wall, converging towards the centre, and there resting with their other ends, on upright rude posts, in the manner shewn (c c); leaving either an hexagonal space, (if there were six posts) —or a square space (if there were only four posts) in the midst;— and having the other timbers, or rafters, covered with rough boards, or even simply with strong boughs of trees, and turf.

Just in the same manner a second floor was raised over this at (e e); and a third at (f f.)

And through the central spaces, ladders probably were, in some *Duns* reared, for the more easy going up and down; ascending on which, it seems to have been, that *Kenneth's political, fish-bone phantom*, made its strange appearance; and awoke, with its shrill boding sounds, the train of followers crowded on the several floors, of what might truly be called a *northern hive*.

Of such a kind of building no parts could well be at all durable, except the walls; which indeed remain, in so many instances, to this very hour.—The several floors must of necessity have been restored over and over again; and perhaps almost as frequently as the Dun was ever made any considerable use of.

And such an abode could hardly be intended for any other purpose, than either a mere covert in the night; or a means of making a strong defence against a short, and sudden attack; whilst indeed, hardy *Picts*, and *Highland Scots*, can scarcely be conceived to have wanted a military habitation for any other use.

Pl. XL. fig. 2, represents a section of *Dun Dornadilla;* whose dimensions, and form of construction were somewhat different from the former.—And for the sake of explaining more fully the idea that may be conceived as to the manner of fitting up the insides of Duns, in the very rudest and roughest manner, the timber work here is represented, as still more carelessly placed, and as being slighter than the former, and the central open cavity as being left square, instead of being an hexagon.

| | Ft. | In. |
|---|---|---|
| This Dun, in its diameter within, is - - - | 27 | 0 |
| And its walls, in thickness, at the bottom only about | 11 | 0 |
| They remain, now in height not quite, - - | 30 | 0 |

but must have been somewhat more.

| | Ft. | In. |
|---|---|---|
| Its door was originally in height - - - | 6 | 0 |
| And it had three circular galleries, one above another; to which there was access by stairs, from one to the other. And these galleries were in height about - - - | 5 | 0 |
| At the bottom of the second gallery, the whole wall was in thickness only - - - - - - | 7 | 0 |
| And of this, the inner part was - - - | 2 | 0 |
| The width of the gallery - - - - - | 2 | 3 |
| And the outward part, in thickness - - - | 2 | 9 |

And these galleries were lighted, by small apertures in the *inward wall*.

There still remain projecting circles of stones, on the inside of the wall, to rest beams upon.—And from these stones, it may easily be apprehended, that such beams, (whether well or ill hewn with the axe, or whether even having the bark left on,) might be securely laid, resting at one end; whilst the other ends, might rest on four other shorter beams, placed round the centre, supported in the form of a square, on four posts, and perhaps for greater security, merely like a scaffolding, tied firmly together, with bands, or cords; which they very well might be, even if neither *Picts*, or *Scots*, had the skill to form tenons, or mortises; or to fasten them strongly in any better manner.

On the inside of the circular wall, there were also here, as in the former instance, perpendicular rows of small nearly square cavities; —each cavity being about two feet and an half, or three feet in height.—And in all other respects this *Dun*, much resembled that in *Glen-beg*.

To conform to some conclusions that have been adopted in the country itself, (and which are consistent enough with the very rude fabrication of the antient sort of common huts, that have been in use even to the beginning of the last century), the construction of the timber-work is here represented the rudest that can well, by any possibility, be conceived; but there does not seem to be any necessity, for concluding either the *Picts*, or *Scots*, not to have been very capable of constructing it in a more substantial manner;—and I am indeed persuaded, in my own mind, that they did so; though not with such workmanship as either the *Romans*, or civilized

*Britons* would have bestowed ;—and though they were so deficient in their acquaintance with the usual conveniences, and accommodations of civilized life, that *Gildas*, who saw the *Caledonians* pulling down a part of the wall of *Severus*, describes them as having more grisly hair on their faces, than garments on their bodies. —To such *Caledonians*, and to *naked Picts*, these sort of hives might be comfortable abodes.

One of the modern rude huts of the country is represented in the off-skip of the view of *Dun Dornadilla*, Pl.XXVI. fig. 1.

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## ERRATA.

Page 38, the eighth line from the bottom, for *Three-Tir*, read *Three-Tor*.
—— 50, the fifth line from the bottom, for *Sec. XVI.* read *Sec. XXVI.*
—— 50, line penult. for *Taciter*, read *Taciti.*
—— 79, the fourth line from the top, for *Carleon*, read *Caerleon.*
—— 173, the fifth line from the top, for *Clinchton*, read *Chrichton.*
—— 264, the first line, for *Sky*, read *Skie.*

In p. 51 of the Second Volume of this Work,—where the remarkable smallness of the diameter of the Roman Tower, near the Decuman Gate, at Castor, is taken notice of, as being not more than eleven feet,—the concluding words,—*a space not sufficient, even for a staircase,*—may perhaps be too subject to be misapprehended, as leading to a conclusion, that *Mr. Wilkins* supposed this Tower to have contained, *either a staircase, or an hollow space.*—In justice therefore to that very curious, and accurate observer, I think it a duty, here to mention, that *his* very words, describing it in the Archæologia are,—*a solid Tower;*—and that my doubts as to the smallness of the diameter, were expressed merely on account of its being so much smaller than those other *solid* Roman Towers, at Portchester, and at Pevensey, which are some nineteen, and some sixteen feet in diameter;—and my conclusion as to the impossibility of its ever having been *hollow*, was added, merely because in Mr. *Arderon's* old plan, one of the Towers appears *hollow.*

I must add also;—that in the preceding page 50, in the ninth line from the bottom,—I mention, that—*in the very wall of the Castrum itself, at (w) was a well of spring water.*—And this I described, on account of a well being mentioned by *Mr. Arderon*, in the Philosophical Transactions, No. CCCCXCIII; and not being aware that a well still really existed;—but I am now glad to correct this error, by *Mr. Wilkins's* more exact investigation; and to add here, that the well, instead of being *in the very stone wall itself*, was only *near to the wall*, on the outside, and at the foot of the rampart on which the stone wall was built, and *near* the spot which I have described.


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BARFRESTON

# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA;

OR,

OBSERVATIONS ON

## ANTIENT CASTLES.

INCLUDING

REMARKS ON THE

## WHOLE PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE,

ECCLESIASTICAL, AS WELL AS MILITARY,

IN GREAT BRITAIN:

AND ON

THE CORRESPONDING CHANGES, IN

## MANNERS, LAWS, AND CUSTOMS.

TENDING BOTH TO ILLUSTRATE

MODERN HISTORY:

AND TO ELUCIDATE MANY INTERESTING PASSAGES IN VARIOUS

ANTIENT CLASSIC AUTHORS.

BY

EDWARD KING, ESQ. F.R.S. AND A.S.

Modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis. HOR. EP.

VOL. IV.

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MDCCCV.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

*Unavoidable circumstances having caused the publication of the fourth Volume of* THE MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA *to be delayed longer this year than was intended, this short* Prefatory Introduction *to the Volume is now thus previously published, on account of its containing some further interesting Observations, in addition to those made in the second Volume, from p.* 222 *to p.* 275,—*relating to the* Date of the Invention of the Architectural Arch;—*and also an Answer to a very curious little Pamphlet, lately published, intitled* Recherches sur le Tems le plus Reculé de l'Usage des Voûtes chez les Anciens. Par M. L. D—s.

*This Introduction may be bound up with the fourth Volume when published, and its price be deducted from that of the Volume, to those who shall have purchased these sheets in this early instance. —Or purchasers, may, at their pleasure, have the Introduction with the complete Volume.*

*Mansfield Street,*
*May* 23*d*, 1805.

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# INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF

# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

## BOOK IV. CHAPTER II.

## INTRODUCTION.

In advancing further with that regular Investigation of the Progress of architecture in our Island, which it was the avowed intention of this Work to pursue, our attention must now be turned to an inquiry concerning *Saxon Ecclesiastical Structures*, and the *Sources* from whence the peculiar architectural ornaments, with which they are adorned, and the odd proportions with which the whole are framed, *were derived*.—But in doing this we shall be led (and not unnecessarily) to adopt, what may perhaps to some persons be found an unexpected method of proceeding in such a kind of Inquiry.

For whoever peruses the ensuing pages, looking only for an account of the various forms of pillars, capitals, and arches;—and for measures, and plans of buildings;—and mere descriptions, and explanations of plates,—will perhaps be much disappointed.—Such representations, and such descriptions will indeed be found given in a great many instances, as we proceed.—But they are not, nor cannot be alone sufficient, to make us acquainted with those truths, and facts, which are needful to be brought to light, for the full and clear elucidation of the present subject;—there

being peculiarities in several parts of antient Architecture that are utterly inexplicable, and unaccountable, except from a close attention to all the circumstances of the *history* of coinciding times.

Deep reflexion therefore on the State of Religion, and even Philosophical Contemplation, must be brought in aid, and not be deemed deviations from the proper course of Inquiry.

Neither ought such reflexions, or such attention to minute circumstances of the varying state of mankind, in this, and in other countries, to be condemned as mere digressions, even if they were not so needful for clear elucidation as they really are; because most surely, to observe *how* the scenes of life have changed from age to age;—*what* have been the several modes, and forms of living;—in *what* simplicity men begun at first, and by what degrees they bent their wayward course, through luxury, ambition, opening prospects of advantage, and unadvoidable disappointments, must be esteemed, even in its own nature, a more useful employment, than merely to contemplate the forms, and aggregate bulk of stone-work:—and because, to distinguish cautiously, in magnificent piles of building, *what* new forms, and modifications have been added, by imitation of conquerors, or of the conquered; —*what* by the inventions of regular art;—*what* by religion,—and *what* by superstition,—and *what* by mere accident;—whilst it opens to our view every source and spring of varying architecture, is more satisfactory to the mind, than either mere political history, or than a mere technical study of art: and, at the same time, perhaps may tend to lead the mind to higher objects; and to unfold somewhat of that wondrous clue, whereby imperceptibly mankind are, by Divine Providence, raised from all the depressions of a fallen abject state, to a noble enlargement of their faculties;— to ameliorated scene of things on earth;—and to mental exertions *here*, even somewhat preparatory to mental exertions in a more glorious state hereafter.

The fits and starts, however, by which the progressive work of the improvement of the state of man on earth has advanced, and the odd deviations by which it has been sometimes turned aside, and checked, or even made to become retrograde, and relapsing into a state of barbarism, are most remarkable;—and shew an

*over-ruling* Agency, and controul, that baffles all common expectation, and all common conclusions.

As it has been remarked, by a celebrated politician of the last age, Sir William Temple,* " that nothing is so fallacious as " to reason upon the counsels or conduct of princes or states from " what may be conceived to be the *true interest* of their countries ;" so with still greater justice may it be said, that nothing is more fallacious, than to reason upon the progress of Civilization at large, and of the advances made in Architecture in particular, from what might *be expected* from the powers of the human mind, improving the knowledge it has previously been made acquainted with. —And of this there are many instances.

In a preceding Volume,† it has been shewn, from undeniable facts, that there is the utmost reason to believe, *the Arch never existed, in any kind of architecture on earth, till some short time before the Augustan age.*

The facts already stated to prove this, remain uncontroverted ; —but it has, by way of doubt, been intimated by some ingenious persons, that, considering the powers of the human mind, there is hardly a possibility of supposing *the usefulness of the Arch*, for the purposes of building, should have been unknown to *Euclid*,— who lived nearly a century before *Archimedes*, and was so well versed in geometrical demonstrations ;—or even in prior ages, in which *vaultings* are sometimes mentioned.

The fair answer to be given is ;—that it may indeed have been *hardly possible ;*—but that it is not at all more surprising, than that, when the *Romans* well knew the attracting magnetical property of the loadstone, they should yet not have been acquainted with its *polarity ;*—Or, than their not having been acquainted with the art of *printing ;*—when yet they were so well accustomed to impress letters, inscriptions, and stamps, on earthen ware, and other substances.

Neither is it more surprising, than that the poor inhabitants of New South Wales should have been found so totally unacquainted with any tolerable mode of building huts for dwelling,—or with any mode of preparing plants, or any kind of bark of trees, for

* Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 444, folio.

† Vol. II. from p. 223, to p. 273.

clothing ;—when yet the New Zealanders, and the inhabitants of so many of the South Sea Islands, under very similar circumstances of situation, had discovered both ;*—or when these very people themselves were well enough acquainted with the art of forming wood into long barbed spears ; and had discovered a considerable degree of ingenuity in making shields ;—and afterwards, on our people becoming more acquainted with them, were ready enough to learn some apprehension of our language ; and how to use our implements both for husbandry, and building ;—and had for ages attained skill sufficient to adorn most of their instruments, and even the surfaces of some rocks, with rude carved work.†

Something more than the mere energetical exertion of human faculties left to themselves.—Some *over-ruling* invisible influence,—some guide, and some example,—seems to have been necessary, and to have really operated, in the whole progress of Civilization, and of the increase of arts, and science, from the first forming of the rude huts of wild *Britons*, and of Celtic Tribes, and of the South Sea Islanders, to the most perfect and most beautiful specimens of Grecian and Roman architecture, and to the most august, and venerable piles of Gothic buildings ;—as well as from the first fabrication of the skin garments, of Caledonians, and Tartars, and of the rude cloths, and feathered ornaments of South Sea Islanders, to the forming of the splendid vestments of Asiatic luxury, and of the magnificent attire of European courts.—And much more does such extraordinary influence appear to have been necessary, to bring the human mind, notwithstanding all its vainly boasted energetic powers, and notwithstanding all their best supposed operations, from the darkness of savage stupidity, and from the

* A more extraordinary circumstance still, corroborating these observations, is, that the Otaheitans when visited by *Captain Wallis*, on the first discovery of that Island, in 1767, though they well knew how, skilfully, to bake and dress their meat, yet had never *discovered* or *suspected* that there was such a thing as *boiling*, or as *hot, and scalding water*.*

† See Collins's Account of New South Wales, Vol. I. p. 299, 544, 555, 600, Vol. II. p. 168.—And the truth and justice of this mode of reasoning is still more strangely confirmed by what Colonel Collins further relates, Vol. II. p. 227, 228, that only three or four degrees nearer the equator, inhabitants were found on the very same *terra firma*, who could indeed construct huts even better than the New Zealanders, but who were totally unknown to the inhabitants of Port Jackson.

* See Hawkesworth's Account of Wallis's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 484.

first obscure dawnings of scientific curiosity, and of the anatomical researches of the celebrated *Abderite*,* (who was taken for a mad man, till *Hippocrates* acknowledged his wisdom), to the most enlarged discoveries of natural philosophy, and to the knowledge of Divine Truths.

A curious observation made by *Seneca*, has been pointed out by a learned friend ;†—which some persons may possibly, at first sight, think to be inconsistent with the Conclusion that I was compelled to form (in the second Volume of this Work) with regard to the *late* Introduction of *the use of the arch* in architecture ;—but surely, what *Seneca* says on the subject, when fully examined, will be found to carry no conviction with it.

The observation of *Seneca* is, in his Epistles ;‡—and is precisely in these remarkable words.

" Democritus invenisse dicitur fornicem,—ut lapidum curva-
" tura paulatim inclinatorum medio saxo alligaretur.—Hoc dicem
" falsum esse.—Necesse est enim ante Democritum, et pontes, et
" portas fuisse, quarum fere summa curvantur."

*Democritus is said to have invented the arch, of such construction that a curvature of stones, inclining by little and little towards each other, should be bound firm by a stone placed in the midst. But this I should say was false.—Because of necessity before the time of Democritus there*

* *Democritus* studying the works of nature, and musing upon them, was deemed mad by the people of Abdera; who sent for *Hippocrates* to cure him.—But that wise disciple and descendant of *Æsculapius*, finding Democritus *dissecting* the bodies of animals, in order to understand their nature, and to discover the seat of the bile, pronounced him the wisest man in *Abdera*.—Thus began *the science of anatomy*, about 400 years before the Christian æra.—*Galen*, about the year 163, improved this science, as it was then thought to the highest pitch.—But it is no less strange than the other circumstances which we have alluded to, that neither of them should either have once suspected, or discovered the circulation of the blood, when they had advanced so far ?—or that this curious fact should have remained unknown, till *Harvey*, about the year 1620, first discovered it.

*Inoculation ;—Vaccination ;*—why were they not known before ?

Perhaps it may be asked, now that *Electricity* and *Galvanism* are known, why do we not yet apprehend the proper use of *those conductors*, the nerves ?—the true nature of muscular motion ?—or even the manner in which *spirit* acts upon *matter* ?—we have wonderful *approximations* to the knowledge of these wonderous truths ;—but yet we know them not.

The whole narration as to *Democritus*, and the authorities for it, may be seen as adduced by *Stanley*, in his History of Philosophy, p. 456, 457, 458.

† Joseph Windham, Esq. ‡ Ep. xc.

*must have been both bridges, and gates, whereof the tops must have been generally curved.*

This passage, in *Seneca's* Letters, is unquestionably exceedingly interesting.—It is however, in the first place, so far from proving *the Arch* to have been of high antiquity, that it even ascertains the fact *of a current tradition certainly existing*, about fifty or sixty years after the time of *Augustus*, *that the Arch had not been long known.*

And as to its having been the invention of *Democritus*, rather than of *Archimedes*, this is not at all impossible; as *Democritus* was certainly one of the very first mathematicians, and philosophers in Greece; neither does it make any material difference as to date; since *Democritus* was living only about one hundred and fifty years before *Archimedes;* and was indeed the very person, from whom both *Euclid* and *Archimedes*, did most probably derive their best rudiments of Science.

And as this passage, in the first place, bears witness to *a most certain current report*, that the arch *was of no hgih antiquity;* so the very reasoning of *Seneca*, to prove the contrary, is still more fallacious than any of his reasonings whatever;—and even furnishes strong arguments against himself:—because we do certainly know, that both *bridges*, and *gates* did exist *without arches.*

The bridge *over* the Euphrates, was only covered, as we are assured by Herodotus, with loose wooden planks (or rather *squared beams*)—*ξύλα τετράγωνα*, laid on strong stone piers.*

And one would think *Seneca* must have perused, at some time or other, *Cæsar's* most interesting account given us by his own pen,† of the great bridge constructed by him, of larger extent than any that had before been constructed in the world.

No man of science can be unacquainted with the account of *Cæsar's* celebrated bridge over the Rhine; nor, after considering it, can give any weight to a sophistical argument in proof of an early existence of arches, from the *necessity* of their use to form *bridges* before the time either of *Archimedes*, or *Democritus.*‡

* Herodotus, lib. i. 186. p. 87, 88. Wesselingii ed.—and see in the preceding part of this Work, Vol. II. p. 245. † Cæsar's Comm. de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. sec. 15.

‡ Even in modern days constant observation tends to afford a refutation of *Seneca's*

The precise words of Herodotus as to the bridge over the Euphrates are, first, that *The Constructor of it*

*ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας,—Hewed out very long stones ;*

*——and then, τοῦτο δὲ, κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν, τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὡρύξαλο, οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολίβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο τοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παῤ ἀλλήλων.*

*This also he did,—about rather the middle part of the city,—with those stones which he had dug out, he built a bridge, binding the stones together with iron, and lead ;—and upon it he extended* (each day), *as soon as it began to dawn, squared beams of timber, on which the Babylonians had a means of passing over. But in the night time these beams*

strained argument.—For in *China*, where the most antient customs are still preserved, (though many modern improvements, as well as that of *the arch* have unquestionably been introduced,) we read in the description, given by *Anderson*, of Lord Macartney's Embassy, an account of a bridge, near the ancient city of *Naung-chin-oa*,—that may justly be compared to that of Babylon.

" A wooden bridge of seven arches, or rather, if accuracy of expression should be " considered as indispensible, of seven intervals. These intervals are formed by strong " stone pillars, built in the water, and overlaid with planks."— Anderson's narrative, p. 357.—And in Sir George Staunton's Account, we read, Vol. II. p. 449, of bridges constructed in China, " where, instead of turning arches, upright columns were erected, and " connected by stones from a quarry, some of which were thirty feet in length."

Indeed in an interesting account of China, by *Mr. Barrow* ; he intimates, in p. 339, that *the arch* may possibly have been in use amongst the Chinese, *before* it was known to the Greeks or Romans ;—because of its appearance in some towers of the Great Wall ; and because of its being found adopted in several of the Bridges of the antient Great Canal.—But, besides referring those who wish candidly to investigate this subject, to what I have already remarked, concerning the *Chinese arches* in p. 274 of the second volume *of the Munimenta*, (and even concerning the probability of their being *more recent* constructions than the wall, from Captain Parish's own most particular account,) I cannot but add, that *Mr. Barrow* himself observes, p. 335, " with regard to the Great Canal, that at present it " exhibits *no appearances of great antiquity :* and that *the bridges*, the stone piers of the " flood-gates, the quays, and the retaining walls of the earthen embankments *are comparatively new.*"—The very remarkable specimen also, which he has given us of an arch of a bridge, p. 338, with all the exact measures of every part, seems rather to evince that it was only a sort *of imitation* without their understanding even yet, *the true principle of the arch*, or the proper nature of a *key stone* :—and it ought not to be forgotten that he acknowledges, p. 338, the plan on which several others are constructed, does not imply much strength ; notwithstanding his mentioning, p. 339, that he understood from Captain Parish, that all the arched and vaulted work in the old towers of the great wall, was exceedingly well turned. Surely therefore we cannot but conclude *even those arches* to have been much *more recent* in their construction, than any original part of the wall.

*were taken away ; and on this account, that persons wandering over in the night, might not steal from those on the opposite side.*

And whilst neither the bridge *over* the Euphrates, nor the bridge of Cæsar over the Rhine needed any arch ;—so as to the bridge, or passage *under* the Euphrates, we know (from the authority of *Diodorus*,) that it had *no arch ;** but was covered over only by means of the side stone walls being made to approach nearer and nearer together, by the projection of each side row of stones a little more and more towards each other than that next beneath as they were carried up, till they nearly met at the top, and were then covered in, by great flat flag stones laid across upon them.

The *supposed arches* of the *Hanging Gardens* at Babylon were constructed in a similar manner ; and were in reality *no arches at all.*†

And the same excellent and invaluable historian assures us, that the celebrated gates of Babylon, had *brazen lintels,*‡ *at top* (which could not have been the case had there been any arch)—and indeed he never once mentions *an Arch* throughout all his work.

We are assured also, from the account given by *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, that the *Pons Sublicius* was the *only* bridge at Rome, in the year Urb. Con. 249, that is 505 years ante Chr.;—and that it was constructed *only of timber :* and repaired, and preserved simply in that state, till the time of that author himself, who went to Rome just after the battle of Actium, and lived there twenty-two years, in the reign of Augustus.

His words are, describing the bravery of *Horatius* Cocles, who singly stood to defend *that* bridge against the troops of *Porsena ;* that he desired *Herminius* to entreat the Consuls—*ἀποκόπλειν τὴν γέφυραν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τάχει*·—*to cut off the bridge from the city with all the expedition possible.* §—And then Dionysius, adds by way of description,

* Diodorus, lib. ii. 69. p. 122. Ed. Wesselingii ; and see the account in the preceding part of this work, Volume II. p. 246.

† See Diodorus, lib. ii. 70, p. 124. Edit. Wesselingii ; and in the foregoing Vol. II. p. 250.

‡ Herodotus, lib. i. 179, 180, p. 84, 85. Ed. Wesselingii, referred to already in this Work, Vol. II. p. 245.

§ See Dionysius Halicarnassus, lib. v. sect. 24, where his further description, in the original Greek, of the manner in which *Horatius* fought ; and of the manner in which he was encumbered by the props, or piers of the bridge, when at last he flung himself into the river, after the greater part was pulled down, plainly shews the nature of that bridge

*Ἦν δὲ μία κατ' ἐκείνους τους χρόνους ξυλοφρακτος, ἄνευ σιδήρου δεδεμένη ταῖς σανίσιν αυτᾶις, ἣν καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ τοιαύτην φυλάττουσι Ρωμαῖοι.*

*For there was in those days one made of wood fastened without iron to its props (or piers); and it was even to my own time that the Romans preserved it just such as it then was.*

Even the testimony of Livy alone, would have been nearly sufficient to convince us, that bridges *did exist without arches*:—and that the adding arches to them, was an improvement of far later ages than their construction.—For he says,* describing the events of the year U. C. 573, or 179 ante Christum.

"Marcus Fulvius plura, et majoris locavit usus. Portum, et "Pilas Pontis in Tiberim; quibus Pilis Fornices post aliquot "annos P. Scipio Africanus, et L. Mummius Censores locave-"runt imponendos."

*Marcus Fulvius expended money for still more things, and of still greater use;—a Port,—and Piers of a Bridge for the Tiber; on which Piers, after some years, P. Scipio Africanus,† and Lucius Mummius, when Censors, caused at a considerable expense arches to be placed.*

Even with regard to the stupendous *Common Sewers* of Rome, the *Veteres Cloacæ*, first constructed by *Tarquin*, we have full assurance from Dionysius Halicarnassus,—Diodorus,—Strabo,—and Pliny, that *the arches were added, merely in the time of Augustus*;—and have the utmost reason to conclude,‡ that before the Augustan age, they were

* Lib. xl. sec. 51.

† This must have been the younger Scipio Africanus; and it must have been about forty years after the piers were built;—for Carthage was destroyed A. U. 607. A. C. 145: and the same year L. Mummius took and destroyed Corinth.

‡ See Dionys. Halic. lib. iii. sec. 67. p. 200;—Strabo, lib. v. 235. p. 360;—Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 24.

These passages have all been referred to in the preceding part of this Work, Vol. II. p. 269. But it may be useful, *now* to give them more at large, with precise translations, in words the closest possible to the original words of the authors.

Dionysius Halicarnassus, describing even the very first construction of the sewers by Tarquin, says (lib. iii. sec. 67. p. 191. Oxford Ed.)

Ἤρξατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπονόμους ὀρύττειν, τάφρας δι' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ὀχέυεται πᾶν τὸ συῤῥέον ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν ὕδωρ.

*He began also to dig out the Sewers;—ditches, (or excavations) by which all the water flowing from the ways (or streets) might be compelled to flow into the Tiber.*

Strabo, who lived about the time of *Augustus*, describing the great works which *Agrippa*

in some parts, mere excavations of rock,—like the long excavation at Pausilypum (now Pausilype) ;—in other parts mere trenches, covered with timber ;—and in other parts (where they were built with stone) were only covered in the same manner as the works

added to adorn Rome ; and distinguishing the works of the Romans from those of the Greeks, (in that they attended to such useful things as were neglected by the Greeks,—the making of public roads,—the building of aqueducts,—and the preparing of common sewers for conveying the filth of the city into the Tiber),—describes what was done with respect to the sewers, in these words. Strabo, lib. v. 235. p. 360 ; Casaubon's Ed. et vide in Notis, lib. xviii. 818. p. 1172. Amsterdam Ed.

Οἱ δέ ὑπόνομοι, σὺν νόμῳ (συννόμῳ) λίθῳ κατακαμφθέντες ὀδοὺς ἀμάξαις χόρτου πορευτὰς, ἐνίας ἀπολελοίπασι· τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγόμενον ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, ὥστε ποταμοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ῥεῖν, ἅπασαν δὲ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν δεξαμενὰς καὶ σίφωνας, καὶ κρουνοὺς ἔχειν ἀφθόνους, ὧν πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας

*And as to the sewers : covering them over arch-wise, with stone squared (and well fitted) they left ways (therein) some of them sufficient for the passing of carriages laden with hay.—And so great is the quantity of water conveyed by means of the aqueducts, that rivers flow through the city, and sewers ; and almost every house has cisterns, pipes, and copious running fountains.—In these things the chief care was bestowed by Marcus Agrippa.*

In this passage, the very word κατακαμφθέντες which Strabo uses, is even itself a proof of the want of an adequate word in the Greek language to express the *forming of an arch.* —For it merely awkwardly signifies covering over in a curved bending manner, and might indeed almost be applied to the old method of covering over subterraneous passages, by walls on each side inclining inwards, and at last covered by a flat stone.—But we do indeed know, from other authority, that *Agrippa did certainly cover over the sewers with great arches :* and this passage, from Strabo, is almost alone a proof, *that they were not so covered before :* as well as that previous to the time of Agrippa they had no such vast current of water to cleanse them.

The words of Pliny (lib. xxxvi. c. 24. sec. 2 and 3.) also, at the very same time that he speaks of *Agrippa's* having completed the mighty work of the Sewers, evidently intimate, that the greater part of the work of *Tarquin* was mere absolute *cutting, and breaking through rocks ;* and the rest *vast trenching ;* which latter was not covered over at all till the time of *Agrippa,* or (if any where covered over) only in such manner, as the more antient works that have been described, and which *had no arches whatever.*

" Præterea cloacas : operum omnium dictu maximum, *suffossis montibus,* atque (ut paulo " ante retulimus) urbe pensili, subterque navigata.

" A. M. Agrippa, in Ædilitate post Consulatum, per meatus corrivati septem amnes, " cursuque præcipiti torrentium modo rapere atque auferre omnia coacti, insuper mole " imbrium concitati, vada ac latera quatiunt : aliquando Tiberis retro infusi recipiunt " fluctus, pugnantque diversi aquarum impetus intus ; et tamen obnixa firmitas resistit. " Trahuntur moles internæ tantæ, non succumbentibus causis operis : pulsant ruinæ " sponte præcipites, aut impactæ incendiis : *quatitur solum terræ motibus :* durant tamen " a Tarquino Prisco annis DCCC. prope inexpugnabiles :" &c. &c.

*Besides these, were the (common) Sewers ; of all works worthy to be spoken of as the greatest,—mountains being dug through, and (as we have before related) a city being rendered hanging above, and navigated beneath.*

of the ealiest ages, at Babylon, and elsewhere, by means of the side walls being made to approach nearer together, in consequence

*By M. Agrippa, in his Ædileship, after his Consulship, seven rivers running together through guiding passages, and compelled by a precipitous course of descent to wash and carry off all things in their way, increased moreover by the swell of showers, shake and tear the bottom and the sides: sometimes also they receive the waves of the Tiber driven in backwards; and different violent streams of water contend with and oppose each other within, but yet the firmness opposed within resists all.—Vast internal masses of filth are dragged along, yet the means whereby the work was formed are not found failing:—ruins falling of themselves, or driven (into the sewers) by fire, beat their way: the ground is shaken by earthquakes, yet (these sewers) continue unhurt, formed by Tarquinius near 800 years ago.*

Thus says Pliny, living in the days of *Trajan*, about the year 100 A. D.

And he adds:

" Amplitudinem *cavis* eam fecisse proditur; ut vehem feni large onustam transmitteret."

*The greatness of these Caves is declared to have been such, as to permit the passage of a carriage largely laden with hay.*

Surely he could scarcely have chosen words more exactly adapted, to convey to us his idea of the greatest part of the sewers being merely the hollowing, or *cutting out of caves* through rock, like the grotto of *Pausilype*, than all the words he has used; avoiding as we cannot but observe, any mention of *artificial walls*, or of *arches*, and principally using the words " *suffossis montibus*," mountains (or hills) being cut or *dug through*,—and the word " *cavis*," which as evidently means mere *excavated caves*.

Even the very account which Pliny subjoins, of the aversion which the Romans had to the intolerable labour of the undertaking, evidently shews it to have been that of mining, and hewing their way through rocks; and not that of building arches.

" Cum id opus Tarquinius Priscus plebis manibus facerat, essetque labor incertum
" longior an periculosior, passim conscita nece, Quiritibus tædium fugientibus, novum et
" inexcogitatum antea posteaque remedium invenit ille rex, ut omnium ita defunctorum
" figeret crucibus corpora spectanda civibus, simul et feris volucribusque laceranda.
" Quamborem pudor Rom. nominis proprius, qui sæpe res perditas servavit in prælliis,
" tunc quoque subvenit: sed illo tempore imposuit, jam erubescens, cum puderet vivos,
" tanquam puditurum esset extinctos."

*Whilst Tarquinius Priscus was performing that work by the hands of the people, and it was uncertain whether the excessive danger, or the length of the labour would be greatest; and when here and there Romans were found avoiding the dreadful toil by voluntary death; that King found a new remedy unthought of in either preceding or after times; which was to fix the bodies of all who had so died upon crosses, as spectacles to the citizens, and at the same time to be torn by wild beasts, and birds.—By which means the proper revering of the Roman name, that so often has saved lost affairs in battles, came in aid: whilst moreover at that time, he imposed the effect, of now (as it were) blushing for them, as shaming only the dead, when in reality he shamed the living.*

The subterranean passage of *Pausilypo*, a Cave of more than half an Italian mile in length, cut quite through the mountain, in which Cave, *Keysler* informs us (Vol. III. p. 112) the marks of chizels, and other tools used by stone cutters, still remain in the rock, might just as well be brought in evidence to prove the existence of an *artificial Arch* in architecture, as any part of the *Sewers* at Rome, that existed covered with an *arched roof* before the time of *Agrippa*.

of each row of stones projecting a little more inward, as they were carried up higher ;—till at last they met so near, as to be covered with flat stones.—And almost every word in all the passages alluded to, confirms this idea.*

And here again also, even the testimony of *Livy* alone, concerning the original construction of the Sewers of Rome, might have been sufficient to convince us of these facts ;—for he not only never once mentions *an Arch*, in speaking of the first forming of those Sewers ;—but even describes the work as being actually partly mere *trenching* in low ground,—and partly laborious *excavation* of rock.

" Infima urbis loca circa forum, aliasque interjectas collibus " convalles, quia ex *planis locis* haud facile evehebant aquas, cloa- " cis *e fastigio* in Tiberim ductis siccat."†

*The low places of the city about the forum, and other vallies situated between its hills, because from mere plain level spots the waters were not easily carried off, he drained by means of sewers (or cuts) from the higher part conducted to the Tiber.*

" Cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamento- " rum oppidis, sub terram agendam."‡

*Causing the great sewer, the receptacle of all the filth of the town, to be driven through, under the ground.*

Many years afterwards it appears, that certain parts of these were even for the first time covered, and *built over*, when the city was restored, and rebuilt by *Camillus*, after its destruction by the Gauls ;—for Livy adds,§

" Ea est causa, ut veteres cloacæ, primo per publicum ductæ, " nunc privata passim subeant tecta."

*This is the cause, that the antient Sewers, first carried along the public highway, now pass under private houses.*

The remains of the Temple of Janus, in *Foro Boario* at Rome, have been thought by some persons, a proof of the early existence of *the arch* before *the Augustan age.*

But it has been in a very accurate manner remarked by *Overbeke*, who has given us a very fine representation of these Remains,

* See the former account in this work, Vol. II. p. 269.

† Livy, lib. i. sec. 38. ‡ Ibid. lib. i. sec. 55. § Lib. v. sec. 55.

that there were many Temples of *Janus* at Rome.*—That there is no certainty of this, in Foro Boario, having been at all the most antient one, or *that* which was built by *Numa*;—and that many have doubted whether this ever was properly what could be called a Temple;—and that, according to Tacitus,† *Tiberius* dedicated a Temple to Janus, which had formerly been built by C. Duilius, who himself lived, and triumphed only about the time of Archimedes.

And in consequence of these remarks we have reason to believe, Temples of *Janus* were *re-edified* in Rome, in more instances than one; and that this very Temple, even in its very earliest period, might at most have been built only about the time of *Archimedes*;—whilst indeed its architecture so much resembles the architecture of the age of *Tiberius* in general, that the *probability* seems to be, this structure was, in reality, nearly of that age or at least that its ornamental arches were so;—and the *certainty* that it proves nothing decidedly, as to the precise time in which *the Arch* was first invented.

With regard to other numerous arches, *in Rome*:—the several proofs as to their dates, shewing them to have been at least as recent, or even more recent than the *Augustan age*, which have been mentioned in a former Volume,‡ need not to be repeated here.

Neither therefore the prejudices of *Seneca*,—nor his hasty observation, opposing the *tradition*, concerning the *recent invention* of the arch, which was still current in his days;—nor the prejudices of any other persons, concerning the supposed *necessity* of there having been originally arches in the antient Sewers of Tarquin,—can be to a candid mind any satisfactory ground for opposing such strong facts, as the non-appearance of *the Arch*, in any great

* Overbeke's Reliquiæ Antiquæ Urbis Romæ. Vol. I. p. 51.

† Et Jano Templum Tiberius dedicavit, quod apud Forum Olitorium C. Duilius struxerat.—Qui primis Rem Romanam prospere mari gessit, triumphumque navalem de Pœnis meruit. Lib. Ann. c. 49, sec. 3.

*Tiberius also dedicated a Temple to Janus, which had been built in the herb market by C. Duilius, who was the first that caused the Roman Republic to be successful at sea, and obtained a naval triumph over the Carthaginians.*

‡ Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 271, 272.

City on earth, in early days ;—and as the utter silence of all antient writers concerning *the Arch ;*—and as the utter want even of *any word of discrimination,* in any language, to denote precisely *an Arch in architecture,* till near the days of *Augustus Cæsar.**

* Whilst these sheets were printing, I received from its learned Author, a very curious and ingenious little tract, entitled, *Recherches sur le Tems le plus Reculé de l'Usage des Voûtes chez les Anciens.—Par M. L. D—s ;*—in which, with much erudition, great pains is taken to shew, that *—des voûtes,—vaulted structures,*—were of the highest antiquity ; and existed in the very earliest ages, long before the time of *Augustus.*

A very great number of instances are to this purpose alledged, in this Tract, of what is said by very antient authors concerning structures in the most antient cities ;—and also of what has been observed by modern travellers, amongst the ruins of such cities.

As I have openly professed, on a former occasion,† so I do now,—that I do not wish to impose my own opinions on any person whatever ;—but desire to leave every one to judge entirely for himself.—With the utmost respect, however, for the great learning of the Author of this Tract, I cannot but remain unconvinced by his arguments ; and still fully persuaded that *The Arch,* properly so called, has never yet been ascertained to have existed, in any one instance, *previous* to the age of *Archimedes,* or at least of *Democritus,* which was not any long period before the days of *Augustus*

For in the first place, the learned author of this Tract, considers *des voûtes,*—all *vaulted structures,*—as necessarily implying the existence of *an Arch ;*—whereas the great gallery, in the great pyramid of Egypt, is certainly a *vaulted structure ;* though we are assured from the nicest investigation of it, by *Greaves, Norden,* and *Pococke,* that there is nothing like *an arch* in it ; and that the principles upon which *its vault* is constructed, and supported, are far different from those by which the arch is supported :—and in like manner the *Hanging Gardens* at Babylon were certainly supported by *vaulted structures* underneath ;—and the bridge under the Euphrates, at Babylon, was certainly a *vaulted structure ;*—though both with regard to the one‡, and the other, we have such particular accounts of *the very mode* of constructing them, as evidently shew that there was nothing like a *real arch,* properly so called, in any of those structures.

In like manner, in other instances that he cites of *vaulted structures,*—such as the *Labyrinth*§ in Egypt, and the *vaults* under Egyptian temples,—we know (from the exact accounts of the most accredited authors, Pococke, and others,) that they had no real arches, but were either formed like, the *vaulting* of the great gallery in the first pyramid ; or else merely covered with vast *flat stones,* from one upright wall to another.—In short, every subterraneous passage, under any building, has generally been called by travellers a sort of *vault ;*—but was not, because of using that *term,* necessarily meant to signify an *arched structure.*

As to the great instance of all that he insists upon,—the *Cloaca Maxima,* at Rome,

† See before in Vol. III. p. 58.

‡ See the full account, as to the *Hanging Gardens,* from the express words of *Diodorus* in the former part of this work, Vol. II. p. 250.

§ See before in this work, as to the Labyrinth particularly ; Vol. II. p. 239, 240, 241.

We may boldly repeat therefore, whilst we maintain *the recentness of the invention of the Arch*, that it may indeed have been *hardly*

constructed in the time of *Tarquin*;—the real nature of its construction I have endeavoured fully to investigate, in the preceding pages;* and therefore need only to add here, that if any part thereof was at all arched *before*, it is very strange that Agrippa's covering of this whole great sewer *with Arches*, in the time of Augustus should *then* be deemed so surprising a work, by those who lived in that age.

In the next place,—in this learned author's citations, (p. 14.) concerning arches found by travellers, amongst the ruins of very antient cities, in Sicily, and elsewhere; he leaves it to be taken for granted, that those *arches, as well as the great arched Gate-way at Pæstum*, were in general as antient as the foundation, or early periods of existence of those cities; —whereas we know, that in almost all the cities of the Roman empire, the most Magnificent Buildings, and especially those *with arches*, were constructed in the time of *Adrian*, and successively afterwards by other Roman Emperors; all which buildings may now be easily confounded without distinction with the more antient ruins.—A person might just as well conclude, because London certainly existed in the time of *Constantine*, that therefore *Westminster Abbey*, and the *pointed Arch*, were as old as the time of Constantine. —*Adrian's* whole reign was employed, in travelling through all the Empire to adorn it with noble structures.

The learned author mentions *the Lantern of Demosthenes, at Athens*, as being for his purpose; when yet it appears, even by the inscription upon it, to have been constructed in the second year of the cxi. Olympiad, 335 A. C. that is *after* the time of *Democritus*, and in itself is not five feet in diameter within; and being entirely covered by a single stone, can hardly be said to have *any arch* at all.†

As to the arched Sepulchre of the *Scipios*, on which M. L. D—s lays so great stress, because it contained the remains of *Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus*;—this great Roman lived about the 450th year of Rome, and for some time after; that is about the year A. C. 300, and therefore was living within a very few years prior to the time of *Archimedes*; and lived long after *Democritus*; and consequently, if according to the tradition mentioned by Seneca, the arch was invented by *Democritus*, this arched Sepulchre might very well have been constructed, notwithstanding its containing the remains of *Scipio Barbatus*, consistently with all that has been said concerning the recent invention of the arch.—But in truth we know that *Scipio Africanus*, the illustrious descendant of *Scipio Barbatus*, was celebrated for the *many arches* which he seems eagerly to have reared, as instances of a sort of singular kind of magnificence, and grandeur, and of novel invention;—and it is most likely that this very Sepulchre or Mausoleum, was reared by him.—And the learned author of the tract in question, so well acquainted with so many great families in Europe, cannot but recollect, that it is not an unusual thing, to have the remains of the distinguished ancestors of a great family *removed* into a more stately place of interment.—The view of this sepulchre, as given by Piranesi, Vol. II. Pl. XXVIII. in its whole style of architecture may very well lead us to this conclusion;—and especially considering its great similarity to the Sepulchre of the family of *Metellus*, represented by Piranesi, Vol. III. Pl. XV.—For *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus*, the most distinguished of

* Page 9, 10, 11, just preceding in this volume.—And p. 269, in Vol. II.

† See Les Ruines de la Grece, par M. Le Roy, p. 24, 25. Pl. xiii.

*possible*, that the Arch should not have been invented before the days of *Archimedes*, or of *Democritus*;—but that it is not at all more

the family, lived just about the time of *Archimedes*, and of *Scipio Africanus*. And the first distinguished person of this family, was made Consul only about the year 285 A. C. that is *after* the age of Democritus.

The arch which M. L. D—s refers to, (p. 16), as mentioned by *Cicero*, in *Verrem*, erected to the honour of *Fabius* the Censor, for his victory over the Allobroges, about 350 A. C. must have been reared at least *after* that event;—and therefore long after *Democritus*, and just about the age of *Archimedes*.

And as to the arches which M. L. D—s refers to (p. 17) as being mentioned by Livy,—they were all, we find, according to that accurate historian, of the years U. C. 561, 562, 566, that is, about the years 196, 191, 190 A. C.

Whilst the aqueduct at Carthage, so celebrated by travellers, and even any arches at Carthage itself, might very well have been constructed *after* the time of *Archimedes;* since Carthage was not destroyed till the year 145 A. C. i. e. almost an hundred years after the time in which *Archimedes* may be supposed to have made his discoveries.—And as to the stables, in the walls of Carthage, for elephants mentioned by *Appian*, they also might be of the same date;—though to say the truth, the words of *Appian* cited by M. L. D—s, (p. 15,) do not absolutely require us to believe that they were at all *arched*;—for the words are only,—Ἐν αὐτῷ (τείχῳ) κοίλῳ τε ὄντι, καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἑστάθμενον ελεφαντες τριακόσιοι.—*In the wall, it being hollow, and covered at the top, beneath stood three hundred elephants.*

M. L. D—s mentions the aqueduct of *Ancus Marcius*, begun about the year 650 A. C. as composed of a great number of arches; and cites the words of *Pliny*, Lib. xxxi. Ca. xxiv. (*Aqua Marcia . . . . . in Tiburtina se aperit novem millibus pass. fornicibus structis perducta.—Primus eam auspicatus est ducere Ancus Marcius unus ex regibus,*) in order to prove that those *arches* were at least begun by Ancus Marcius, 650 years before the Christian æra.—But when we come carefully to consider the *whole* passage, as written by Pliny, we may perceive that the words of that author in reality do not afford any just room for such a conclusion.—For *Pliny* adds immediately,—*Postea Q. Marcius Rex in Prætura. Rursusque restituit M. Agrippa.*—And the whole may be translated, *The Marcian stream . . . . . throws itself into the stream of the Tibur, after being conveyed nine miles upon constructed arches.—The first who enterprized the bringing of it, was Ancus Marcius one of the Kings. Afterwards Q. Marcius Rex in his Prætorship, and then again M. Agrippa restored the aqaduct.* So that we are in fact led to conclude that whatever *arches* of this aquaduct remain, were built either by *Q. Marcius Rex*, about 633 U. C. i. e. 120 A. C. —or *by Agrippa in the time of Augustus;*—and that the words concerning *Ancus Marcius*, only describe him as being *the first who brought the Marcian stream to Rome;* which was probably merely by means of an aquaduct consisting of *wooden troughs, supported by stone piers or pillars;* just in the same manner as the timbers of the most antient bridges were supported.—And this appears still more strongly, from the words of Dion. Lib. 49. p. 416, who expressly tells us, that—*Agrippa repaired the whole in the year of Rome* 728,—i. e. about 34 years before the Christian Æra.

M. L. D—s (p. 4) mentions the tombs of Atreus, and Agamemnon, as being proofs of *arched structures,*—as being *très-clévés en voûte conique, ou en forme de bonnet.*—It does not well appear whether he meant to describe their outsides, or their insides;—but whichever he might intend to refer to, it is obvious that whatever is elevated *en voute conique,*—as a

surprising than many other facts now certainly and positively well known in the world.—And if the Arch be really of so

*conical vault*, is not an arch, but is constructed upon quite different principles;—and indeed we well know, from the concurrent testimony of travellers, that these tombs were merely great *Barrows*.

He mentions also (p. 14) an *Odeum, avec sa coupole*, as being *a dome*.—This was in all probability built in imitation of that at Athens;—and we know, from Plutarch, that therein was no arch.—Plutarch says,

Τῇ δὲ ἐρέψει παρακλίνες καὶ κάταντες, εἰς μιᾶς κορυφὴ περιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσιν γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς. Plutarch, Pericles, p. 67.

*But in the covering, being made sloping, and steep down from one point, they say it was the express form and imitation of the tent of the King.*

He might possibly mean—*of the tent of Xerxes*;—but if he meant, as some imagine,—*of the tent of Achilles, described by Homer*,—it is a still further confirmation, that *here* was no *arched* dome.—For Homer says, in words more accurately followed by Pope than usual,

Of fir the roof was rais'd, and covered o'er
With reeds collected from the marshy shore.

Pope's Iliad, Book XXIV. l. 553.

Δῦρε ἐλάτης κέρσαντες· ἀτὰρ καθύπερθεν ἔρεψαν
Λαχνήεντ' ὄροφον, λειμωνόθεν ἁμήσαντες.

Iliad, Lib. XXIV. l. 450.

M. Le Roy has given us, p. 22, Pl. XII. a description, and view of its ruins,—which consist merely of some of the lower part of the structure,—and in which there is not the least appearance of an arch.

Several of the *domes* mentioned by M. L. D—s were unquestionably formed merely with such *conical roofs*,—either formed of timber, or of circular rows of stones, laid each row a little more inward than that next beneath.

And as to the numerous remains in Sicily, at Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Catanea, &c. which M. L. D—s speaks of (p. 14,) from the authority of the Prince Biscari, and of M. L'Abbé Campbell; it does not at all appear that there is any the least reason for believing any one of *those* structures that are with arches, to have been *prior* to the time of *Archimedes*, who was himself of that very Country.—A thousand other remains might be reckoned up, just in the same manner, which would not tend to prove any thing at all concerning *the date* of the invention of the arch.

As to what *Pausanias* says, concerning the treasury of *Minyas*, supposed to have been built about 1350 years A. C.—It is to be observed, that *Pausanias* himself was only a traveller, viewing the remains of the fabric, 1500 years afterwards; and that therefore the structure in question might have been *rebuilt* many ages after the time of *Minyas*:—besides which, notwithstanding the French translations of L'Abbé Gedoyn and M. Goguet, cited by M. L. D—s (p. 4), the original Greek words do not at all *necessarily* imply the covering to have been an *arched dome*:—but rather lead us to conceive it to have been *conical*:—that is, consistently with what has just been said, of the form of a truncated cone, produced by each tier of stones being laid a little more *inward*

late a date.—This Fact is then only *one* amongst innumerable other proofs, that the progressive advancement of Arts, and of

towards the centre, than that next beneath, till the aperture at the top became at last so diminished, as to be covered by one single stone.—The words are,

Pausanias, Lib. ix. cap. 38.—Σχῆμα περιφερές ἐστιν αὐτω, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ανηγμένη, τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φάσιν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι.

*The plan is a round, and the top not carried up to a very sharp point, but they say that the uppermost of the stones is a binding to the whole building.*

With regard to the Holy Temple at Jerusalem ;—to supposed arches of which, on the authority of lexicographers, Mr. L. D—s refers, (p. 8);—the very precise account which we have of the whole mode of its construction, in Holy Scripture ;—and the full account given by Josephus ;—and several concurrent circumstances of its history, which I have mentioned in a former volume,*—may all serve to convince us, that neither in the first Temple, built by Solomon, nor in the second, which was destroyed by *Titus*, was there *any arch*, except such as might possibly be in a gateway built by *Herod*.

Perhaps the strongest arguments adduced by M. L. D—s, to prove *the arch* to have been of very high antiquity, may be deemed the words used by Plato (*de Legibus*, lib. xii.);—and the simile made use of by Aristotle, *de Mundo*, (both cited by him p. 11).—But it should be remembered that both *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, lived *after* the days of *Democritus ;*—and even if they had lived *prior* to his time,—as to the words of Plato, describing the imaginary monument of grandeur, or rather sepulchre, Θήκην, that should be formed for a great man : they are, when literally translated, much more applicable to *a long vaulted or coved gallery*, like the great one in the first pyramid of Memphis, in which is *no arching* at all ;† than to a vaulted gallery, or room, formed by real *arches*, or with a really *arched* covering.—For they are,

Lib. xii. p. 947, Ed. Serrani.—Θήκην . . . . . εἶναι ἀψίδα προμήκη λίθων πρωτίμων καὶ ἀγήρων.—That *the sepulchre . . . . . should be a long extended covered (or coved) room, of stones of great value, and incorruptible, (or of unperishable hardness.)*

And as to the simile used by *Aristotle* ;—it will hold good with regard to the *great covering stones*, of such a coved structure as the great gallery in the first pyramid,—or with regard to those *great covering stones*, which finished the upper part of the covings, and vaultings, that supported the Hanging Gardens at Babylon ;* just as well as with regard to the *key-stones* of arches ; and perhaps even with more dignity, as to the simile.

The words are . . . . . τοῖς ομφαλοῖς λεγόμενοις, τοῖς εν ταῖς ψαλίσι λίθοις, οἳ μέσοι κείμενοι, κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον μέρος ὕνδοσιν ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ τηροῦσι, καὶ ἐν τάξει τὸ πᾶν σχῆματῆς ψαλίδος και ἀκίνητον.

And may be translated literally . . . . . *like unto those stones, in coved structures, called mid-stones, which lying in the middle parts, preserve the whole design of the coving in harmony, in order, and in insuperable strength, from the yielding and giving way of the parts on either side.*

M. L. D—s remarks, (p. 11) that ἀψὶς, and ψαλίς, amongst the Greeks equally signified an *arch*, or *a vault :* and that θόλος signified a *vault, cupola*, or *dome*, and must of course imply *an arch*.—And such unquestionably was the usage of those words, for want of better, in the latter ages, after *the arch* was invented :—*after* which time, however, (if it was invented by *Democritus*,) both *Plato*, and *Aristotle* lived, who used this word in the instances referred

* Munimenta Antiq. Vol. II. p. 223, 225, 228. † Ib. Vol. II. p. 235.

Civilization, and of all great improvements upon the face of the earth, depends entirely upon *external causes*,—and not upon the so much boasted powers of the human mind ;—and alone flows, either from *communications, made by one people to another*, at due seasons, according to the permission, and direction of a Divine over-ruling Providence ;*—or else is *a blessed original gift, from on high*, at different times, from age to age, bestowed by Divine Inspiration, on *other* minds, as well as on that of *Bezaleel*.†

We ought then, surely, never to be ashamed of the strong avowal of this truth.—Permitting it therefore to have all its due weight upon our minds, let us now endeavour to trace, in the following pages, through a full detail of the history *even of the Progress of Architecture, how very strangely* improvements, and the lets and hindrances of improvements, for defence, —convenience,—comfort,—splendour,—magnificence ;—and for the rendering of most due Divine Honour to the Great Creator and Lord of all,—have come forth, upon the face of the earth :—whilst even the very lets, and hindrances have been converted into means of rendering the subsequent progress more energetical : —continually manifesting, that Infinite Wisdom maketh the weakest, and the most unlikely instruments, means

to.—But whoever will take the trouble of looking into H. Stephens's Thesaurus (the best authority for the genuine meaning of any words in the Greek language,) will find, that ψάλις would just as well, or even better describe even the *pointed pediment* of a building ;—and therefore more readily such a vaulting as that of the great gallery in the great pyramid, rather than a real arch :—that the etymology of ἀψὶς, is merely *from the parts of a covering being so placed, as at last to join together*, and by that means to support all above :—which therefore equally refers to the same sort of vaulting.—And that Θόλος, or Θολοιδὲς, properly signifies merely *a round chamber ;* or what is of a round form ; without any respect to the form of *the roof or covering ;*—and when applied to a roof, or covering, signifies just as well, or even rather better, one that ends in a *sharp conical point :*—and cannot be ascertained to mean properly an *arched dome*, except when used by the *Greek writers* of the Augustan age, for want of other words to describe the structures of nearly their own age.

Even one of the largest of the domes of the Church of the Sepulchre, built by *Helena*, the mother of Constantine, at Jerusalem, is merely, both within, and without, still in the

* Strong proofs of this have already been referred to, in the preceding pages of this work, Vol. II. p. 250.

† Exodus, Chap. xxxi. ver. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

of good ;—at the same time that it confoundeth the proud thoughts of the arrogant, and presumptuous ;—and bringeth to nought all

form of a *truncated cone*, leaving an aperture for light at the top.—So that even the very word *dome* itself does not necessarily imply *an arch*.

M. L. D—s says, in the beginning of his little Tract, that he had been assured, the assertion, of *the ancients not having known the art of rearing vaulted buildings before the age of Augustus*, was to be found in *Voltaire's* writings :—but that he had never seen it.

It is to be wished that M. L. D—s could have informed us, when, or in what *part* of his writings, that author ever started any such idea ;—both in order that we might know *how* he came to adopt it ; and what arguments he made use of to support it ;—for *Voltaire* does not appear to have been a sufficient lover of truth, or such a patient investigator of truth, as to have come of himself at any such fact.

There remains only one plain question to be asked.—If so noble an ornament, as the *Arch*, had been known in the very early ages, is it not incredible that it should never have been introduced in the most magnificent of the antient Buildings, in Egypt, or in Babylon, or in Persepolis, or at Pæstum, or at Athens ?—M. L. D—s says, (p. 18),—*il faut se contenter de dire, que ce n'étoit pas leur goût*,—that is, in plain English, *that it was not the fashion to use the arch*.—And if he is himself satisfied with *that* answer,—it must be needless to urge any further considerations on the subject.

It is almost superfluous therefore to add, that the arch at the mouth of the Drain of the *Alban Lake*, has been mentioned, as having been *most antient ;*—as if those words imported that it had existed *prior* to the date which has been assigned in these sheets, to the *Invention of the Arch*, and was of the same age with the arduous effort of draining the Lake, in consequence of the Prodigy, and Oracular warning, in the year U. C. 358, or 394, A. C.—But a very little attention, and careful examination, will entirely obviate any objections arising from its appearance.—The great Drain itself is merely a passage, about a yard wide, and four yards high at the mouth, *cut through a solid rock*, for a great length, requiring no support from masonry ; and cut just in the same manner, and certainly with greater facility than the cavern cut through the mountain at *Pausilype* :—and indeed just in the very manner in which *Camillus*, might cut his mines under ground, at the siege of *Veii*. The arch of masonry, which now appears over the entrance, is built high above the opening, and forms part of an obviously *subsequent facing of stone work*, placed before the surface of the rock ; and does not appear to be hardly so antient as the time of Augustus.—A representation of it may be seen in Wright's Travels, (p. 371. Pl. xxvi.), with adjoining reservoirs of stone-work, for fish ;—such as cannot be conceived, any more than the great arch, to have been constructed in the time of *Camillus ;* according to any part of the accounts given by Plutarch, (in his Life of Camillus) ; and by Livy (lib. v. sec. 15, 16, &c.): —nor do the words of Cicero, whilst he expresses his admiration of the work, imply any thing more than an astonishment at the labour of *cutting a way under ground for the flowing of the stream*.—When he says, *Ex quo illa admirabilis a majoribus Albanæ aquæ facta deductio est.* (De Divinatione, lib. i. sec. 44.)—And again, (lib. ii. sec. 32.) *Ita Aqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbani*, —there is not the least intimation of *any arch ;* (which he surely would have mentioned had there been one) but our attention is solely drawn, to *the driving of the passage through the mountain*

the daring efforts of the vain,—boastful,—crafty,—unjust,—and violent ;—and burieth them in utter ruin and destruction.*

* In pursuing researches concerning the *Architecture*, and History of past ages, the transition, from considering seven or eight hundred years as high antiquity, (as it certainly appeared to be, when either *Augustus*, or *Agrippa*, looked back upon the days of *Tarquin*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar*), to the considering between two and three thousand years as yesterday, (which we are insensibly led to do, in contemplating *the Sewers of Rome*, and *the Gates of Babylon*,) fills the reflecting mind, at once, with awful apprehensions of the vanity, and nothingness of human existence on earth.—Yet, on the other hand, when in some instances we *slowly* trace back, step by step, two or three hundred years ;—and cannot avoid looking with a sort of veneration on the now distant events, and works, of only a *third* preceding century ; and then, on a sudden, with rapidity dart with the eye of the mind to the contemplation of what passed three or four thousand years ago, with a retrospect, not much differing from the former,—it is impossible to avoid feeling the strange comprehensiveness with which the human soul is endowed ;—and it is as impossible not to be filled with admiration of that wondrously extended plan of Divine Providence, that comprises the whole destination of the human race, from its first beginning, on this habitable globe, to its latest end here ;—or to avoid being convinced, that most assuredly, such comprehensiveness of the human soul, will not finally be found to have been a Gift bestowed upon us *here* in vain ;—or without its connection with somewhat *hereafter*.

2d Frontispiece



# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER II.

OBSERVATIONS, CONCERNING THE HISTORY, AND ORIGIN OF THE FIRST CHURCHES, AND RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES, AMONGST THE SAXONS.—AND ALSO CONCERNING THE STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE,—DURING THE WHOLE PERIOD OF THE SAXON, AND DANISH MONARCHIES, IN BRITAIN.

When the glorious truths of the Holy Gospel were first made known in this Country, we have every reason to believe it was taught, in the most primitive, uncorrupt, and sincere manner; (whether St. Paul ever was here or not), and produced the fervent labours, and sufferings, of the most faithful, most honest, and well-disposed minds, rather than any architectural efforts of magnificence, or ostentation.

Devout, and righteous men, fearing God, and believing in His Christ, sought only, if it were possible, in the midst of a turbulent age, to dwell in peace:—and, wishing to promote the welfare of all mankind, to be permitted to pursue their own pious meditations, and honest labours, in their several necessary occupations, without molestation.

Hence, their places of assembling for religious worship were small; and just sufficiently convenient for the few that could easily assemble together.—And though we have every reason to be assured, (as indeed that excellent writer *Mr. Mede** proves,

* See Mede's Works, in his Account of Churches, and Places for Christian Worship, in the first, second, and third Centuries; in which he cites, amongst others, even the

from several instances,) that the first Christians, in the more civilized parts of the world, were exceedingly attentive to make the upper rooms, and chambers, where they did so assemble for religious worship, and instruction, not only as decently clean, and neat, as they possibly could; but also to render them as well adorned, with such costly ceilings, and decorous fitting up, as was by any means in their power; that so they might, by the utmost exertions of every faculty they possessed, praise, and laud, that *Holy Name*, which alone is worthy to be magnified in heaven and on earth; yet, in this remote country, no such costly decorations can be supposed to have existed, in the first early ages.

The Religious of Bangor, upon whom the disgraceful name of *monks* has been bestowed by latter ages; which has deprived them of the veneration that was due to their first institution; (and who do indeed unhappily seem, in the *last* period of their existence, about A. D. 613, to have then adopted such degrees of superstition, as might well deserve such reproach) appear to have been originally, merely an assemblage of *whole families*, devoted to the profession, and maintenance of the true religion of the Gospel;—who chose to live *near* each other; and supported themselves diligently by their own industry;* using, at the same time, every means in their power, to instruct, and civilize the world.

The vast extent of their place of abode, which had its gates at the distance of a mile from each other,† plainly shews how far this mode of life was from what might properly be called *monastick*;—and how numerous their families and dwellings must have been;—whilst we may be assured their want of funds prevented them from being able to rear any Great Structures.

From this humble society of Christians, *St. Columba*, (as he is called,) or *Columbanus*, went forth with zeal, and energy, to instruct the rude Irish;—amongst whom he obtained influence sufficient to form the beginnings of some other religious societies; but in the

account of *Lucian*, the great adversary of the Christians, concerning the *golden roofs, and ceilings*, of their upper rooms for prayer, p. 319, 325, &c.—and he also informs us, how many of these sacred and richly ornamented apartments were destroyed, during the ten years persecution, in the time of *Dioclesian*, p. 333.

* Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 2. Sax. An. A D. 607. Spelman Council. p. 108.

† See Bedæ Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2. and W. Malmsb. lib. i. cap. 3.

midst of a wild people, was unavoidably led to adopt some wild, and austere means.—From hence also he further went forth, about A. D. 565, with earnest endeavour to teach the *Picts*, and *Scots*;*—and in consequence of the striking sincerity, and humility of his life, and manners, obtained so great an ascendency over both those people, that he became amongst them a truly christian *peace maker*, with nearly the authority of *a Dictator* voluntarily yielded to him by both nations, for more than thirty years;†—and by that means he obtained power, and assistance, to build some Places for Religious worship, with adjacent habitations for the residence of his new Religious Societies:‡—and in one of these (the most celebrated of all the rest), which was established in the island of *Hii*, or *Hy*, amongst the Hebrides, (now called *Iona*‖), many

* Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. i. ch. 13. † Adamnan, Vita St. Columbæ.

‡ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. ch. 4.

‖ The impositions palmed upon the world, by his Successors, who chose to describe this first establishment as being *a regular, and rigid monastery*, which, most likely, he himself never thought of, has given occasion to Sir Roger Twisden, Mr. Pennant, and other valuable writers, to shew disrespect to the character of *Columba*, and to treat him, and his history, very freely, and very roughly.—But candour ought perhaps rather to induce us to acknowledge, that he was an excellent man;—and that there was even a great degree of similarity between his conduct, and labours, and those of that admirable man *Bernard Gilpin*; who in a much later age, and in the midst of the corruptions of later times, was the means of making peace amongst many neighbouring wretched feudal savages, on the borders between England, and Scotland; and of converting many people in those savage countries, to the knowledge of, and adherence to sound religion.—*Gilpin*'s History has been well written, by his ingenious descendant *William Gilpin*, together with the life of that most primitive man, and faithful Christian martyr, Bishop Latimer; both of whom would probably have been, had they lived in those early days, hearty fellow labourers with the religious of *Bangor*, and with *Columba*, and with those of *Iona*; though they would have been no accessaries to the succeeding monks; but, on the contrary, (as they really were in their own days;) and as *Columba* himself, we may believe, would have been, in such days as *Gilpin*'s, their sincere, and vehement reprovers

There have been many disputes, as to his birth, whether *Columbanus* was really born in Scotland, or Ireland.—And some learned men, to reconcile this difference, have supposed there were *two* persons of this name.*—Whether that was, or was not the case, is not very material on the present occasion, as the labours of the original *Columba*, were unquestionably such as have been here described

With these labours however, might possibly be joined a propensity to some rigid observances.—But as to what is said, that *Columba* composed a system of laws so severe, that if one of his religious smiled in the time of divine service, he was to receive fifty lashes

* See Henry's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 6.

excellent persons received their education, from his instructions, some of whom were sent, in succeeding years, to convert the *Saxons*.

During all the intervening time, a part of the *Britons* still continued professing Christianity, in their original plain simple manner;—but although they had, at intervals, certain great Christian assemblies, which have been dignified by the name of *British Synods*; and *British Councils*; and which, it is remarkable, seem to have been composed equally of a mixed multitude of the most considerable persons, both of the laity, as well as of clerical

with a whip:—and that, by another, they were to meet three times every night, in the church, and to sing 36 psalms, and 12 anthems;—it is hardly possible to be true, even from the circumstance of the very space of time required for such performance.—If it were true; we can only say, that corruption grew up faster than instruction.—And as it has been observed that such religious would not be much disposed to smile, so we may add, that science could not much increase; nor any love for religion; in the manner it actually did increase in those seminaries. This tale therefore, one is willing to believe ought to be rejected, unless applied to a second *Columba*, of a somewhat later age.

The place Columba chose for his safe and quiet retreat, and from whence he launched, like Noah's dove, (from which idea he took his feigned religious name) was, like the ark, a most sequestered, and *not an unpleasant* abode.—In the Island of *Iona*, dwelt in stormy regions, and in stormy times, a little sincere religion, a little science, good sense, good meaning, and peace. And from hence it flew forth, endeavouring to find a place of abode, or at least to extend its influence, in the rest of the British Isles.

It was one of the most fertile of the Hebrides; a flat on the east side, and in the middle; but fenced, in a picturesque manner, by high steep rocks on the west, which form, in appearance to the eye, a sort of wall of inclosure; whilst the narrow chasms between the rocks, afford winding verdant paths, leading down to the Western Ocean.

Here the Religious made one of the earliest efforts *towards gardening;* (which in those days was viewed as a sort of restoration of Paradise, and of which we shall find, for several ages afterwards, the *Monks* continued to be introducers, even in England) transplanting from other places, herbs, both esculent, and medicinal.—Here a chest of books, (brought from Rome, by *Fergus* II. who had assisted *Alaric* the Goth in 410,) laid the foundation of one of the most distinguished Libraries that existed during the Saxon period.—Here both a Convent of nuns, or rather a voluntary association of rational, well disposed, ingenious women, with some elegance of mind; and a Convent of intelligent ingenious men, (afterwards debased by the appellation of lazy monks) exercised as much genius as the circumstances of the times would admit;—and here, in consequence of the veneration which the labours of *Columba*, and so many combined circumstances had produced, many Kings and Princes of Scotland, of Ireland, and of Norway had their sepulchres. See Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 242, 243, 248, 257, 258, and also a little sketch which gives a very tolerable idea of the plain and picturesque wall, in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXIII. p. 593. See also Boethius, lib. vii. p. 114, and Henry's History, Vol. IV. p. 7.

professions;* (and in one of which Vortigern is said to have been deposed;—and, in another *Dubritius* to have been translated from Landaff to Carleon;—and in a third King *Arthur* to have been crowned; and his uncle *David* to have been appointed Archbishop of Caerleon;—and in others, afterwards means were adopted to prevent the spreading of *Pelagianism*;)—yet we do not find, that any considerable *Churches* were ever built;—or even named; whatever the places appointed for Divine Worship, and Religious Instruction by *Columba* might be.

The one which has been described as having been at *Dover*; and those of wood, and mere wattled work, which have been mentioned, as existing in other places; were perhaps, if not the only *Churches* in the British Islands, yet the most considerable Structures that deserved the name:—and the religious assemblies of Christians in Britain, were most probably, in general, still held, chiefly in the rooms of private houses.

As to the public assemblies, or Councils, which have been referred to:—it is a painful reflection, to be obliged to acknowledge, that when their transactions are fairly analyzed, they only become a strong proof of the barbarous state of the world in those days;—setting forth, on the one hand, most horrid acts of perfidy, and cruelty; and, on the other, an early propensity to accept of, or at least to encourage, liberal donations to Ecclesiastical Communities, as sufficient evidences of repentance:+—laying a sad foundation for a sort of hypocritical *commutation*, that afterwards too easily took place.

But however the circumstances of the times might spread a snare, to draw mankind into the allowance of such corruptions; certain it is, that peace,—piety,—instructing converse,—increasing science, and some strains of melody,—were to be met with in these *early Christian Communities*, in a manner not to be found any where beyond their precincts; which indeed, in those days, might justly be deemed the precincts of light.

Hence it is no wonder, that we find persons of all ranks, so quickly enamoured with such striking dawnings of peace, and

* Spelman Concil. Vol. I. p. 60, 61. + Spelman Concil. Vol. I. p. 60, 61.

civilization.—And so ready both *to found*, and to enter into those retired Societies, where science first began to appear;—where truth, the most interesting truth was to be heard;—and where civilized manners prevailed, instead of that brutal roughness, and ferocity, with which these countries were overspread.

Impressed with these ideas, *Ethelred*, King of Mercia, retired amongst these religious,—or (as our Annals now disgracefully relate it) *became a Monk*, in 704,—leaving his Crown to *Cenred*, or *Conrad*.*

*Cenred* also, with *Offa*, King of the East Saxons, embraced the monastick life, in the year 709.†

*Ina* King of Wessex, and his Queen *Ethelburga*, also retired to a monastery in Italy, in 728.‡

*Eadbert* also, King of the Northumbrians, retired into a monastery in 758.§

No wonder therefore, that the nobility, and common people, (according to the complaint of *Venerable Bede*), abandoned the use of arms, and crowded into such seats of polite conversation,—of ease,—elegance,—and information;‖—Or that, in process of time, Ladies crouded to Rome, as the fancied place where every such advantage was to be found, in a manner superior to all the rest:—but where we are frankly told, by Pope *Boniface*,¶ they were never the better for their pains;—and in sad truth were even sometimes prostituted.

The evident prevalence of fashion, whose tyranny prevails over weak minds in all ages,—and the corrupt abuse of pretended Retirement, and pretended useful Converse, by hypocritical, or enthusiastic beings, whose natural dispositions were utterly incapable of enjoying either, and who wanted abilities to fit them for any thing sublime, was quite sufficient to produce such sad mistake, and perversion;—whilst the strong testimony of concurring facts leaves no reason to doubt of the plain simplicity of the

* Chron. Saxon.

† Chron. Saxon, p. 50. Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. v. ch. 19.

‡ W. Malms. lib. i. ch. 2.

§ Simeon Dunelm. ch. 18.

‖ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. v. ch. 23.

¶ Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 237.

earliest Religious Societies, even *Saxon*, as well as *British;* which were merely places of safety, and quiet, for the cultivation of science;—without any vows of Celibacy;—without superstitious regard for Relics;—without idolatrous worship of images;—and without any affected vows of poverty,—or peculiarity of habit;—without any clerical exemption from the *Civil Power;**—and without the least devoted subjection either to Papal Power, or to any particular See;—inasmuch as they were long governed only by such Lay Patrons,† or by such Lay Patronesses, as had in either instances themselves founded these Societies;—and who had thus associated persons of piety, and ingenuity, to dwell near them, even for their own private comfort:—and they were afterwards governed, for many years, by the successive regular Descendants of such Noble Families.

Here dwelt Bishops, in learned Society, with their Clergy; who from hence went forth, from time to time, to preach in the surrounding country.—Here, the *then only* seminaries of education were established.—And hither, in advanced life, many of the most experienced, and best informed persons of the age, took up their abode, to enjoy the only rational conversation, and almost the only pleasant mode of dwelling, that was then to be met with.‡

* So far indeed were they from having any exemption from civil power, that in 740 we find Pope Boniface complaining to Archbishop Cuthbert, that the religious were obliged to perform servile work, in assisting to build Castles.—See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 237.—which complaint of the Pope, is at once a proof both of the fact mentioned above; and also that Castles actually had been *built*, and were *building*, in this country, before the year 740, that is not only very long before the time of the Normans, but also long before the time of King *Alfred*.

† A great deal of pains was taken by the Popes, to change this system.—And, at last, a decree of the Council of Cloveshoos was ordained, in 803, for this very end. See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 324.

‡ To all these inducements for a recluse life, in monastick society, was added, in early days, the consideration that such mode of life was no further obligatory than suited convenience, and choice:—for even, nearly to the days of the Emperor *Justinian*, in all Countries, the religious Recluses of both sexes were at liberty to leave their respective societies, and to marry at any time.—And there are instances, on record, of such liberty having been used.†—Their habits, and dress also, were just the same as those most

† Jerom. Tom. I. p. 256.—Collation xxiv. 1.—Chardon Hist. des Sacramens, Tom. VI. p. 279, 300.

Such fair enticements, misunderstood, and mistaken, might but too easily become a means whereby mankind were insensibly led to adopt the mischievous innovations of the *Monastick life*.—And indeed it is impossible to believe, that they should, without such means of deception, ever have suffered so gross an imposition to be palmed upon the world.—Even whilst we pursue our Inquiries concerning the Progress of *Architectural Improvements*, we shall perceive *how* several of these innovations, and corruptions gradually took place.—And it well deserves attention *how* the first foundations both of all the good, and of all the evil, of the whole system of Religious Establishments were laid.*

usually worn by the common classes of persons in their respective countries;† and in the long course of ages became singular, only by their retaining, without alteration, the antient mode.—Their habitations also, were simple, and plain, like those of the people in general.—And if in Egypt they consisted merely of low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials, it was because such were the usual slight dwellings of most people in that hot country;—and they were all decently disposed in regular streets, as in a populous village, and inclosed within a common wall.—Even the hard mat, and the rough blanket of the monks, was originally the common bed of most other persons, as well as of the Religious.—And it was fanatacism alone that introduced austere restraints, and oppressive severities.

So far also was the original monastick life from forbidding industry, and rendering men useless; that manual labour was both recommended as an employment continually; and sometimes commanded as a penance:—and both gardens, and fields, were rescued from forests, and morasses, and cultivated by their hands.‡—Boats were built; and well formed sandals made; and mats, and baskets of great utility, were constructed by them;§—and the monuments of Greek, and Roman literature were, even from age to age, multiplied by fair copies, and preserved by their indefatigable pens.‖—Even solitude, was at first, as in the case of *Basil*, and *Nazianzen*,¶ mere voluntary choice, for the sake of contemplation, and science;—and it was the fanatic imposition of it, as a rigid rule, upon those who had neither abilities nor disposition to improve hours of retirement rightly, that alone turned it into that dire evil, which was found in the end to be the consequence of monastick institutions.—To all these inducements, which led so many persons to join the religious Recluses, it ought perhaps to be added as an additional one, and by no means the least, that their devout *Psalmody* was one of the *first* best improvements of music, surpassing what the world had ever before been acquainted with.**

* See Bedæ Epist. ad Egberet. And Theodori Pænitent, p. 7.

† See Regul. Benedict, No. 55. in Cod. Regul. pars ii. p. 51.

‡ P. Thomasin—Discipline de l'Eglise, Tom. III. p. 1090, 1139. P. Mabillon—Etudes Monastiques, Tom. I. p. 116.—155.

§ Cave's Lives of the Fathers, p. 478.

‖ P. Mabillon—Etudes Monastiques, Tom. I. p. 47, 55. Cassian. Institut. lib. iv. ca. 12.

¶ Cave's Lives of the Fathers, p. 474, 478, 523, 544.

** Ibid. p. 478. Naz. Ep. ix. p. 774.

In the year 586, the last of the British Bishops, *Theonus*, who presided at London, and *Thadiocus*, Archbishop of York, fled with such of their clergy as escaped the swords of the *Saxons*, into Cornwall, and Wales.*—And whilst the mass of the British Clergy, who, (according to the complaint of Gildas) had indeed become dreadfully corrupted, were so grievously punished;—and whilst Christianity was nearly eradicated from amongst the remaining Britons in England, except in the secret Chamber;—it was taking the deeper root in Ireland, and Scotland; where for a time it remained in a purer state.

At length, as an illustrious Woman, educated in one of the British Seminaries of Religious, in this Island, the celebrated Empress *Helena*, mother of *Constantine*, had been a great means of converting the Roman Empire, about the year 300;—so another zealous Female, who had received a pious education in one of the Religious Societies in France, *Bertha*, the daughter of King *Charibert*, and Queen of *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, by the insinuation attending the excellence of her manners, became the means of converting the *Saxons*, about the year 600;—but unhappily also the innocent means of introducing a less pure religion than had been taught in this Island originally;—as it seems to appear, by the over-weaning eagerness of *Augustin;* who through her interest was received here as a Missionary in 597, from Pope *Gregory* the Great; and who brought over with him, not only much true zeal, but such corruptions of Christianity, as had then become introduced at Rome.

Queen *Bertha*, having the practice of her Religion secured to her, by agreement upon her marriage, had amongst her Attendants a plain Christian Bishop, *Luidhard;* and with his assistance revived Christian worship in the old Church which had been built near Canterbury in the time that the Romans possessed Britain:—And soon afterwards obtained the Establishment of a Religious Society of Christians, under the Instruction of *Augustin*, and his Companions.†—Some short time after which, Pope *Gregory* invested *Augustin* with the character of *Archbishop*; and *Ethelred* appointed Canterbury to be the seat of his Residence.

* Math. Westmon. ad annum. † Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. ca. 25, 26, 33.

About the year 601,* *Mellitus*,—*Justus*,—*Paulinus*,—and *Rufinianus*, other Christian Teachers, on the invitation of *Augustin*, were also sent by *Gregory* to England;—and by them, other Religious Societies were formed, at *London*, (where *Mellitus* was appointed the first Bishop), and in several other places.

*Ethelburga*, Sister to *Eadbald* King of Kent, had been educated under the care of those religious persons who came over with *Luidhard*, and with *Augustin;* and being married afterwards to *Edwin*, King of Northumberland, in 625, carried with her *Paulinus*, and other Christian attendants, who became the means, of converting the *Saxons*, in those northern parts; and of establishing Christian Societies there.

About the year 631, *Sigebert*, King of the East Angles, who himself in the days of his adversity, before he ascended the Throne, had been instructed in the Christian Religion whilst exiled in France, established not only a Christian Society, but Christian Schools, under the conduct of *Felix*, a pious *Burgundian*, whom he had brought over with him.†

And about 637, *Anna*,‡ the Nephew of Redwald, succeeded *Egric* to the Crown of East Anglia.—He had married *Hereswitha*, the great Grand-Daughter of *Edwin*, King of Northumberland;—and her Sister *Hilda* was at the head of the Religious Society formed at *Whitby*.—This King *Anna*, soon became one of the first, and greatest encouragers of building various Places for Religious Worship, to promote the endeavours of the good *Honorius*;§—and his Daughters, *Sexburga*, married to *Ercombert*, King of Kent,—*Edelburga*,—*Etheldreda*,—and *Withburga*, established several great Religious Societies, amongst which they dwelt, and over which they presided; and which then began to be characteristically distinguished by the Name of *Monasteries;* though free from those rigid Rules, which afterwards disgraced, and by degrees, in their consequences, so grossly corrupted them.‖

* Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. ca. 29.—lib. ii. ca. 3, 14.

† Angl. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 403.—Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. ca. 18.

‡ Asser. Annal. p. 146. Edit. Gale. § Lib. Elien, M. S. lib. i. ca. 7.

‖ This King *Anna* has been already mentioned, as having sometimes resided at

When the *Saxons* had become converted in great numbers; in the year 633, *Honorius*, a most excellent, considerate, and devout man, who had succeeded *Augustin*, at Canterbury, first of all began, for the sake of the greater order, and regularity, to divide the extent of country over which he presided into subdivisions, for preaching, and teaching;—afterwards called *Parishes*:—and further, for the sake of a more steady, and constant promulgation of the Gospel, appointed some well-informed Christian to take up his abode regularly, for a considerable space of time, in each.*

After this; a native of Tarsus in Cilicia,† as St. Paul had been, —one surely of the most zealous, and most able men that ever presided in the See of Canterbury, *Archbishop Theodore*;—considering the uninstructed, and illiterate state of the age, and labouring to relieve it from its inveterate darkness, was the very *first* who called upon, and exhorted the great Landholders, and Civil Leaders of the age, to build, what we now call, *Parish Churches*.

This was about the year 670.—And to encourage them to this religious work,‡ he declared that they who undertook it, should themselves, and also their Successors, be Patrons of those Churches; —or in other words should have power to appoint any sincere Christian they pleased to teach therein.—As this zealous promoter of religion, and science, lived many years; we may hence account for the first origin of many of those religious parochial structures, which we shall soon have occasion to take into consideration.—And from hence we may learn the true date of some of the earliest specimens of *Saxon* Ecclesiastical Architecture.

Every one of these first Churches was, according to the original plan of *Honorius*, to be attended by some plain zealous Christian; *voluntarily resident*, for a considerable space of time; when one could be met with willing so to reside, and teach;—or else

*Orford* Castle; and the rather, as after he was slain by *Penda* he was buried at Blithborow in Suffolk, where he had built one of the very first Saxon Churches.

* Godwin, p. 59.

† See a very interesting and candid account of those times, in Henry's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 12.

‡ Bedæ. Ed. Wheeloch, p. 399.

occasionally by some one visiting the Church, for the purpose of officiating at divine service, and of teaching; sent at stated times from some neighbouring Religious Society;—whence, by degrees, took place originally, the distinction between *Secular*, and *Regular* Clergy.

And to render the attendance more numerous, and to win the ignorant unconverted people of these dark ages, to hearken to instruction,—to worship God,—and to receive the light of the Gospel:—even *markets* and *fairs* were, by the influence of *Theodore*, and his Bishops, purposely appointed to be held in the neighbourhood of such Churches, on Sundays, and on Festivals;—that when men came of necessity to purchase provisions, and articles of convenience, at the only places where they could in those days,* *by the Laws of the Land*, be legally disposed of, they might also have the best opportunity of assembling for the purpose of Religious Worship, and Information.

So well intended was the first establishment of that custom, which afterwards became so much subject to abuse; and which was at last, in the days of Reformation, therefore changed.†

Well would it have been, if other perverted customs (thus first begun with good intention, on the dawn of true Religion, and of art, and science) had been changed also.

Soon did such perversion appear in every shape.—Superstitious Pilgrimages to Rome, were substituted, as imitations of those journies, which the most zealous of the first teachers of religion and science, in these dark ages, had undertaken to the Continent for religious instruction.

And, by the crafty, they were soon made a means of carrying on a very odd sort of smuggling, even in those early days;‡—whilst by the idle, and vain, they were made a pretence for every means of dissipation, and folly.

* See Wilkins's Leges Saxon. p. 9.

† Spelman's Concil. p. 377, 404, 450, 500, 518; and see Henry's History, Vol. IV. p. 204.

‡ W. Malms. lib. i. ca. 4, p. 32, has given us the very Treaty between *Charlemagne*, and King *Offa*, negotiated by *Alcuin*, to put an end to this fraud.—This did not however prevent their trafficking afterwards with *dead men's bones*.

People of all ranks: even those whose means were insufficient for the undertaking of the journey, and who had to beg their way, fell into this snare.

The Princes of the land became subject to it, and led the van.

*Coinred*, or *Conrad*, King of Mercia, even laid down his sceptre, in 709; and took up (what was called) the Pilgrim's Staff.*—He was followed by *Offa*, a young Prince of the Royal House of the East Saxon Kings.—And soon after, also *Ina*, the victorious King of the West Saxons, with his Queen, imitated their example.†—Persons of different ranks followed, in proportion to their abilities, till, in 1035, the rage for these sort of excursions was become so great; that the roads between England, and Rome, were in such manner crowded with Pilgrims, as to make the very tolls they paid objects of great consequence to the potentates through whose countries they passed.

Most Englishmen who had ability to defray the expences, thought themselves bound to shew this mark of respect to St. Peter;—whom they were, in process of time, taught to fancy, was actually to be visited at Rome,—and that he there kept the keys of heaven.‡

In the mean while, persons whose situation, or want of ability, would not permit them to visit the great metropolis of art, and superstition, were glad, by way of imitation, to visit some distant Religious House, in their own country:—receiving at least some benefit to their health and spirits, arising from change of scene, change of air, and a pleasant journey in chearful company, according to Chaucer's merry description of Pilgrimages in later ages;—and having the additional comfort, derived from hospitable reception, and a little instructive conversation, in the Monasteries, before the dreadful abuses, and impositions of idolatrous superstition, had perverted the whole.

In short, as the first Monasteries were seminaries, and the only seminaries of science, good manners, and elegance, as well as of religion;—and the only places where good music was to be heard;

* Bedæ lib. v. ca. 19. † Chron. Saxon. p. 53.

‡ See Wm. Malmsbury, lib. ii. ca. 11.

—and cultivated gardens seen:—so pilgrimages soon became even a means of pleasant relaxation, and of beneficial changes of scene, for health, as well as of superstitious devotion.

To the encouragement given to these Religious Societies; and to this great respect for them, we may undoubtedly, in part attribute both the science that began to dawn in the writings of Venerable *Bede*, in the midst of the darkest and most ferocious age;—and the uncommon degree of tranquillity, and peace, which England enjoyed* about A. D. 730:—even the very Picts, and Scots, being in fast friendship, and in peaceful unity with their Christian brethren, throughout the whole Island.

Having however seen this favourable, and pleasant part of the History of Religious Foundations; and of the first Religious Structures; before we enter into a precise description of the style of the successive works of Architecture, it deserves a little attention, in what manner, and by what means the scene became gradually changed, and the whole of these establishments, in the end, so horribly perverted.†

The unhappy contentions amongst the Eastern Churches, hav-

* Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. v. ch. 23. Wm. Malms. lib. i. ch. 2.

† It is an observation capable of being but too often applied, and that unquestionably offers itself on the present occasion; that in almost every instance on earth, as soon as any good exertions have been exercised, or any advantages have, by the merciful gift of God, by whatever means been bestowed upon the world, the whole have, by the subtilty of the evil one, soon been corrupted and perverted;—even as the blessed and glorious work of creation itself was so soon defiled.

Thus therefore, these Religious Foundations, designed unquestionably, with sincere zeal, for the retreats of piety, virtue, industry, and ingenuity; and as nurseries for science;——in the construction of whose walls the then best efforts, and utmost exertions of the mental faculties were exercised, became very soon, in several instances, the most pernicious nurseries of sloth, vice, ignorance, and folly:—and, by means of the temptations of lucrative dignities which they held forth, a prey to crafty cunning, and proud ambition; and to corrupt minds, who, to cover their sinister views, became even monsters of cruelty, and oppression.—Dull stupidity, and gross misapprehension, defended by craft, and overbearing insolence, have from age to age, continued to be the sources of most of the mischiefs that have arisen in the world; defeating good, obscuring truth, and becoming a means both of perverting, and preventing, the many blessings that Divine Bounty unmeritedly bestows.—But Almighty God, by his blessed over-ruling Providence, doth continually deliver; and will finally deliver from all this evil, in His appointed Way.

ing given an opportunity to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome,* (to whom *Athanasius* had appealed as a mere *Referee*, about the year 350), to claim a superiority over other Sees; the advantage was so sensibly felt, and so diligently cultivated both by his own adherents, and by those Eastern Churches whose cause was supported by his determination, that *thenceforth* the exaltation of the Papal Power, by whatever means it might be effected, became continually the first object of attention, and of the most unwearied pursuit, to very many professed Christians,—even beyond their regard for truth, and the Word of God.

In 596 *Augustin* arrived on these shores from Rome, flaming with zeal of this kind, however sincere and pious his purposes and endeavours might be in other respects.

And whilst he brought over with him, both the civilized improvements of life,—and the corruptions of Religion, that had, by degrees, been introduced abroad;—a dangerous prelude to the introduction of *Image Worship*,† soon appeared, even on his very first entering the City of Canterbury, where *Ethelbert* resided:—

* See the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus, lib. ii. cap. 11, 18.

† It is not very difficult to perceive *how* the early introduction of this sad corruption of Christianity unhappily took place, after the Church once became freed from persecution, and was rendered the object of Imperial favour, and protection.—It seems to have been, by means of Gentile converts being desirous to honour men Eminent for Religion, just as Princes, and Great Warriors, and Great Philosophers, had been continually honoured formerly amongst themselves;—by erecting *Images* of them, and treating those *Images* with respect.

When not only the Statues of *Caligula* had been clothed every day in the same sort of garments that he himself wore, for the purpose of receiving public honours from the people;†—but it was become a common custom for each new Emperor, on being raised to the Purple, to send his *Image* to his Colleagues, adorned with the marks of Imperial Dignity:‡—and for the *Images* of the three Colleagues together to be exhibited to the veneration of the People:—and when even *Theodosius*, and other Christian Emperors, had their *Images* placed as objects of veneration, in the most conspicuous places of Antioch, and other Cities;§—and the pious Empress *Eudoxia* had caused her *Image* to be carried through all the Provinces of the Empire, and to receive the same honours that were paid to the *Images* of the Emperors;‖—It is no wonder that half

† Suetonius, C. Caligula, ca. 22 and 52. Dio. p. 660, 661.
‡ Universal His. Vol. XV. p. 536.
§ Gibbon's His. Vol. V. p. 13, 60, 64. Octavo.
‖ Universal His. Vol. XVI p. 488.

for his entry was made, by the King's leave, in most solemn procession, with a *Picture* of Our LORD CHRIST; and a silver cross carried before him,* during the singing of an hymn.

A no less dangerous introduction also of a superstitious regard to *Relicks*,—as well as to *Pictures*,—and to frivolous rites, and observances,—next appeared, in the admonitions given to him, by

converted Gentiles should think it a sort of justifiable zeal, to erect Statues to Saints, and Martyrs; and to shew the same kind of honour, and respect to them.

And thus did an imitation of Antient Idolatry again insinuate itself; which, to the rude multitude at large, soon became of the most horrible and abominable kind;—whilst to obtain more attention from the vulgar, imposing tricks were even played with *Images*, as they had been played in preceding days with idols at *Alexandria;* by means of the load stone; and by means of pipes, and secret cavities. Gibbon's His. Vol. V. p. 112.

Perhaps also, on this occasion, it ought not to be forgotten, that even *St. Chrysostom*, whilst he censures the luxury of the reign of *Arcadius*, celebrates, with approbation, the magnificence of the *Imperial Pictures*, (which were white, on a blue ground), and where the Emperor appeared in full Majesty, seated on his Throne:—and that afterwards, about 602, *Phocas*, on his advancement to the Empire, sent his own *Image*, and that of his Wife, to Rome, to Pope *Gregory the Great;* who lodged them, with respect, in the Oratory of the Martyr Cæsarius.—See Chrysostomi Opera, Tom. XII. p. 192, 196; Univers. His. Vol. XVII. p. 13; and Gibbon's His. Vol. V. p. 373.

In the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. vii. ca. 17, we have such an account of the very first beginning of the adoption of the custom of setting up of *Images* by Christians, as fully proves its origin from the Gentiles:—for he relates that, even unto his time, there remained, according to what was reported to him, over the door of the house at *Paneas*, where the woman dwelt who was cured by Our Saviour of the Issue of Blood, *an Image of Brass, of a woman kneeling, in a supplicating posture, and another of a man standing, comely arrayed in a short vesture, and stretching forth his hand towards her,—which was always reported to be the Image of* JESUS. And he adds, that he had himself seen *Pictures* of the Apostles, graven in colours, after the same manner *as men of old, of a heathenish custom, were wont to honour such as they counted Saviours.*

Polydor Virgil also tells us, how the common people afterwards were gradually led by their Priests *to adorn* the Images of Saints; and reproves their excess, and error herein. De Inventor. Rerum. lib. vi. ca. 13.

And it is well known, that this reverence for *Images*, increased at length to such a degree, in this country, that Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a council held at Oxford, 1408, ordained that the *Images of Saints* ought to be worshipped, with bendings of the knee, bowings of the body, incensings, kissings, offerings, lighting of candles, and with Pilgrimages.—Lindewod's Constit. Provin. lib. v. ca. de Hæret.

Whilst *Cornelius Agrippa* fairly confesses, that from *Ethnics* it was, that the Roman Church derived *the custom of receiving the mute Images of Saints into Churches, and of placing them with veneration on God's Altar.*—See De Vanitate Scientiar. cap. 53. See also Polydor Virg. de Inventor. Rerum. lib .vi. ca. 13.

* See Bedæ lib. i. ca. 25, and Gervase Act Pontific Cant. apud decem Script. Col. 1632.

*Pope Gregory*;—to turn the Heathen Temples into Churches;—to wash the walls with *holy water*;—to erect altars in them, and therein to deposit *Relicks*;*—and *to accommodate the ceremonies of the*

* Bedæ Hist. lib. i. ca. 30.—The lively apprehensions of a state of great glory, and of everlasting holy arrangement, order, and bliss, to take place, *finally*, in consequence of the Great Redemption accomplished by JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE CHRIST OUR LORD; and a firm conviction that his faithful Servants, gathered out of all nations, should have *a portion* of that bliss and glory, and an *establishment* therein; induced some of the earliest Christians, in the warmth of their zealous imaginations, to think, that by shewing respect to the ashes, and bones, and earthly remains of those faithful Servants of their Lord, they should manifest the more effectually their zeal; and obtain an interest with them hereafter.—Hence, crafty, interested, and ambitious men, who, according to the words of the Apostle, (1 Tim. ch. vi. ver. 5.), took *gain for godliness*, soon found a means of introducing both the *regard for Relicks*;—and the consequent idolatrous, and abominable *worshipping of Saints*.—A worship, which, to those of all others, who, by God's merciful deliverance, have ever deserved such name, would surely be most abhorrent.

This matter is more fully explained, and very thoroughly illustrated by the admirable *Sir Isaac Newton*, in his Observations on the Prophecies, ca. 14.—See Bp. Horseley's Ed. Vol. V. pt. i. ca. xiv. p. 418.:—and we have a very curious account given us in *Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, of the gradual manner, in which even the piety of some of the early Fathers of the Church, and the declamatory eloquence even of Chrysostom, whilst they were only endeavouring to do justice to the memory of faithful sufferers for the name of Christ their Lord, yet led insensibly to the reverence for *dead men's bones*,—and in so great a degree, that in the time of *Augustin* many real or pretended Monks, went strolling about, as hawkers, and pedlars, selling *Relicks*. See Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 8.;—and see also, August. de Op. Monach, 28.

The first openly ostensible, and most important encouragement, given to the veneration of Relicks, was about A. D. 326;—when the Empress *Helena*, the mother of the Emperor *Constantine*, on her visiting Jerusalem, and building the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, having discovered the Cross, and the very Nails, (as was supposed),—and having inclosed one half of the former in a silver chest, or shrine, to be placed in her new Church of the Sepulchre,—sent the other half, and the nails, to her son *Constantine*,—who having received them, and believing, that the City "would be preserved in perfect "safety wherein part of the holy Cross should be deposited, *caused it to be placed con-* "*cealed within his own Image, set up at Constantinople*, in that which is called Constantine's "Forum, upon a great pillar of porphyry."—And the Nails he is said to have disposed of, by causing bits for bridles, and helmets, and head pieces, which he wore in the field, to be made, containing parts thereof.—I add a literal translation of the words of *Eusebius*, because they do not seem to have been correctly adhered to, by *Mr. Hanmer*, in his translation in 1584.

Τῆ δὲ σταυρῆ μέρος μέν τι θήκη ἀργυρᾶ περικλείσασα, μνημόσυνον τοῖς ἱστορεῖν βουλομένοις, αὐτόθι κατέλιπε· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος ἀποστέλλει τῳ βασιλεῖ. ὅπερ δεξάμενος, καὶ πιστεύσας τελείως σωθησεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἔνθα ἂν ἐκεῖνο φυλάττηται, τῳ ἑαυτῆ ἀνδριάντι κατέκρυψεν, ὃς ἐν τῆ κατα Κωνσταντίνε πόλιν, ἐν τῆ ἐπιλεγομένη ἀγορᾶ Κωνσταντίνου, ἐπὶ τοῦ πορφυροῦ καὶ μεγάλε κίονος ἵδρυται. Socrates Schol. Hist. lib. i. ca. 17.

*Of the Cross, one part she left there, inclosed in a silver chest; a memorial to those who*

*Christian Worship as much as possible to those of the Heathen*, that the people might not be too much startled at the change:*—nay

*should be inclined to write history;—and the other part she sent to the King;—who receiving it, and believing that the City should be preserved in perfect safety in which it should be kept, concealed it inclosed within his own Statue, which is placed upon a great porphyry column, in the City named after Constantine, and in the Market (or Forum) called Constantine's.*

There is a very curious account given of this Porphyry Pillar by Pococke, Vol. II. part ii. p. 131;—who says it consisted of ten pieces of porphyry, 33 French feet in circumference, (therefore about eleven feet in diameter), and each piece nine feet four inches long (or high);—and that it had at the top a bronze figure of *Constantine*, which had been a statue of *Trojan Apollo*;—and which, together with three of the upper stones, were thrown down by lightning; as the rest of the Pillar, and the Pedestal, have also been much damaged by a great fire, which destroyed the neighbouring part of the City, from whence this takes the name of *the burnt pillar*.—It was not far from the foot of this pillar, that *Arius* is said to have died; according to the account of Socrates Scholasticus, lib. i. cap. 25.

In less than a century after this, both *St. Jerom*, and *St. Ambrose*, began to give great encouragement, to an over-strained respect for, and over-strained endeavour to do honor to the remains of all those, who had ever suffered as Christians, or been the original promoters of the cause of truth.—See Jerom, Tom. II. p. 122.

Hence *Ambrose*, about 386, gave credit to a dream he had, leading him to search for the bodies of two martyrs, *Gervasius* and *Protasius*;—and afterwards endeavoured to convince himself, and others, that even miracles had been wrought *by their bones*.—And the Emperor *Arcadius* was persuaded to go in procession, at the head of the clergy, and Senate of Constantinople, to meet the ashes of the *Prophet Samuel*, which had been conveyed, with great pomp, the whole way from Palestine.—See Ambros, Tom. II. Epist. xxii. p. 875. Augustin Confes. lib. ix. ca. 7. Jerom. Tom. II. p. 122.

And the ambitious Empress *Eudocia*, having established in the Holy Land, (which she visited about A. D. 438), greater religious foundations than even those of the Empress *Helena*, returned to Constantinople laden with all manner of *Relicks*,—whilst the many Ecclesiastics about the Court, concurring with her endeavours, fully rivetted the fatal error.

A little well-meaning zeal only, might perhaps, by these means, be nurtured for a short time;—but ignorance, and blind bigotry, in the multitude were cherished also, and fed to the full:—whilst deep meditation, useful contemplation, and intent study, was banished further off than ever, by attention to these objects; and the human mind became alienated from spiritual devotion.

Nor did the *rigid fasts* which *Jerom* had so much promoted,—or *the celibacy of the clergy*,—which he had encouraged, in order to render their lives more contemplative, at all improve the matter, any more than his cruel persecution of an honest man, who was banished to a desert island, for being an enemy to both those heavy burthens.—See Jortin's Remarks, Vol. IV. p. 104. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. xix. leg. 43.

* The gradual introduction of ceremonies, in conformity with those of the Pagans, and in order to win the Pagans;—and the dreadful effects of this compliance;—are curiously shewn, in a Book, now out of print, and very scarce, entitled *Pagano Papismus*, written by *Joshua Stopford*, a learned Divine of the City of York, in the year 1675.

even to allow them, on festivals, to kill oxen to the glory of God, as they had formerly on festivals, killed them, and offered them most abominably to idols.

These innovations, tenaciously introduced by *Augustin*,* (or as

* An imitation of the studied *Eloquence*, and *Oratory* of the Greeks, and Romans, and an imperceptible gradual adoption of the Greek *subtile philosophy*, may most unquestionably be reckoned amongst the first causes of the corruption of Christianity.—The holy Apostle *Paul* had diligently warned Christians against the one. (Colossians, chap. ii. ver. 8.). But the ambition of excelling in the other, for the sake of making a greater impression on the minds of the populace, caused even one of the most excellent of the Fathers, *Gregory Nazianzen*, to be a means, unintentionally, of introducing *the worship of Saints, and Martyrs;* whilst he took the liberty sometimes, by way of eloquence, of making *addresses to the dead*, which, in succeeding ages, as superstition advanced with a quicker pace, were pervertedly improved into formal *Invocations*, and actual Prayers to departed Saints.—See Orat. iii. p. 50.—xix. p. 288, 313.—xx. p. 372.—xxii. p. 397.—xi. p. 189.—xviii. p. 286.

After this, when *St. Jerom* had persuaded the devout *Paula*, the foundress of an hospital, and of four monasteries, to devote her young daughter *Eustochium* to a single, and monastick life, at Bethlem, about the year 400; he in a manner that may justly now appear to us even blasphemous, bestowed upon that illustrious widow, the encomium of saying, *Socrus Dei esse cœpisti.*—And afterwards began a treatise, in praise of her, with the most turgid, and bombast expressions.—See Jerom, Tom. I. p. 140, ad Eustochium, and also p. 169, 192.

And the excellent, and pious *John Chrysostom*, (who had studied rhetorick under *Libanius*, the great vindicator of Paganism) adopted perhaps too much of his manner, when he suffered himself to declaim against *all women*, whilst he was intentionally only preaching against his persecuting enemy, the Empress *Eudoxia* (whether the celebrated homily be spurious or not, which we now have, beginning with the apostrophe,—*Again Herodias rageth,—again Herodias danceth,—and seeketh the head of John in a platter*).—See Socrates Scholasticus, lib. vi. ca. 14, 16, 17. Sozomen, lib. viii. ca. 20.

'And in a still earlier age, even the good *Tertullian*, indulging a flowing vein of oratory, was led to adopt declamatory expressions, that might too much tend to mislead the unwary; whilst in a celebrated Discourse on the last Day, and on a Future Judgment, he suddenly exclaimed, comparing the tremendous scene to that on a theatre, how *he should admire, and even laugh, rejoice, and exult*, at seeing the vengeance poured on the heads of those who had been the oppressors, troublers, and corrupters of the world.—For the curiosity of the passage I add the words of the original at large, leaving every one to translate for himself, because of the grossness of the expressions; and only in justice observing, that though these expressions, and the indulgence of *antitheses* in them, might lead to a very unchristian temper of mind, yet they were evidently only imitations of *fashionable Pagan Oratory*, and had their antidote, in the whole tenor of the truly charitable, and most benevolent Christian doctrines, of this excellent man.

" Quid admirer? quid rideam? ubi gaudeam, ubi exultem, spectans tot ac tantos
" Reges, qui in cœlum recepti nuntiabantur, cum ipso Jove et ipsis suis testibus in imis
" tenebris cogemiscentes? item Præsides, persecutores Dominici nominis sævioribus,

he is often called *St. Austin*), together with a zealous effort to establish *Metropolitical* authority, over the more antient and still

" quam ipsi, flammis sævierunt, insultantibus contra Christianis, liquescentes ? quos præ-
" terea sapientes illos philosophos coram discipulis suis una conflagrantibus erubescentes
" ..... tunc histriones cognoscendi solutiores multo per ignem: tunc spectandus
" auriga, inflammea tota totus rubens:—Tertullian de Spectaculis, ca. xxx. p. 156.

And soon followed those frequent declamatory threatnings, and that direful setting forth of the *horrors* of a future state, to the greater part of mankind, (which have been but too much imitated in later days), from an honest intention indeed, according to the awful admonition of the holy Apostle, (2 Corinthians, ch. v. ver. 11.) *of making known the terrors of the Lord* to persuade men;—but which, when *solely* dwelt upon,—and carried too far,—have a tendency either to make even the blessed *good news* of the gospel, to tender minds *no good news at all;* or else to drive them to monkish uselessness, and stupefaction.

Besides the instance of the unhappy effect of the imitation of *declamatory* Greek eloquence, in the preaching of that excellent good man *Gregory Nazianzen;* there was still an earlier instance, in the declamatory Writings of *Papias;* who, by strained oratorical expressions, principally, seems even to have brought into discredit, those plain traditions which had been preserved, as he assures us, concerning the *promised restoration of all things on earth,* from the mouth of St. *John,* and other holy Apostles, relating their immediate conversations with OUR BLESSED LORD HIMSELF:—and which *Irenæus,* who had been the disciple of *Papias,* delivered in a more cautious manner.—See Doctor Gregory Sharp's Argument in Defence of Christianity, 139, 140, 141; and Jortin's Remarks, Vol. II. p. 81.

Even *Eusebius,* (who most of all others censures *Papias,* for some of his doctrines), yet says, (lib. iii. ca. 33.) he was a man *remarkably eloquent, and expert in the Scriptures;*—And that the account *Papias* himself gave of the manner in which he acquired his doctrines was, that *if any came in place, which was a follower of the Apostles, forthwith I demanded what Andrew, what Peter, what Philip, &c. ..... and what any of the disciples of the Lord had said, and I believed verily to profit myself,—by the lively voice of the reporters.*—See Eusebius, lib. iii. ca. 35.

In short, from first to last, this *declamatory spirit,* has continually had a tendency to corrupt some of the most sacred doctrines; and to bring others of the utmost importance into contempt; and in all ages, to substitute superstition, and rhapsody, in the room of genuine heartfelt religion, founded on conviction.

Those who are acquainted with Ecclesiastical History, will not forget the blasphemous manner in which *Amphilochius,* Bishop of Iconium, endeavoured to recommend the *Catholick doctrine,* to Theodosius, by a wilful disrespect to his son *Arcadius,* and then by a strainedly eloquent, and most shocking explanatory speech, on the occasion.—See Sozomen, lib. vii. ca. 6. Theodoret, lib. v. ca. 16.

Surely both such strained imitations of the preceding Oratory of *Libanius,* the enemy of the Christian cause, as well as the adoption of *Stoical* rigid principles, were, according to the warning of the holy Apostle, (Colossians, ch. ii. ver. 8.) a little too much *after the rudiments of men,* and not after that sincere sound doctrine, which was the glory of the first more simple ages of Christianity, concerning the blessings of the Kingdom of God; and concerning the glories to be revealed hereafter.

existing *British Churches*, by virtue of the encouragement, and authority he professed to receive from *the Pope*, roused the old British Christians, somewhat to enquire into, and to doubt of that sort of authority.

Hence soon proceeded opposition, on their part, and rage and violence on his.*—Whilst our blessed Lord's command to Christians, *that they should love one another*,+ was totally forgotten by both; and His holy prophecy, that He came, *not to send peace on earth, but a sword*,‡ was perfectly fulfilled.

The old British Christians, however, had so much fear of God before their eyes; and so much reverence for whomsoever came in His Name; that although they were startled by *Austin's* pretensions of *Superiority*, derived merely from his delegation from the Bishop of Rome, and from his consecration by the Archbishop of *Arles, in France*,§ to be an *Archbishop of the English;* and were startled no less, by what they deemed his superstitious practices, and doctrines; yet they would not be too hastily refractory; but held Councils, to consider whether they should, or should not submit.

Previous to one of these, an *Hermit*, one of their brethren, had given them this advice, and this criterion whereby they might know whether *Austin* really had, or had not, authority from GOD MOST HIGH.—He told them, that *if they found Austin meek, and humble, they should submit to be taught by him;—but if they found he bore himself proudly, they should not regard him.*—And in consequence of this advice, finding that, when they attended the Council which *Austin* had called to claim their subjugation, he neither arose to meet them, nor received them in any brotherly sort; but sat most Pontifically in his chair,—they repelled his claims, remembering the words of the hermit.‖

After this, when many calamities had befallen the Antient Britons, and had deprived them of all influence, and ascendency in England; (a part of which calamities have been imputed to

* Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 2. Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 104.

+ John, ch. xiii. ver. 34, 35.

‡ Matthew, ch. x. ver. 34, 35.

§ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ca. 27.

‖ Spelman Concil, p. 108.

the instigations of *Austin*, by most of our writers ;) *Archbishop Theodore*, one of the best of the Successors of *Austin*,* complying unhappily, from the unavoidable prejudices of his education, with the prevalence of the stream, which tended to set up Popery, introduced A. D. 673, the practice of *auricular Confession to a Priest, as necessary to absolution*.†—A practice, which we may very well believe this great, and honest man, considered as being merely useful to aid the weak, and sincere, in an age when men could neither read or write, or have any means to satisfy religious doubts, and scruples, except verbal instruction :—but which soon became one of the most crafty, and surest means of subjugation, to all weak minds: and especially when coupled with the impudent assertion, afterwards introduced, of a Priest having, in himself, *power to absolve, and pardon sins.*

However, therefore, *Theodore* might only mean to assist the feeble, who stood in need of consolation and comfort, from persons wiser than themselves ; he in fact assisted the strong, the domineering power of Rome, to become still stronger ; till, in 943, we find it arrived at such an height, that Archbishop *Odo*, in a most magisterial tone, in *a Pastoral Letter*, known by the name of *his Constitutions*, commands the *King*, the *Princes*, and *all in authority, to obey, with great humility, the Archbishops, and Bishops, because they have the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.‡

Soon after this effort of Theodore, in 673, to an increased veneration for Relicks, was added the injunction of the necessity of *watchings*, and *fastings ;* which had inadvertently been introduced, with good intentions, about the end of the third centruy ;§—till at length Religion was, by degrees, converted into

* This *St. Austin* died in 641 ; and ought to be carefully distinguished from *St. Austin*, Bishop of *Hippo*, in Africa, who died in the year 430.

† Egberti Institut. Eccles. p. 281.

‡ Spelm. Concil. Tom. I. p. 416. Wilkin Concil. Vol. I. p. 212.

§ Truly religious, contemplative minds, who had been the first to seek, in retreats from the world, leisure and opportunity for study and meditation, with delight employed hours, and days, in such spiritual pursuits, and in holy worship, and prayer.—But when this, which was the proper exercise and employment for the *secret chamber*,—began to be considered, and enjoined, as *a public exercise*, for the multitude, who became

a sort of magic, and sorcery;—and people learned to carry little relicks of supposed saints about their persons, as *talismans*,—and as *charms* to protect them from the machinations of the devil.—The rage for which sort of witchcraft soon increased to such an height, that few amongst Christians thought they could be safe without this kind of protection.—And at the same time, and with the same sort of spirit, arts of tormenting the body, by means of rough unpleasant garments, and by periodical frequent fastings, and by the denial of refreshing rest and sleep,* became a fashion, which most people were both afraid, and ashamed, not to comply with.†

*Recluses*, without either ability, or inclination, for abstract contemplation;—and even without curiosity to understand, or apprehend spiritually the contents of the sacred writings,—the whole soon degenerated into painful compliance, tedious observance, and a formality of public worship, by devotees, constantly standing *in open view*, in direct contradiction almost of our blessed Lord's sacred admonition. Matthew, ch. vi. ver. 5 and 6.—Hence to ease the length, and tedious uniformity, of what had become most fatiguing.—(the appointed nocturnal vigils)—St. *Ambrose*, about the year 386, established loud, and regular Psalmody;—and that sort of chaunting, and of making responses, which had been previously, in part, introduced by two laymen, *Flavianus*, and *Diodorus*;—but which, though truly elevating to the mind, and sometimes exciting fervent devotion, did neither promote deep reflection, nor prevent the mischief of monastick sequestration from leading to superstitious pharasaical form, and mere outward observance, and even to the considering the best singer, as the most pious, and the most learned man.—Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. Tom. I. p. 644.—Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 388; and Vol. V. p. 45. Octavo ed.

* See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 99, 104.

† There are some few circumstances very remarkable with regard to the rise, and progress of monastick *austerities*.—For in the first place,—they are related to have been begun by a very *rich*, *zealous*, *illiterate* youth (*Anthony*), in Egypt; who, giving away all his wealth, dwelt, first among tombs, in the lower part of Thebais;—then in a ruined tower;—and then in a solitary island-like spot of herbage, advanced three days journey into the sandy desert; before he finally settled on Mount *Colzino*, near the Red Sea.—See Athanas. Op. Tom. II. p. 450, 505. Vit. St. Anton. p. 452. Vit. Patrum, p. 26, 74. Jerom, Tom. I. p. 248, 249.

And in the next place,—we find both him, and his soon numerous followers, encouraged, and cherished, by the zealous *Athanasius*,—to whom these ascetic hermits afforded secret refuge, and shelter, in the midst of his persecutions;—and whose tenets they thenceforth became the means of spreading diligently, in all parts to which they wandered—and as, for the sake of adding weight to those tenets, they also maintained the authority of a supposed *visible head* of Christ's holy Church on earth, to which *Athanasius* had, above all others, given rise, and support, by appealing his cause (as two or three others at the same time did) to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome;—they soon became both the

By way, however, of some little relaxation to the mind, in the midst of these severities, was introduced, to keep off utter despair

distinguished favourites, and instruments of Papal Power.—See Jerom, Tom. I. p. 241, 252. Socrates Scholasticus, lib. ii. ca. 11, 13, 18. Cave's Life of St. Athanasius, sec. vi.

*Anthony*'s first introducing his severe austerities, seems evidently to have been, in order to surpass *the antient Priests of Egypt*, in their own way;—for St. *Jerom* informs us, that they were distinguished for their professed chastity, and practice of abstinence, even to their using horrible potions, to prevent natural desires, as the *Indian Magi* had done;—and also the *Priests of Diana*, amongst the Assyrians.—See Jerom Adver. Jovinian, lib. i. in fine, and lib. ii.—See Alexander ab Alexandro in Genial. Dier. lib. iv. ca. 17, and lib. v. ca. 12.

And as the hasty zeal of an *Egyptian youth*, is said to have given rise to the first monkish severities; so it is not a little remarkable, that some of the subsequent most rigid austerities, and severe restraints of the monastick life, are related to have been further introduced, by *pretending over-wise men*, the *Gnostics*;—and that the Gnostics, in general, consisted of persons who had been *Gentiles*.—And it is no less remarkable, that with the same sort of persons originated the *censure of the Old Testament*, and consequently a misapprehension, and neglect of the combination of its sacred contents with those of the *Blessed Gospel*;—substituting, in lieu of a right consideration of the promised *final deliverance* declared in both, an imposed most high regard for the power, and authority, of a present *visible* Church, and of its pretended *visible Head* on earth;—and bringing into neglect, and disgrace, *that* which became to be contemptuously called the doctrine of *the millennium*:—which had been the avowed doctrine of the greater part of the Christians of the three first ages;—and implied, in substance, merely an awful apprehension of a truly perfected holy assemblage of redeemed persons, to be gathered together by CHRIST, OUR LORD, at first in Heaven;—and then, at HIS second coming, to judge the world, and to perfect all things, to be manifested with HIM on earth; according to those sacred words; in John, ch. x. ver. 16. ch. xi. ver. 52.—Ephesians, ch. i. ver. 10.—Colossians, ch. iii. ver. 4.—See Beausobre Histoire de Manicheisme, lib. i. ca. 3. Justin Dial. cum Tryphonte Jud. p. 177, 178; and Daillè de Usu Patrum, lib. ii. ca. 4. See also the account of those who maintained this doctrine, as collected by *Burnet*, in his History of the Deluge, Vol. II. book iv. ch. vi. p. 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.

In truth, whether the Pagans so hastily converted, and so hastily seeking to be promoted to distinction in the *Christian Church*, in the days of Constantine, were sincere, or insincere, (which the Great Judge of all alone knoweth,) there can remain little doubt, but that most of the austerities which the monks adopted, were introduced by a mistaken ambition, not to be outdone by the rigid Pagan, and Stoic Philosophers.—Even the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* had practised such austerities;—wearing a mean habit;—lying on the bare ground;—fasting;—and abstaining from certain meats:——and the Emperor *Julian* went far beyond him.——And Ammianus Marcellinus, an heathen, and disliking Christianity, could find no more effectual way of expressing his disrespect for the Cynic Philosophers, whom he equally disliked, than that of shewing the evident comparison between them and the monks.—See Universal His. Vol. XV. p. 209. Gibbon's His. Vol. IV. p. 38, 41, 76, 77, 174; Octavo ed.; and Universal His. Vol. XVI. p. 244, 245, 271.

from some, and even to divert others, (what was, in reality, no better than a sort of substitute for more modern Novels, and Romances), a long string of Legendary Tales, of dreams, visions, and inconsistent miracles;—stories propagated, from time to time, without a blush, by the clergy;—and believed, without the least doubting, by the timorous well-meaning laity;—whilst the reading of these wondrous, entertaining, and bewitching narrations, only tended to augment their fears, and to lead them, through fright, to greater austerities, and, to become the greater dupes.*

Then came, most astonishingly, trivial, although in their consequences most serious, observances of ceremonies *at meat;*—and particularly that of the making the sign of the cross superstitiously, by a proper person, and with the like idea of magical incantation, on dishes at table:—the idea of the imagined utility, and holiness of which, was carried so far, that when *Wilfrid*, the disgraced, though good, Bishop of York, with his adherents, was under the cloud of the censure of the then predominant Church, if he, or any of them ventured to make (out of respect to the usage of the times), the sign of the cross, before meat, upon any of the dishes, at any table where they chanced to be, the dishes were immediately thrown to the dogs.†

The account given, from the best authorities, of the unaffected mode of life, of the grandsons of St. *Jude*, the brother of OUR LORD CHRIST;—and of their very plain, simple country life,—and of the result of their examination;—an account adopted even by one of the bitterest, and most blasphemous enemies of Christianity, will sufficiently exculpate the Christian Religion itself, from having afforded any countenance to the austerities, and other *corruptions* of religious monastick Societies.—Gibbon—Vol. II. p. 414. Octavo ed.

* This very strongly appears from many passages in *Bede*;—and indeed from the whole history of the world.—It is a most remarkable fact; that both in Pagan, and in Christian times, the ages of savage barbarity, and cruelty, and of idolatrous darkness, have been ages not of boldness, and courage, but of the basest and lowest timidity.—Whoever reads the celebrated *Golden Legend*, (where, it must candidly be confessed, is at the same time much plain, honest, but *gross* instruction, conveyed in a *gross* manner, for the benefit of a *gross* dark age,) will find not only the romantic part, but *even the plain accounts taken from the Gospel*, to be mixed, and stuffed with tales of wonder, and horror; contrived only to depress the spirits; and to affrighten weak minds.

† Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. xlvi. p. 76; and Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 202. This *Wilfrid*, however, was the man, who having incurred his disgrace, by opposing the decrees of the Councils of *Hartford*, and *Hatfield*, (whereby the innovations we have

Last of all;—and to crown the whole;—by the confirmation of the second Council of Nice, both the use, and the *adoration* of Images was solemnly authorised;* and fixed as a *necessary observance*.—A most complete pattern and imitation of heathen idolatry, notwithstanding a few frivolous distinctions, made by those who introduced it; whilst indeed, those very persons themselves, seem to have been so sensible of what they were doing; that so soon as the time of King Alfred, we find they had both cunning and influence enough, to cause, that in his Code of Laws, in the copy of the Ten Commandments, *the Second Commandment should be omitted;* and that, after the ninth, a short one should be presumptuously added, the injunction whereof was *merely, not to make gods of gold and silver*.†—the artifice of this subterfuge may be easily seen through;—and the prevalence of gross idolatry, in despite of such subterfuge, was so rapid, that in 977, we find even so infamous a trick ventured upon, by Archbishop Dunstan, and his dependants, at Winchester, as that of causing a voice to proceed from a crucifix fixed in a wall; in order to support the cause of the *Regular Monks*, against that of the *Secular Clergy*.‡

just spoken of were authorised;) did yet, in the midst of that disgrace, and consequent retirement, first convert the Saxon inhabitants of Sussex, and of the Isle of Wight, to Christianity. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 13, 14.

On his arrival amongst them, he found them afflicted with a most dreadful famine;—and took that opportunity to teach them the art of fishing, with which they were before utterly unacquainted;—for though their sea and rivers abounded with fish, they had not skill to catch any, except a few eels.—Having won the affection of the Islanders, by affording them this relief, and teaching them this new art, *Wilfrid* was listened to (says Bede) with willingness; and the country embraced Christianity.

He was also the man, who, with *Benedict Biscop*, first introduced, and restored, in those dark ages, the art of good masonry from Rome, about 674, long after that art, once so well known to the Britons, (as has been mentioned in Vol. III. p. 47) was lost. Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. xxii. and Bedæ Hist. Abbat Weremuthen.

However therefore he might have undeservedly incurred the displeasure of the over-zealous, by opposing their decrees; or even deservedly of *Alfred*, King of Northumberland, by his tenacious desire of maintaining claims to his once immense possessions, as sole Bishop of the Northumbrians; his name and remembrance surely ought to be had in honor. Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. xliii. xliv.

* See Du Pin Eccles. Hist. cent. viii.

† This is fairly represented, and placed in its right light, in Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. III. p. 251.

‡ Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 490.

An imposition of so gross a kind as Image Worship, so contrary to the whole tenor of the Holy Scriptures, and of the true spirit of the Gospel, could not be introduced, even in days of darkness, and ignorant timidity, without the opposition of some few considerate minds.

We find, therefore, that great man, *Charlemagne*, doubting; and putting the Decrees of this second Council of Nice, into the hands of those Bishops whom he thought to be the best informed, to deliberate about them: and, in consequence of their advice, we find him at last openly and honestly condemning this worship of Images, in those published Acts, and Declarations, which are now called the *Caroline Books*.*

Perhaps to a constant habit of such honest boldness it was that he owed his greatness.

His friend *Offa*, also, King of Mercia in England, having received a copy of these Declarations; and of the Canons of Nice; in like manner opposed those Canons, and that worship of Images.+

Consistently, therefore, with the account that has been already given in other respects, of the earliest English Monasteries, we find, that even at the end of the eighth century, they were not arrived at such a degree of folly, and impiety, as to worship, without scruple, and in defiance of the second Commandment, such *carved likenesses*.

The opposition of *Offa* is the more remarkable; because (as we shall find more particularly hereafter) he did fall into the snare concerning *Relicks*,‡ which was nearly as gross.

Such were the corruptions, and impositions introduced:—and when the matter is fairly analyzed, all these impositions will perhaps appear to have been merely the effect of the ambition, and impudence of a few proud, ignorant, and conceited men, contending, through envy, to obtain that influence with the unguarded well-meaning multitude; and that esteem and respect, which they discerned the first sincere, pious preachers of

* Du Pin Eccles. His. cent. viii.

+ M. Westminster ad Ann. 793.

‡ M. Paris Vita Offæ, p. 26. Wm. Malms. lib. i. ca. 4.

Christianity had obtained, by their acknowledged usefulness to the world.*

A little further detail, before we examine the Religious Structures of Saxon times, will be useful to elucidate the more fully the state of mankind, in that period:—a right apprehension of

* The mistaking all these numerous innovations, and impositions, which were become so blended with the profession of Christianity, *for Christianity itself;* was what gave occasion, in these latter ages, to *Voltaire*, and *Gibbon*, and to some other writers, to blaspheme; and to reproach that HOLY NAME by the which we are called.—And was indeed obviously *what* first gave rise to all the horrid and blasphemous excesses of the authors of the Revolution in the French Nation;—that dreadful scourge which came at last upon the abettors of these impositions.

How greatly ought we, in this country, to revere, and honour the memory of those excellent, and good men, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, and their fellow sufferers;—who instead of running into such mistakes, and excesses; did, as truly meek, and humble followers of their great Lord, and Master, the Revealer, and Maintainer of all truth, patiently suffer, and lay down their lives, to open the eyes of their countrymen, and brethren;—and to deliver this land from such bondage of error?

And how careful should we be, never to fall into it again;—or to forget how dearly the free light, and support of the truth of God's Word has been purchased, by such faithful hardy endurance of true martyrs of Christ, even unto death?——How careful should we be, to avoid *confounding of things*, *names*, and *characters!*——The doing of which was one main root of the whole evil.

Surely there is nothing so astonishing upon the face of the earth, as that the blessed Light of the Gospel, and the interesting truths of Christianity, should *so soon* have been mistaken, and corrupted; or that the error should have continued *so long* inveterate.

If it had not been positively foretold, in that holy Gospel itself; and by the mouth of the first Apostles, speaking prophetically, by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit from on high, such an idea of mischief could neither have been credited at first, nor apprehended at last.

Perhaps most plainly the truth is,—that, after all that can be said, or recorded in History, the great corruptions either of Religion, or Civil Government, are not so much to be imputed to those men who introduced either particular opinions, or observances leading to such corruptions; or to those who made alterations in civil establishments; as to the perverseness, blindness, stupidity, and depravity of the bulk of mankind in general;—whose errors and blindness have, from age to age, always been carefully increased still more, by the artifices, and craft, of the great enemy of mankind.

What even devout, good men at first intended merely for the increase of devotion; and as elucidations of sublime spiritual ideas; was soon perverted to the purposes of superstition.—And what very honest men intended for the support of good government; or for the maintainance of liberty, and property; was as soon equally perverted either to the introduction and support of tyranny; or to the giving encouragement to rebellion, and anarchy.—May the time be hastened, when it shall please Almighty God finally and effectually to remove the mist of darkness, that occasions all this confusion.

which is somewhat needful, in order to comprehend with perspicuity, several odd particularities that occur in those buildings.

*Mercia*, and *Northumberland*, had been instructed by *Columba's* pupils.

But *Kent*, and *Wessex*, had been instructed by the missionaries attending, and succeeding *Austin*, from Rome, and France.

Hence arose a strange, but a most violent hot dispute, in the year 664, concerning the exact time of keeping Easter.*—A dispute about a mere difference of two or three days,—namely, whether it should be the first Sunday after the thirteenth, or after the fourteenth day of the first moon after the Vernal Equinox:—which difference might chance to make a week's difference in celebrating *a memorial*.—A juggling Chaldæan, or Persian Astrologer, could not have contrived a more trifling bone of contention,—in the true spirit of sorcery, and magic.—Yet did this difference occasion much persecution; and cause the death of many a good man, on both sides.—Whilst one party referred to the practice of St. *John*; and the other to that of St. *Peter*;†—both of them Holy Disciples, who, whilst they used such different modes of shewing respect to the memory of their Lord, and to the prophetical types of the Law, had both taught, and maintained the superior duty of loving one another.

* The first origin of the controversy about Easter, (Eusebius informs us, lib. v. ca. 21, 22, 23, 24) was, that St. *John*, and other Holy Apostles, and holy men *in Asia-Minor*, observed the high feast of memorial, according to the original institution of the celebration of the *Paschal Lamb*, the *type* of OUR LORD, on the fourteenth day of the month;—whereas other Churches throughout the world observed the feast on the *Sunday after* the fourteenth day:—and this latter mode of observance, was fixed upon by *Victor*, Bishop of Rome, about the year A. D. 200, and confirmed by the Council of Nice, (Socrates Scholasticus, lib. i. ca. 5).—Afterwards, however, Bede informs us, (lib. iii. ca. 25, 26) that, in the year 664, a still further distinction arose; whether it should be observed *on the Sunday after the fourteenth;* or *on the Sunday after the thirteenth day of the month:* and, in truth, this latter controversy occasioned still more animosity than the former.—An astronomer, however, will easily perceive, that, (after the first departure from the *original fourteenth day*), neither the one nor the other of the disputants would hardly ever be right, even according to their own intended ideas;—and a good Christian will easily perceive, with Socrates Scholasticus, (lib. v. ca. 21) that such controversies, as to *the observance of days*, were contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, and to the advice of the Holy Apostle. Galatians, ch. 4. ver. 10. Coloss. ch. ii. ver. 16.

† Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. Ib. ca. 25 and 26.

About A. D. 816, superstitious observances of all kinds were arrived at such an height, approaching even to a species of magical incantation, that, by a solemn Council, held in the presence of *Kenulph*, King of Mercia, it was ordained, that on the death of a Bishop, upon the sounding of a bell, as a signal, the inhabitants of every parish in his diocese, should assemble, and *say thirty psalms, for the soul of the deceased;*—that they should fast one day;—and that for thirty days together, after divine service each day, seven *belts of Pater Nosters* should be sung for him.—(that is, as many Pater Nosters as would tell the strings of beads, or studs, seven times over).—And to all this was added, that his surviving brother Bishops, and Abbots, should each one cause six hundred psalms to be sung, and one hundred and twenty masses to be said; for his repose.—And that each one should set at liberty three slaves; besides the manumission of all the English slaves of the deceased.*

Little sincere spirit of prayer could attend such a bead-roll of *Pater Nosters*.—And accordingly we find a curious piece of advice, (solemnly given in a Canon of the Council of *Cloveshoos*, 747,) had mighty well prepared the way for such sort of mummery.—For it declares, that as prayers were to be said in an unknown language, so persons might affix *any meaning* to the words they pleased, in their own minds.†

Thus did prayers, and singing of psalms become, by degrees, to be considered only as a sort of powerful *charms*:—and the exercises of religion, to be nearly turned into a sort of *sorceries*.

And hence, in King *Athelstan's* time, in 928, by the 12th Canon of the Council at *Gratanlea*, it was solemnly ordained, with great loyalty, and pious zeal, that *fifty* psalms *should be sung for the King*, in *every* Monastery and *Cathedral Church*,‡ *every Friday*.

This turn having been given to *prayer*, and singing of psalms; so the same turn was given to humiliation, mortification, and *fasting*, directly in opposition to the advice and injunction of our blessed Lord.§—For *Long fastings, even of several years, were*

* See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 328.

† Ib. p. 246. Revelations, ch. ix. ver. 21. ch. xviii. ver. 23.

‡ Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 402. § Matt. ch. vi. ver. 16, 17, 18.

*enjoined*.—But, in truth, these were not so difficult to be performed *catholically*, as one would be apt to think, from the first apparently dreadful idea.—For a year's fasting might be redeemed for thirty shillings:—and a rich man, of rank, and power, who had numerous dependants to perform fasting *for him*, might dispatch *even a seven year's fast*, in nearly three days; by procuring 840 men* to submit to the mortification for that short time, whilst he himself added the observance of a very little abstinence.

To the exceeding superstitious regard that was had to Relicks of supposed Saints, easily succeeded, by degrees, a veneration for the *bodies of deceased Prelates* of the Church, as they died, from time to time:—which both gratified the ambition, and vanity of the living; and tended to maintain the superiority and power of *the Pope*, from whom the *Archbishops* received the important *Pall*.

This reverential idea quickly augmented to such a degree; that *St. Austin's* Monastery, without the walls of Canterbury, where *he*, and his successors in the See of Canterbury were buried, having obtained an envied pre-eminence in the eyes of the blind multitude, on that account,† the Canons of Christ

* Spelman. Concil. Tom. I. p. 443, 478.

† There is a very curious representation, in the Monasticon, (p. 24.), of the manner in which the shrines, containing the bones of the Archbishops, were placed, together with those of St. *Augustin*, round the high altar of the Church of St. Augustin's Monastery.—It is taken from an antient Manuscript in Trinity College Library.—Among the shrines we find those of the good Archbishops *Honorius*, and *Theodore*.—And in the antient Inscription on the original Drawing, we have an evident proof, how *gradual* the progress of superstition, as to the enshrining of bodies was in this country.—For even the body of St. *Augustin* was first buried decently in common ground, at some little distance from the Church;—where it lay for seven years.—It was then removed into the Church, and simply entombed in the north portico;—where it lay for four hundred and seventy-eight years.—And it was not till even the year 1091, in the reign of William Rufus, that it was, by Abbot *Wido*, and by *Gundulph*, Bishop of Rochester, translated, and placed in a shrine, above the high altar.

It is deserving of notice also, that as Bishop *Gundulph* was the means of placing them in this dignified situation; and as the bodies of several succeeding Archbishops, were in like manner placed in shrines on each side;—so the bones of *Gundulph* himself, and of several succeeding Bishops of *Rochester*, were placed on each side the high altar there:—and their stone coffins, or chests, still remain standing above ground, on the floor, on each side of the present altar.

Church in Canterbury, and the succeeding Archbishops, their fast friends, because they had been elected *by them*, according to the original privilege of that monastery, became eager to deprive those neighbouring monks of this advantage.

Archbishop *Cuthbert*, therefore, who died in 758, even formed the design of wresting from them his own remains.—And having first obtained a formal permission from *Eadbert*, King of Kent, to be buried in his own Cathedral; when he found his end approaching, he gave direction to his domesticks to put his body into the grave, as soon as he expired: which they carefully performed. And we are told, that the monks of St. Austin, coming, according to antient usage, in solemn procession, to take possession of the corpse, were filled with most ungovernable rage.*

In 762, Archbishop *Bregwin*, who sat in the chair only three years, was by his own direction buried in the same precipitate manner.†—And if they were not both of them hurried out of the world, and buried alive, they had great escapes; at least according to the philosophical ideas of more modern times.

Every monastery now became ambitious to hold the bones of some distinguished *modern Ecclesiastic*, besides the Relicks of Saints; —or at least the bones of some great men, however great sinners, who were but distinguished for their high rank; and who were in return told, and made to believe, that the becoming monks,† and the being buried in sacred ground, and especially *in a monk's habit*, was a passport to heaven.

Convinced sinners easily complied.—And the mouldering bones of Saints, or at least those substituted for the bones of Saints, bore so high a price; that at last, in A. D. 1021, an arm of *St. Augustin*, Bishop of Hippo, was purchased by *Agelnoth*, Archbishop of Canterbury, for six thousand pounds weight of silver, and sixty pounds weight of gold.‡

Soon therefore, with all these privileges, and advantages, Mo-

* Godwin de Præsul. Angl. p. 65.

† Theod. Capit. Labb. Concil. Tom. VI. col. 1875.

‡ Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 11.

nasteries became every where of too much importance to the Church of Rome, and to the support of its interests, and pretensions, to be trusted any longer in the hands of Laymen.

We find therefore that such were no longer *allowed* to preside over Societies, which they or their ancestors had formed, and founded; and over which they had, in succession, presided for a series of years;—and that, by a decree of Pope *Leo* III. in 803, confirmed by *Kenulph*, King of Mercia, and his Council, all *Laymen* were thenceforth forbidden to be admitted to the government of such Societies.*—In the letter which the Pope, on this occasion, addressed to *Kenulph*, he calls the King his most *sweet Son*, and tells him, that Archbishop *Athelard*, who had obtained, and was the bearer of the decree, was such an admirable Prelate; that he was able to bring all the souls in his province from the very bottom of hell, into the port of heaven.*

The inhabitants of the monasteries also, and as many as possible of the whole body of the clergy, were soon led to embrace *vows of celibacy*, in order to detach them the more from the common interests of the other members of the community.

And, to crown the whole, the most excessive abomination of all abominations, *Image Worship*, was finally strongly confirmed, and fastly rivetted in England, before the year 1000;—whether the charters alledged, as supporting the assertion concerning the first introduction of the *Image of the Virgin Mary* be true or false.

*Egwin*, Bishop of Worcester, is said to have been the Prelate who first introduced this last, worst innovation, very nearly about the year 700.†—However, if it was really introduced so early, yet it appears clearly enough, that it was opposed, for a time, by the old British Church.†—And did not gain its full ascendency, till about A. D. 1000.

By such means as these,—to say nothing of the pains taken by the clergy, and Church of Rome, *to lock up the Holy Scriptures* from the people at large,—and to cause prayers to be said in an *unknown tongue*,—and to palm upon the world the doctrine of

* Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 322.

† See Spel. Conc. Tom. I. p. 305; and Hume, Vol. I. p. 45.

*transubstantiation*, the good intentions both of the first *British*, and of the first *Saxon* Christians, were much frustrated. And, instead of praying from the heart, to GOD, through the mediation of the ONE ONLY MEDIATOR, named in Scripture;—men mumbling repeated invocations, to the Virgin Mary, and to Saints, did soon produce in the tenth century, (that *Age of Lead*,* as it has been sometimes called), the most dismal, dark, long night of ignorance, and superstition, that ever took place in the world.

The doctrine of transubstantiation having been opposed by *Johannes Scotus*, in the time of King *Alfred*, did not gain much ground amongst the English clergy, till after the year 995.† ..... and the burning of honest men for not believing it, was reserved for the completion of abomination,—in ages long after.

Nor was the praying to the Virgin Mary made a matter of avowed doctrine, in the time either of King *Alfred*, or King *Athelstan*, or even in the time of *Edgar*, or of *Ethelred* II.; as appears both from Odo's Constitutions, A. D. 943,—and also from the Homilies which were translated by Archbishop *Alfric*, about A. D. 979.‡

So far also was the Church from locking up the Holy Scriptures, in an unknown tongue, in the first Saxon days, that a translation of the Bible was made into the *Saxon Language*, in the reign of King *Athelstan*, A. D. 930.§

After this little detail of the state of Religion, let us now turn our attention to examine precisely what advancement was made *by the Saxons* in point of Ecclesiastical Architecture.

About A. D. 816, the building of *Parish Churches*, was become so very frequent in England; that at the Council of *Ceale-hythe*, a Canon was framed, prescribing a precise manner of consecrating them; by means of placing Relicks, and the Eucharist in the

* Baron Annal. ad an. 900. Cave's Histor. Literar. p. 571.

† This clearly appears from the Homily of Archbishop Ælfric for Easter Sunday.—See Ælfrici Præfatio secunda ad Grammaticam suam, p. 2.—and Hickes's Dissertatio Epistolaris, p. 98. See also G. Malmesb.

‡ See also Rapin's History, Vol. I. p. 428; Vol. II. p. 121.

§ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 374.

altar; and by putting up a picture of the Saint to whom each Church was dedicated.*

A peculiar circumstance also soon increased still more the number of these, detached, Religious Structures.—This was; the plunder and destruction of the first *Saxon* Monasteries by the *Danes;* and the consequent dispersion of such monastick clergy as escaped being murdered.—Whilst the habit of a married life, which those Clergy, after such *dispersion*, soon began to adopt, added to the number of *constantly resident Parochial Priests.*†

So early as the year 901, the marauding visits of the Danes became almost regularly annual;—and the whole history of this country, during the tenth century, contains only an horrid series of Accounts of their descents, and ravages: in the midst of which they got possession of the Isle of Thanet;‡—a possession that they maintained several years:—but where, however, it is most remarkable, they never formed any of those sort of *artificial mounts*, and *hill fortresses;* that in many places have too hastily been ascribed to the Danes,§ and have been supposed peculiar to that people.

By the year 981, their plunderings, and devastations, were come to their full height:—and they became, at one and the same time, most dreadful scourges to a corrupted Church, that was introducing the grossest superstition;—and avengers on a land polluted with the blood of the innocent King *Edward*, by the murder of whom, the celebrated, and abandoned *Elfrida* had caused her son *Ethelred* to ascend the *Saxon* throne.‖

Even *Alphage*, Archbishop of Canterbury, about 1003, with almost all his clergy, were slain in cold blood, by these Danish violators of all that was sacred.¶

* Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 328.

† Junett's Church History, ch. xvii. It appears from Ælfric's Canons, that the clergy in general were *married men*, about 995. See Henry's History, Vol. III. p. 287.

‡ Chron. Saxon, p. 76.

§ There cannot be a stronger proof than this, that such kind of fortresses were never constructed, or formed, by the Danes.—See what has been already said, on this subject; *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 37, 53.

‖ Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 9.

¶ See the account of the means by which these horrid ravages took place. Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 10.

But whilst we lament their sufferings, it is impossible to forget the priestly impudence, and cruelty, whereby King *Edwy* had been, by Archbishop *Dunstan*, (the great promoter and supporter of the *celibacy* of Monks,) cruelly torn from his wife *Elgiva*;* merely because she was *his Cousin*;—and by which she had been even defaced, and branded with hot irons,†—and was at last put to death.

Besides the increase of the number of *Parish Churches*, that was consequent upon the ravages of the Danes;—when they at last obtained dominion here, and acquired civilization, by their success,—King *Canute*, who was well worthy to be a Successor of *Alfred*, added still more to the number of Parochial Places of Worship, by building many, as well as Religious Houses, at places that had been signalized by battles with the *Saxons*:—and, in consequence of the improvement of his architectural knowledge, by means of his *journey to Rome*, added to the reflections of his own great mind, introduced a somewhat more improved species of Architecture than the old *Saxon* style.

The journey to Rome he undertook, with great devotion, according to the ideas of Religion‡ that prevailed in those times; and he obtained there, as his great object, according to the account of our early historians,§ a plenary pardon of his sins; and, (as he was told), the special friendship of St. *Peter*.—Whilst, as he took with him a numerous, and splendid train of nobility; he obtained, also, unavoidably, even a diffusion of a better taste, *in point of Architecture*, amongst them, than had hitherto prevailed in any of these more northern barbarous regions.

Before, however, we examine either *Canute's* improvements, or the first *Saxon Ecclesiastical Structures*, a little further attention ought to be paid to the strange rude manners, and the gross ideas, that were prevalent in the age wherein those structures were reared.

*Alfred the Great*, after his first and suprising victories over

* Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 7. † Anglia Sacra, lib. ii. p. 84.
‡ Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11.
§ Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11.

the marauding Danes, *obliged* all that were left of those plundering pirates, to become converts, and to embrace Christianity;* without much more information than that of the necessity of their situation.†—Common sense will then teach us, what must be thought either of the apprehension, or judgment, of such converts.—They must have been readily a prey to the most servile superstition, when they did not apostatize, as was the case with many.‡

*Alfred*, also, finding the excessive ignorance of the officiating Clergy left in Britain, was induced to bring *Monks*, a little better instructed than those clergy, from France;§ in order to restore the ruined Monasteries;—and we may boldly venture to say, whatever classical science, or ingenuity, they brought with them, that they brought also additional superstitious usages.

Such is the wretched account of the state both of Religion, and of its most zealous supporters, in the latter days, in which the Religious *Saxon* Architecture we are about to consider appeared.

Not only did blind superstition gain ground; but outrage, and violence, from the lowest to the highest, prevailed amongst uninstructed, and untameable spirits.

Depredation was even deemed highly honourable.—And we find regular laws for the dividing of plunder that might be taken from bordering people.‖

We find, also, a regular Book of Rates, for the estimation of wounds, and bruises, in frays at home.¶

And, by an express Law, in Wales,** (where the laws very

* The Saxon Chronicle, a book of the best authority, says, p. 85, 86, they settled in East Anglia, and Northumberland.—See also Asser, (p. 9 and 12.) and it is a curious fact, shewing how wonderfully Divine Providence brought forth good out of evil, that these very people became the means of enabling *Alfred* to form a fleet, and to establish a great naval defence, by the help of their skill in navigation; and laid the first foundation for *naval power* in England.—Will. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 4.

† Asserius de Vita Elfredi, p. 10.

‡ Henry's History of England, Vol. III. p. 239.

§ Asserius de Vita Elfredi, p. 18.

‖ Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 16: and so also see Leges Wallicæ, p. 17.

¶ Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 5, 6, 7.—Leges Wallicæ, p. 186.

** Leges Wallicæ, p. 387.

closely imitated those of the English), a man was gravely *permitted to beat his wife*.

We find even the oaths of persons estimated also, as to their weight in courts of judicature, not from the apparent integrity of the person; but from his rank.—So that the oath of *one Thane*, was deemed, in point of weight of evidence, equivalent to that of *six Ceorls*, or common men, however honestly, and sincerely such might speak.*

A great number of the inferior class, were also *actual slaves*.—And a regular *slave-trade* was carried on, from England, to the Saracens in Spain, and in Africa, by Jews.†

In consequence of this savage state of manners, and ideas, we find, even with regard to the conduct of Princes themselves, horrid tales, almost of an incredible kind.

In 626, *Quicelm*, King of the West Saxons, sent a formal Ambassador, to *Edwin*, King of the Anglo Saxons, (who was one of the best informed, and best disposed of all that savage hord), with no other view, than to kill him, with a poisoned dagger:—from which attempt *Edwin* was preserved, only by the faithful quick interference of one of his attendant train, who received the blow, and perished in his stead.‡

Even so late as 948, King *Edmund*, endeavouring with his own hand, to enforce the maintainance of justice, and to apprehend a notorious robber, who had the audacity to come into his Sovereign's presence at a feast, was slain by the daring villain,§ in the presence of his courtiers.

About 760, *Ethelbert*, King of the East Angles, having been induced to solicit in marriage *Elfrida*, (a cursed name,) the daughter of *Offa*, King of Mercia, was invited, with his retinue, by *Offa*, to *Hereford*, in order to solemnize the nuptials:—and, in the midst of the joy, and festivity of the entertainments, was seized, and secretly beheaded:—after which *Offa* (*the very founder of St.*

* Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 64.

† Murator. Antiq. Tom. II. p. 883; and Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 1.

‡ Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 9.

§ Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ch. 7. Hen. Hunt. lib. 5.

*Alban's Monastery*) seized his kingdom.*—An instance of the most atrocious wickedness, and cruelty, which cannot be forgotten, however truly penitent, and pious, *Offa* might become afterwards.

Nearly about A. D. 800, *Kenulph*, an horrid Successor of *Offa*, having waged war against Kent; and having taken its *then* King, *Egbert*, prisoner; cut off his hands, and put out his eyes; and left his own brother in possession of the crown of that kingdom.—*Kenulph* was deservedly soon killed in an insurrection of the East Angles: and his son, as if suffering by vengeance from heaven, for the sins of his father, was murdered by his own sister† *Quendreda*.

With regard to the lower classes of life, it is curious to observe, that, about the time of *Edgar*, it was deemed a mark of censurable luxury, that the Danes who were kept in pay by Athelstan, and by Edgar, *combed their hair* once a day;—bathed themselves once a week;—and changed their clothes frequently.‡

And the very slight manner in which the most dreadful outrages were viewed, appears both from a strange Law of *Ethelbert's*, that any one who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife, should merely pay him a fine; and *buy him another wife*;§—and also from the punishment ordained for murder itself; it being usually only a fine; according to *the rank* of the person murdered.‖

The manner, also, in which people, in the middle classes of life, were driven to seek security, in the earliest Saxon ages, is equally curious;—whilst they were compelled, either to submit themselves, *as mere vassals*, under the protection of some great man;¶ or else to enter into formal *bonds* to each other, for mutual defence.

A specimen of a most curious *Saxon bond* of this kind, entered into by some inhabitants of Cambridgeshire, is preserved by Dr. Hickes.**

* Brompton, p. 750, 751, 752.
† Ingulph, p. 6, 7; and Brompton, p. 776.
‡ Wallingford, p. 547.
§ LL. Ethelberti. sec. 32.
‖ LL. Elthredi apud Wilkins, p. 71, 72, 110.
¶ Brady's Treatise of Boroughs, p. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.
** See his Dissert. Epist. p. 21.

It was not till the time of that excellent, and truly great man, *Alfred*, that legislation in this country, and the protection of personal safety, and property, began to be put at all upon a better footing.

Such minds could not but be open to all kinds of superstition: —and accordingly various kinds of *ordeal* were used, to determine whether persons were guilty, or not guilty;—both in this country, and in France, and in Spain;—and even to determine other facts; —insomuch that we read of the disputed merit of *two Liturgies* (the Roman, and the Muzarabick,) having been solemnly tried, A. D. 831, by having them both flung into the fire, and by observing which would endure longest, or best escape.*

The volume of the Holy Scriptures also was converted into a sort of fortune-telling book,—by a practice which the Monks authorized, especially in France, of having recourse to what was called the *Sortes Sanctorum*:—that is, by the opening, with great ceremony, some page at hazard, and seeing what was written in the first verse.—An usage introduced, in imitation of the pagan custom of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*: and which had in vain been attempted to be suppressed in the world, by a capitulary of *Charlemagne's*, A. D. 789.†—Whilst we find, from assured authority, that it remained in use, in England, till after the days of William Rufus;‡—though it seems to have been introduced here, only about the latter end of the *Saxon* monarchy.

Amongst these rude manners, it deserves some notice also, that in the provisions made, by the *then* existing Laws of the Land, in order to maintain general protection for such persons as were *expected* to attend the *Great Council* of the whole Nation; there was an express clause inserted most cautiously, for the purpose of insuring safety and protection on their journey, to such persons as were *notorious Thieves*:§ without its being thought any glaring absurdity, that those who answered *such description*, should have

* Henault, Vol. I. p. 78. † Henault, Vol. I. p. 64.

‡ See Prideaux's Connection, and the Authorities cited by him, Vol. III. p. 464, octavo ed. where a most curious instance is produced, that will be mentioned on another occasion.

§ See Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 146.

either the right, or the presumption, to appear at so solemn an assembly.

About 978, *Edgar*, demanding a tribute from the Princes of Wales, whom he had rendered subject to him; devised that strange assessment, of three hundred wolves heads, yearly: which was at once flattering to their pursuits of the chase; and became the happy means of extirpating totally that dreadful race of animals from this Island.*

About A. D. 1015, or 1020, *Ædric Streon*, the brother-in-law of King *Ethelred*, invited two of the most potent, and wealthy Saxon Earls, *Sugfert* and *Morcar*, to a feast; where they were, by his directions, cruelly murdered.—Their attendants, after making an ineffectual attempt to avenge the death of their masters, took shelter in a church; but were therein burnt to death.†—And it soon appeared that even King *Ethelred* himself was privy, and assenting to these base, and barbarous proceedings:—for he confiscated the effects of the two unhappy noblemen; and forced the young and beautiful widow of Earl *Sugfert* into a monastery.

Amidst all the horrors of these times, however, as there were some dawning efforts of civilization, amongst those who fled from the dire din of violence, into sequestered *monastick retreats*, so also there were a few astonishing efforts of great minds, notwithstanding their utmost exertions of arms, to recall mankind to an observance of justice, and of the holy eternal laws of righteousness.

Hence several regulations, and ordinances, were framed by degrees;—though with great brevity;—and so as to be *gotten by heart;*—because very few persons were acquainted with letters;—for such was the excessive ignorance, in the ninth century, and even some time after, that neither Kings, Princes, or Lords, in any part of Europe, were, in general, able to read.‡

And this first mode of ordaining principles of justice, *to be learned by rote*, was the real origin of the distinction, between what Lord Chief Justice Hales calls *written*,§ and *unwritten Laws*;—

* Floren. Wigorn. A. D. 973. † Chron. Saxon. p. 146.

‡ See Henault, Vol. I. p. 132.

§ Hale's History of Common Law, p. 1 and 2.

or between the original Common Law, and the Statute Law of England.

These kind of laws were, by degrees, brought in their effect, to restrain violence insensibly, more and more:—and it was by a Law of *Ina*, King of *Wessex*, that the offence of theft was now, for the *first* time, made capital; retaining however a discretionary power of redemption,* by fine.

But amongst the most decided efforts towards real civilization, may be reckoned surely those of King *Egbert;*—followed, in the end, by his uniting all the *Saxon* Kingdoms in one great mass of power, in the year 828.

Having been, in the early part of his life, by the persecution of *Brithric*, King of Wessex, obliged to fly from his native country, and to take refuge in the court of *Charlemagne;* he seems *there* to have acquired those improvements of mind, and that disposition for the encouragement of useful Artists, and of men of abilities, which laid the foundation of his future greatness; and rendered him, as far as can be judged from events,† the best politician, and the greatest general of the age in which he lived.

The first years of his reign he employed, in gaining the affections of his subjects, by the introduction of new works of art, and by efforts of civilization.‡—And his fear of God, and earnest endeavours, amidst all his errors and infirmities, to act, if possible in such days, honestly, and righteously, appears, in that he was not the *aggressor*, in any of those very wars, which terminated in the reduction of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy to his obedience.§

Above all other efforts, however, of the greatest and most active characters, in dark depressed ages, may be reckoned those of King *Alfred*, about A. D. 880.

Having subdued the Danes, the then dire enemies of his country, and put an end to their most horrid devastations; instead of avenging himself, by their death, he availed himself of the only

* Wilkins Leges Wallicæ. p. 17.
† Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 1. ‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 69.
§ Chron. Saxon. p. 70.—Hen. Hunt. lib. iv.

good property that belonged to them, their *skill in navigation*,* he spared their lives, on condition of their becoming Christians, and exercising their nautical abilities in his service:—and by that means he formed a navy at once, capable of protecting his coasts. —He utterly changed the form of his ships: and, instead of the short, broad, low vessels, which were till that time in use,† he contrived ships twice as long; more lofty; and having even sixty oars.

He found means to send navigators to explore the seas, and coasts of Europe, far to the north, and far to the south; of which we have a curious instance in *Ochter's* Voyage.‡—And he even sent persons to the East Indies,—with alms to some Christians, who he heard were there; on what we now call the Coromandel Coast.§

He encouraged curious works of jewelry; (of which one specimen even still remains, that was found at *Ethelingey*, in Somersetshire;)‖—and by aid of the instructions of those artists whom he encouraged, the goldsmiths in England arrived at such a degree of excellence, beyond all others, in making curious little boxes, or caskets, for enclosing relicks, that these in general acquired the name, in the rest of Europe, of *Opera Anglica*, by way of eminent distinction.¶

* W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 4.—Asser, p. 9.

† W. Malms. lib. i. ca. 1.—Chron. Saxon. p. 98.

‡ See a fragment of this Voyage, accurately translated from the Saxon, in Henry's curious History, Vol. IV. p. 213.—And see, Vita Ælfredi, Append. vi. p. 205; and Anderson's History of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 386.

§ Asser, p. 17.

‖ See Philos. Trans. No. 247;—and Asser, p. 17;—and W. Malms. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. lib. ii.

¶ Murator. Antiq. Tom. V. p. 12. And perhaps we ought to bring to remembrance, on this occasion, that in the village of *Colwall*, in *Herefordshire*, a few years ago, was dug up, by a poor cottager, a coronet adorned with diamonds; which was first sold by him, for 31*l.*;—then by the purchaser for 250*l.*;—and afterwards for 1500*l.*;—and was perhaps worth more.—Description of England, Vol. IV. p. 223.

Not far from *Rendlesham, in Suffolk*, also, where originally *Redwald*, King of the East Anglians, is said to have kept his court, was dug up, about fifty or sixty years ago, an antient crown of gold, weighing about sixty ounces.—Description of England, Vol. VIII. p. 267.

And a gold chain, with eighteen large beads on it, and having a locket, quartered cross-ways, by four scepters, was dug up at *Bucton Castle*, a *Saxon entrenchment*, in Cheshire, a few years ago. See Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 88.

He taught the studious, and diligent, also to divide their time regularly, by the gradual burning of tapers; long before the invention of clocks.

In the art of war, he not only, by his own invention, improved the mode of building ships:—but, in the field of war, he seems to have been the *first Saxon*, who devised means of regularly blockading fortresses, and of carrying on any long, and continued siege.*

He improved Architecture, both by his own genius, and the assistance of the learned, and ingenious *Grimbald*;—whom he had brought from Rome;—and who may well be called the Father of Arts, and of Science, at *Oxford*.

And he cultivated Music, after the example of Bishop *Aldhelm*, as a means of conveying sacred instruction.+

Whilst the harp, in the performing upon which he was himself skilled, and which had become, in that age, a necessary appendage‡ to every person of rank; and the organ, (which is said to have been invented so early as A. D. 690,) and had been introduced into England,§ gave him an opportunity of effecting this with advantage.

* Chron. Saxon. p. 95. + Anglia Sacra. Tom. II. p. 4.

‡ Leges Walliæ, p. 301, 415. Hickessii Gram. Franko-Theotesca, p. 96.

§ Murator. Antiq. Tom. II. p. 358.—W. Malms. de Pontificibus, lib. v.—Two laymen, *Flavianus*, and *Diodorus*, having first brought into use a custom of chaunting psalms, and responses, St. *Ambrose*, about A. D. 386, established loud and regular Psalmody, as has been already mentioned (p. 45).

And this taste for Psalmody was still more increased, in the ninth century, (the very century in which *Alfred* lived,) by the introducing of *organs*;—" whose pipes of copper, (says an old writer of that age, Hist. Ramseen, p. 420.) "being winded by bellows, and " furnished with proper stops, and keys, sent forth a most loud and ravishing music, " that was heard at a great distance."

But we are not to conceive, that these *organs* were of the same magnificent kind with those which we have now in so many of our churches.—The very mention of *the pipes of copper*, in the words of the antient writer just cited, shews that they consisted of little more than the front ostensible pipes; and those of no great dimensions; and that great pipes of wood, such as are now used, were unknown.—Perhaps the best idea that can be formed of the original organs, may be obtained from that small very antient one, that was still remaining, a very few years ago, in the old chapel, at *Knowle*, in Kent; the seat of the Duke of Dorset; where it had, most probably, been placed by Archbishop *Bourchier*, who first built that noble pile.—This little organ seems to have been one of those kind of instruments which were afterwards called *regalls*.—Its whole front, which contained nearly all the pipes, was hardly more than three feet square, if so much; and it

Having well considered the then imperfect state of the laws; and the still more imperfect execution of them, through unrighteous influence;—and having therefore taken cognizance of the whole into his own hands, in consequence of *atrocious facts* well known to all;—and having, thereupon, condemned no fewer than *forty-two* judges to capital punishment;* *Alfred* established such an observance of more effectual laws, that every man, who, by means of depredation, had lost property, was sure of recovering it,†—and of bringing the offender to justice:—and it was said, that even a gold chain might be left, with safety, hanging in the high roads.

This truly great man also encouraged the labours of all the most learned, and most ingenious men he could meet with, besides *Grimbald*, and particularly of *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, who made the stand against the then innovating doctrine of *transubstantiation*.

Animated by such example of his great predecessor, King *Athelstan*, among various works of well intended piety, caused a translation of the Holy Scriptures to be made into the *Saxon tongue*, about A. D. 930, or 940;—a work, the usefulness whereof is surely now beyond doubt; however the imposing craft, and superstition of the succeeding ages, depreciated its merit; and first scorned, and then cast it out of sight.—He is said to have employed, for the purpose, those who were looked upon as the most learned persons in the kingdom: and *Malmsbury*, speaking with energy of his efforts, concludes by saying, most justly, though with a sort of monkish quaintness,—that *his life was little, as to its duration,—but, much in point of glory:* ‡—*Vir, qui parum ætati vixit, multum gloriæ.*

Nor ought we to forget, the exertions of *Howel Dha*, or *Howel the Good*, in South Wales; who, in imitation of *Alfred*, laid an

was enclosed in a little recess, like a sort of cupboard.—This sort of instrument is said not to be even now entirely lost in Germany: and our antient Kings had a *regall-maker*, amongst their musical establishment, with a regular salary. See Archæologia, Vol. III. p. 32.

* Mirroir de Justices, lib. v.

† Ingulphi Historia;—and G. Malmesb. ‡ Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 6.

excellent foundation of good Laws:—and whose ambition to imitate *Alfred*, may also well account for that remarkable *imitation* of the *Saxon* style of Architecture, which we shall find did actually take place *in Wales*.*

* See Præfatio ad Leges Howeli Dha. In the interesting old Chronicle, of *Caradoc of Llancarvon*, is so curious an account of the manner in which *Howel Dha* framed his Laws, that it cannot be deemed superfluous to insert it.

After having told us, that *Alfred* had translated the antient Laws of *Dysnwal Moelmut*, King of Britain, and those of *Marsia*, Queen of Britain, wife to *Cyhelin*, out of British into English, which constituted a great part of the *Marsian*, or *West Saxon* Law; and that he had also added the *Dane Lex*, or prior customs of the Danes, and out of both framed his Laws, he proceeds to inform us, in what manner *Howel Dha* did then frame his Welsh Laws.

For the purpose of framing these Laws, he sent for the Archbishop of *Menenia* (St. David's), and all the other Bishops, and chief of the Clergy, to the number of 140 Prelates; and all the Barons and Nobles of Wales: and caused six men of the wisest, and best esteemed in every *Comote*, to be called before him, whom he commanded to meet all together at his house, Y Tuy gwyn ar Taf; that is, *at the White House upon the River Taf*.+

Thither he came himself, and there remained with his Nobles, Prelates, and Subjects, all the Lent, in prayer, and fasting,—craving the assistance, and direction, of God's Holy Spirit, that he might reform the Laws and customs of the country of Wales, to the honor of God, and the quiet government of the people.—About the end of Lent, he chose out of that company twelve men, of the wisest, gravest, and of the greatest experience; to whom he added one clerk, named *Blegored*, a singular learned, and wise man.—These had in charge to examine the old Laws, and customs of Wales; and to gather out of them such as were meet for the government of the country: which they did, retaining those that were wholesome, and profitable; expounding those that were doubtful, and ambiguous; and abrogating those that were superfluous, and hurtful;—and so ordained three sorts of Laws.

The first,—of the ordering of the King's, or Prince's household, and his court.

The second,—of the affairs of the country, and commonwealth.

The third,—of the special customs, belonging to particular places, and persons.

Of all the which, they having been read, allowed, and proclaimed, he caused three several books to be written.

One for his daily use, and to follow his court;—another, to lie in his Palace at *Aberffraw*;—and the third, to be at *Dinevowr*;—that all the three Princes of Wales might have the use of the same, when need required.

For the better observation of these Laws, *Howel Dha* caused the Archbishop of *Menenia*, (St. David's,) to denounce sentence of excommunication, against such of his subjects as refused to obey the same.—And within a while after *he went to Rome*, taking with him the Archbishop of St. David's, the Bishop of Bangor, and St. Asaph, and

+ This House, which often went by the name of the *Tyguyn* House, has already been described in this work,—Vol. III. p. 27.

Last of all, the exertions of King *Edgar*, deserve attention;—who, about the year 960, (after the example of *Alfred*,) equipped, and trained, a great Navy; though indeed of a kind, if we are to judge from its numbers, not very much superior to a South Sea *Otaheitan* Navy.—It consisted of three thousand, five hundred vessels, divided into different squadrons, and so stationed, that they might be continually cruising round the Island.*

King *Edgar*, also, certainly gave all the encouragement to the increase of science, that the deluge of corruptions in Religion, and of priestly domineering, which was taking place, would permit;—whilst he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to promote Piety, by the repairing, rebuilding, and endowing of many Monasteries; with more magnificence, in point of

thirteen other of the most learned, and wisest men in Wales; where the said Laws, being recited before the Pope, were by his authority confirmed.

The same curious book describes the Welsh coronet, or crown, worn in those days, by the Princes, on their bonnets, and helmets, as being a sort of broad lace, or band, indented upwards, and set with precious, or coloured stones.

Howel began to reign about A. D. 940: and these efforts of his, to frame, and promulge Laws, were unquestionably great steps towards civilization. Whilst with regard to the assistance he received from the Archbishop of *Menenia*, (or St. David's,) it is not a little remarkable, that *Alfred* had, some years before, even sent for the celebrated *John de Erigena*, called *Scotus*, from the very Monastery of St. *David's*, with which that Archbishop was connected.

But notwithstanding all these Laws, we find an horrid state of barbarism was prevailing for ages afterwards, amongst the Welsh. And that they regularly made use of their woods, for robbing, and plundering all who passed through them: one of which was, on that very account alone, cut down, and destroyed, even so very late as the year 1228.

It was so late, also, as the time of Henry II. when, according to the account given by the same author, (notwithstanding the existence of any good Laws, either of Alfred, or of Howel Dha,) *William de Bruce*, Lord of Brecknock, invited *Sitsylt ap Dysnwal*, Geffrey, his son, and a great number of the worshipful men of Gwent-land, to a feast at the Castle of Abergavenny; and when they, not mistrusting any harm, came thither, he had a great number of armed men, within the Castle, who fell upon *Sitsylt*, and the rest, and without mercy slew them all;—and then forthwith went to *Sitsylt's* house, (being not far from thence,) and took his wife, and slew *Cadwalader*, his son, before his mother's face, and destroyed the house.

This whole extract was taken from (p. 33, 53, 54, 236, 284.) of a scarce black letter Copy; which appears to have been printed about the 25th of Elizabeth, soon after Sir Henry Sydney had been governor of Wales.

* See Flor. Wigorn. G. Malmsb.; and Matt. Westm.

Architecture,—and with more convenience for the Recluses, than ever had been introduced before that time.

In these present days, we can hardly bring ourselves to apprehend, what difficulties those, who most desired to benefit mankind, had to struggle with, in early ages.—Pagan prejudices,—stupid ignorance,—and hasty violence, on the one hand;—and selfish craftiness,—and encroaching pretensions, on the other.

Even till *Canute's* time, the most horrid superstitions of *Pagan Idolatry* were so prevalent, that it was thought necessary to promulge an open Law, to forbid the worship of *the sun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, and trees.**

Which Law was merely framed, after the example of Canons, that had before been ordained, in King *Edgar's* time; wherein the Clergy were exhorted, and commanded, to be at great pains, to bring off their people *from the worship of trees, stones, and fountains.*†—And *Archbishop Dunstan* found it an easier way to lead mankind to hearken to him, and somewhat to concur in his endeavours, to promote science, and civilization, and to the advancement of the interests of his clerical brethren,—by imposing on men's credulity, and by fostering their superstitious prejudices,—than by the convictions of reason, or by attempting to change their inveterate habits.

*Gildas*‡ sufficiently explains to us, what was the wretched state of Christianity amongst the *Britons*, about the year 550, when the Clergy had *no* influence.—And *Dunstan's* conduct shews us, what its state was, amongst the *Saxons*, about the year 950, when the Clergy began to have *too much*.

Now let us turn our attention to investigate regularly, and minutely, the style of the *Saxon* Religious Structures, reared amidst all these circumstances.

We are told that *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, about the year 610, built a Church in the City of London,—dedicating it to St. Paul.§

* LL. Politic. Canuti Regis, ca. v. Apud. Lendenbrog in Glossar, p. 1473.

† Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 482. ‡ Gildas Ep. p. 1, 2, 3, et sec. xxvi.

§ See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 3; and also Hist. Ang. Script. fol. 385, 9. —735.—22,—1631.—49 —Bedæ Hist. lib. ii. ca. 4.—Hen. Hunt. lib. iii. p. 186, &c. Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 5.

We are also told that, A. D. 611, *Sebert*, King of the East Saxons, built a Church at Westminster, which was consecrated by *Mellitus*, first Bishop of London.*

And we have therefore sufficient authority for concluding, that Religious Buildings *of Stone*, were actually erected, in both these places, in that age.—Though, as no fragments of either now remain, we cannot form any exact conclusions concerning them; nor gain any further satisfactory information from those Structures.

We have also seen, in the course of these Enquiries, that before the great corruption of the first promulged truths; and before the dismal spread of error and imposition took place in this country; certain great men who there is every reason to believe were very sincere, and as far as their situation and apprehensions would permit, meant well, endeavoured to lay a foundation for the more effectual promulgation of the Gospel; first by the establishment of a *division of Parishes*;—and next by the promoting and encouraging the building of *Parish Churches*; that were at first attended by devout men from Religious Societies, and afterwards by Parish Incumbents.

And that the first, and indeed the ablest of these well intentioned men, were *Honorius*, and *Theodore*, Archbishops of Canterbury, about A. D. 653, and A. D. 670.

It is no wonder, therefore, if, *within their jurisdiction*, we find Structures of this sort, with marks of the highest antiquity beyond all others;—and of such very antient date, that all antiquaries are silent concerning any records as to their origin.—Buildings yet, with such manifest indications of an intended imitation of Roman Architecture, as plainly shew they must have been of a very early date indeed in this country; and that they followed so very close upon the departure of Roman elegance, and taste from Britain, that this sort of style seemed, on its introduction, allegorically, as it were, to catch hold of the heel of the Roman magnificence that had fled away from this Island.†

* Monasticon, p. 55, 56.

† The idea adopted by Mr. *Somner*, in his Book of the Antiquities of Canterbury, in consequence of a misconstruction of a word, in a charter of King Edgar, and of a

Amongst these, one of the foremost, and still existing to this hour, is *Barfreston* Church, in Kent;—situated on an estate, and in a manor, which has every badge of the highest antiquity, and family dignity annexed to it;—and therefore on a spot, where of all others it is most likely, the admonitions and exhortations of the good Archbishop *Theodore*, should have the desired effect, of producing, with every degree of possible energy, from the then distinguished, and established family, such a structure.

*Barfreston*, or *Barfreyston*, in the hundred of *Eastry*, in the very earliest Norman times, was of such high rank, as to be held by *Castle Guard*, of Dover Castle.*—We may be well assured, therefore, that its possessor had been, *in more antient Saxon times*, of high dignity, and estimation.

A very good representation of the south door of entrance, with all its ornaments, discovered by the removal of the wooden porch, has been given by Mr. Grose, in his Antiquities.†—And such of those ornaments as remain not covered by the porch, rather more exactly delineated, in some respects, are now here shewn in the *Frontispiece* to this Volume.‡—The two dotted lines, meeting in a point above, shewing the part of the wall to which the porch is now fixed; whilst the ornaments concealed by it, are here added only in slight outlines.

The design appears, like most of the earliest *Saxon* ones, in reality free, both from those idle *legendary*, and from those horribly *blasphemous representations*, which were sometimes introduced in later ages;—and which have too hastily been concluded, by several Antiquaries, to have been uniformly introduced, in these kind of bass reliefs,§ over all *Saxon* doors.

misapprehension of *Stow's*, that the Saxon Churches were only *timber fabrics*, has been so fully confuted by Mr. *Bentham*, in his History of Ely Cathedral, both by convincing arguments, and by positive facts, that there needs only a reference to his curious work (p. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23) to convince any unprejudiced mind.

* See Philipott, p. 61. † See his Preface, p. 66.

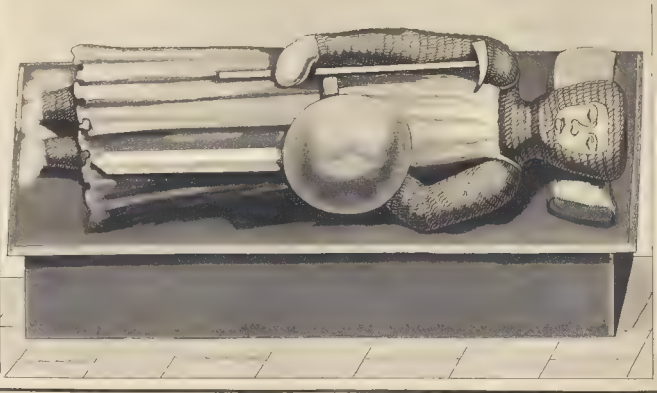
‡ Both this representation, and the view of the *south side*, and east end of the Church, prefixed as a *Frontispiece* to this chapter, have been carefully drawn by the ingenious, and accurate Mr. *Wood;* to whom I am obliged, also, for a very particular examination of the upper figure, over the door.

§ It seems in truth to have been merely ignorance in the multitude, and the monkish

F. 1.



F. 2.



Saxon Sculpture.

J. Caldwall Sculpt.

To the best of my apprehension, its designation seems to have been, to represent, at the top of the upper arch, the figure of some very distinguished *Saxon*, who, at the instigation of Archbishop *Honorius*, or of *Theodore*, built the Church;—and according to this drawing, (which was taken with the utmost accuracy possible), he appears in the attitude of lifting up his hands, and arms, as with praise, and thanksgiving;—whilst, in the inner arch beneath, appears the figure of a Bishop, or reverend Teacher, sitting, as preaching; holding up one hand, and resting the Sacred Scriptures on his knee, with the other.—And as to the surrounding ground of the flat stone, it seems to be filled up merely with emblematical figures, and with those of angels, and of the busts of patronizing Kings, and with ingenious scrolls.

This sort of designation seems also the rather to have been what was really intended; because *the cap*, on the head of the upper figure, so much resembles *the cap* represented on the head of a *Saxon* of distinction on horseback, carved on the capital of one of the side pillars of this door, as is shewn, on a larger scale, in Pl. III. fig. 1.; and also carved, in like manner, on a capital of one of the most antient *Saxon* pillars, on the lower part of the outside of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

The figures that form each of the two arches, in several little compartments, it may be remarked, are varied in each individual compartment; in the true *Saxon* manner, with the most studied variety;—and so are the capitals of the supporting pillars on each side;—in no part corresponding to the opposite ones, or alike;—but yet having a general good effect, without offence to the eye.—And the same may be said even concerning the very scrolls, with which one of the arches is adorned.

If the door-way, and its ornaments are curious, the inside of this little Church, whose small dimensions may still further in-

stupidity and craft of subsequent ages, that turned them into blasphemous Representations, and lying Legends;—to which has been added somewhat of malevolence, in some modern interpreters of them; no less mischievous than the white-wash with which I am sorry to add this very curious remain has been covered afresh, even since these drawings were taken.

duce us to conceive it to have been one of the very first built at *Theodore's* request, are more strikingly so.

For here we perceive a very remarkable kind of Architecture indeed; not only well designed beyond what followed, in several subsequent structures; but almost unparalleled; and scarcely ever, as far as we know, exactly imitated elsewhere.

This specimen is represented, Pl. I. fig. 1. being an arch, dividing the body of this little Church from its chancel.

The whole Church is only 23 feet 4 inches in length; and 15 feet 9 inches in breadth; as I carefully measured it, in 1787.—But at its east end, and standing just before the chancel, which is only 16 feet long, and 12½ broad, appears this singular specimen of Architecture.

The partition wall is three feet thick; and this drawing represents the side towards the west; next to the body of the Church:—in which, with all its elegance of design, yet the odd *irregularity* of the finishing of the upper ornamental arch deserves to be well noticed;—because the two extremities *are totally unlike;*—as indeed throughout the whole structure of the Church, on the inside, as well as on the outside, there is a studied *diversity of ornament*, even in every part of every moulding, or band, on the walls.

At the same time the whole style bespeaks a sort of dawning science, and a degree of ingenuity less restrained, than it was found to be in subsequent ages.

Æsop's Fables are most plainly alluded to;—and a sort of classical science, with curious ænigmatical figures, is endeavoured to be introduced in different parts:—with a remarkable effort of some approximation to an elegant taste *for freezes*, something after the manner of those of the Romans.

In what precise year this Church was built, or who were the real inventors of all these rude devices, we cannot presume to affirm.—But it is obvious to conclude, that the whole was the effect of reflections, formed in rude, active, ingenious minds; who had a thirst for science, with which they did but just begin to be acquainted.

Fig. 2.



Doorway at St. Margarets Cliff

Fig. 1.



Arch at Barfreston




*Romains at Barfreston.*

Pl. II. No. 1. fig. 1. shews an ornament placed against the wall, over one of the windows of the chancel, on the south side. —Its near approach to the appearance of a pointed arch, would almost induce one to suspect it to be of a much *later* date, than the rest that follow:—for at Barfreston, as well as in almost all others of the very oldest *Saxon* Churches, alterations and additions have been made in subsequent *Norman* times.—But there is such a wildness in the workmanship, and such a *Saxon* peculiarity, in placing the large deformed death's head at one end, without any corresponding ornament at the other, as may well demand that this should be classed with the other *Saxon* ornaments; and especially as it cannot be forgotten, something like pointed arches have been found in some other structures that yet were completely *Saxon*.*

Fig. 2, represents the capital of one of the pillars of the partition wall.

Fig. 3 and 4, are representations of mouldings, on the wall, within the Church; like bands (or a sort of *freezes*) running round the inside of the building; and remarkable, for having the ornaments of the compartments, continually varied, in different parts of each band.

Fig. 5, are odd grotesque figures, on other parts of the same mouldings.†

No. 2. Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,—represent other varieties, in other parts of the mouldings.

And Fig. 7, 8, 9, represent other grotesque figures, carved in rude bass-reliefs, upon some other of the freezes, and mouldings.

* See Munimenta, Vol. III. p. 160, 164, 234, 236, to which we may add, that even amongst *Roman remains*, something very like *a pointed arch* appears, Plate xxi. in one part of the ruins of Balbec, so accurately represented by Messrs. Dawkins, and Stewart. —And that there are, also, even some appearances of *pointed arches*, in Justinian's Aqueduct, as represented in some curious drawings of Mr. *Reveley's*.

† It is a circumstance which perhaps will not escape the attention of the curious, whilst we describe these odd mouldings, and bands, on the walls of Barfreston Church, that *Eddius*, speaking with admiration of *Wilfrid's* Church, at *Hexham*, in Northumberland, built about 675, describes its walls particularly, as being surrounded with *various mouldings, and bands, curiously wrought.* "Variis linearum anfractibus." See Bentham's History of Ely Cath. p. 22.—And *Eddii Vita Wilfridi*, ca. xxii. p. 62.

—And amongst these figures, one may most plainly discern a designed representation of Æsop's well known Fable, of the Fox, and the Crane.

It deserves to be remarked, further, that the *placing* of some of the original *Saxon* windows, on the inside of this Church, was no less irregular than that of the placing of the fancied ornaments on the arches, and mouldings:—But that great alterations have been made, by the introduction of some more modern *Norman windows*, with pointed arches; as may be seen in the sketch of the outside, as it now appears, given in the *Frontispiece* to this chapter:* —and that there has also been a *Norman* round window introduced, at the east end, in the upper part.—And it is remarkable, and obvious in this view, from the appearance of the old marks against the end wall of the Church, that the roof of the Chancel was once even raised higher than it now appears.—Indeed it still remained so, till Mr. Grose's time; having been lowered, for convenience, only a very few years ago;—which has occasioned the east end to appear less perfect than it was when I saw it, and has occasioned the difference between this representation and that of Mr. Grose, in the upper part.

But nevertheless I cannot but be induced to think, both from what I observed myself, as well as from the views given by Mr. *Grose*, and by Mr. *Wood*, that *originally* the east end of the Chancel was still lower than it is even now;—and was terminated, at the top, with two little sort of turrets, one on each side.

In Pl. VIII. Fig. 5, is represented the arch of the south door of the Chancel;—which is seen also in the *Frontispiece* to this chapter.

In the whole, however, of the many, and varied ornaments of this early *Saxon* structure, there do not appear to have been, either on the inside, or on the outside, any of those kind of legendary representations; or of blasphemous representations, such as did afterwards find place in other Churches.—The utmost

* For this drawing I am indebted to the ingenious Mr. Wood.

that can fairly be said of any of *these* is,—that rude representations of Angels,—and something designed to represent Cherubims,—(the representations of which, were a sort of ornament allowed even in the Tabernacle, and in the Temple of Solomon,)*—the appearance of busts of Kings, and Queens,—of men in armour,—of men on horseback,—of men with musical instruments,—and devices from Æsop's Fables,—and ænigmatical figures,—are mixed, and grouped, in a manner that plainly shews, nothing but *mere innocent ornament* was intended.

In the very curious door-way of this Church, as in other early *Saxon* arches of Castles, that have been referred to,† the arch itself further appears *supported as it were, on the inside*, by a great flat semicircular stone, resting, at its two extremities, on the capitals of the innermost pillars; as if the arch itself were not to be trusted to, for its strength.—And though there are two supporting pillars, on each side the door, yet the greater part of the ornamented arch above *extends outwards, on each side beyond them*:—circumstances that are almost uniformly *characteristick* of the very earliest *Saxon* stone door cases, as well as the *dissimilarity of the capitals* of the corresponding pillars; and particularly distinguishes them from *Norman* arches.

In this instance also, on the capitals of the two largest pillars, instead of there being foliage, are grotesque figures;—and those on the one pillar, are perfectly different from those on the other.

And whilst we mention these peculiar circumstances, in which the very old *Saxon arches* differ from the *Norman* arches; the one by which they peculiarly differ from the *Roman*, and from the *British imitations* of the Roman, ought not to be passed by unnoticed; which is, that the true *Roman arches have none of those odd mouldings*,—zigzag,—embattled,—triangularly fretted,—nail headed,—hatched,—billeted,—lozenge work,—nebulated,—twisted,—braided,—and triple indented;‡ whereas the Saxon arches are overloaded with them.

* See Exodus, ch. xxvi. ver. 1, 31.—1st Kings, ch. vi. ver. 27, 28, 29, 32.

† See Munimenta, Vol. III. p. 160, 164, 234, and in the preceding page 75 of this Volume.

‡ Witness the arches of the Temple of Peace, at Rome, as represented, by *P. Pannini*.

It ought also further to be remarked, that although indeed the *Saxon arches*, and especially those of the latter period of the *Saxon* dominion, have sometimes only the zigzag moulding, which was afterwards also used by the *Normans;* or only the triple indented moulding; yet in general, when that is the case, there is a sort of wildness even in it, and often a *larger indentation*, which sufficiently distinguishes *Saxon*, from *Norman* work.*

The *Saxon* arch may also often be distinguished from the *Roman* arch, as Mr. Wilkins+ has accurately observed, *by the very simple kind of* impost *moulding in stone, generally used by the Saxons, and afterwards by the Norman Architects.*

These five peculiarities, therefore, are the characteristick distinctions of the *early Saxon arches:*—

1. A studied diversity of ornament, in the capitals of the supporting pillars, on each side the arch; instead of exact uniformity.

And those of the Colosseum.—And nearly all the antient Roman arches, that are represented throughout the whole magnificent work of *Piranesi.*

Witness also the appearances of the arches of the Temple of Venus, on the coast of Baia;—and of the Port of Cuma;—and also of the Amphitheatre of Capua:—all of them represented on a large scale by *Clerisseau.*

Witness also even the Arch of Trajan, at Beneventum, notwithstanding the great enrichment of its soffit, as represented by *Clerisseau.*

And the Arch of Pola, in Istria, as represented by *Clerisseau*, notwithstanding its great enrichments in other parts, as well as in the soffit.

So also the Arches of the Amphitheatre of Beneventum, as represented by him.

And even the enriched Arches of *Palmyra*, and *Balbec*, of the time of the *Antonines;*—although they have mouldings greatly ornamented, have nothing like any of those which are here mentioned.

Yet that the Romans were not unacquainted with various curious devices, of a very similar kind to the Saxon mouldings, and that might have been applied to the same purpose, is evident, both from the variety of ornaments on the freezes, and whole entablatures of their Temples, and other Buildings; and more particularly from the many fanciful borders of their Tessellated Pavements.

* The two are oftentimes confounded, and mistaken by inaccurate observers.—And perhaps it ought in general to be remarked, that although indeed there are fashions of Architecture peculiar to different ages; yet, at the beginnings, and endings of those ages, they are found very much blended together.—And in some instances (as in the case of the pointed arch) are found now and then in a small degree introduced, long before they are brought into common use.

+ Archaeologia, Vol. XII. p. 148, 176.

2. A transom stone, (or transom stones,) most usually filling up the semi-circular part of the arch, as if to support it on the inside; and generally resting on the pillars at the two ends.

3. The supporting pillars, placed *standing inwards*, and somewhat nearer to each other than the whole diameter of the arch; and so as to support, with their capitals, both the inward *transom* stone, as well as the ends of the arch.

4. A loaded variety of ornaments, on the mouldings of the arch; and often *in very small compartments*.—And a great variety of mouldings, besides the indented moulding.

5. Yet, in general, a very plain simple kind of impost moulding, resting on the capitals of the pillars, for the support of the arch.

All these five peculiarities are sometimes, (though not often,) found united together in the same door-case, or window:—and are ever so *truly characteristick*, that hardly any *Saxon door-way* is ever found without one or two of them combined.

By these circumstances, therefore, such parts of truly antient Ecclesiastical *Saxon* Buildings as remain may be identified.—But it is not to be imagined, either that these peculiar ornaments continued invariably to be used, *just in the same sort of fashion*, quite till the Norman Conquest; or that immediately afterwards, they went *entirely* out of use.—Now and then they were somewhat imitated by the *Normans*;—but in such a manner, that as far as I have ever seen any instances, they may easily be distinguished by a discerning eye, both by the *larger proportion* of the several parts, and by an evident introduction of *corresponding ornaments*, on each side, instead of the *Saxon diversity*.

They may possibly also have been imitated from mere fancy, in a few instances, in succeeding ages; as they might even be introduced, in a mere modern building, so as to deceive the unwary.—But nevertheless they will still be truly characteristick of the *Saxon Ecclesiastical style of building*.

As to the more rude, and plain early *Saxon* arches, found to have been constructed in their Castles; some instances, and

representations have been given of them, in the preceding Volume;* and more will be added in this.

In the same part of Kent as *Barfreston*, and amongst those that may justly be deemed some of *Theodore's* first Parish Churches, as to the most antient part of its walls, is found another, at St. *Margaret's Bay*, or *Cliff*, in Kent.—In the west front of which, over the great door, within a large triangular space of wrought stone work, are some very odd ornaments; and several concentric arches, adorned with devices, hardly to be met with any where else.

At the top of these arches, instead of a key stone, are three small figures, in niches; and three similar figures, in niches, are placed at the bottom extremities of the outward arch, on each side, in the manner represented, Pl. I. fig. 2.

No less deserving of notice than the doors at *Barfreston*, and at *St. Margaret's Cliff*, in Kent, is that at *Malmsbury* in Wiltshire, which also seems to have been nearly of the same age; and of which a representation is here given, both because there is a considerable difference between it and the former; and also because it is in the old remaining *Saxon* part of the walls, of what was undoubtedly one of the earliest *Saxon* Churches, built in this country;—and because it has, on the stone filling up the semicircular space of the arch, a kind of representation, that much resembles such as became more common afterwards, when the figure of some *Saint* was expressly appointed to be placed, either over the door, or in some part or other of every Church, by the Ordinance, or Canon, that has already been mentioned,† as having been framed at the Council of *Ceale-hythe*, in the year 816.

The account of the founding, and building of the Monastery, and Church at *Malmsbury*, is interesting.—About the year 640, or 650, *Maildulph*, an inhabitant of Scotland, having by some means or other acquired an uncommon degree of knowledge, for the age

* Munimenta, Vol. III. p. 252. Pl. xxxvi. fig. 1, 2, 3, 4.—And some other Saxon arches are represented in the same Volume, p. 254, Pl. xxxvii. fig. 1, 2, 3.

† See before, p. 56.

in which he lived, earnestly seeking to obtain quiet, and leisure; and unable to bear the constant maraudings, and inroads, so usual in his own country, fled into England, and took up his abode under the protection of the Castle of *Ingelburne;* which had originally been built *by a British King*, and was called *Cair-Bladun.**—Here he constructed an Hermitage; and in order to supply himself the more effectually with necessary sustenance, undertook to teach some scholars;—and amongst the rest had *Aldelme*, or *Aldhelm*, for one; who attained to very considerable skill in what was then called Philosophy, and liberal science, besides being a most religious man; and is said to have been *the very first English Saxon that ever wrote in Latin.*—This disciple of *Maildulph's*, in order, if possible, to acquire still more learning, went afterwards into *Kent*, and studied under *Adrian*, Abbot of St. Augustins;† and there obtained such favour, that he was enabled, on returning to his master *Maildulph*, by the assistance of *Eleutherius*, or *Lutherius*, Bishop of Winchester, to found a Monastery of Benedictines, in the place where he was educated, which at length acquired the name of *Malmsbury.*—*Berthwald*, King of the West Saxons, was a great Benefactor, and promoter of his undertaking;—and *Athelred*, King of the Mercians, and also King *Chedwalla*, both added great donations before the year 700. As, therefore, *Aldelme's* journey to Kent, was in the time of Archbishop *Honorius*, and he could not but be also known to Archbishop *Theodore;*—and as his second master *Adrian*, was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and he himself was even made Bishop of *Shirburn;*‡ continuing to be celebrated for his ingenuity, and science;§—and as he was so nearly a contemporary of *Wilfrid*, Bishop of York;—he must have had every means, and every degree of information possible, to lead him to build even one of the first, and best structures for a Church, of any in that age.—And we find he was by his own express appointment buried in a Chapel which he had there built.‖

* Leland Itin. Vol. II. fol. 26.

† See the Monasticon, p. 50, 51.

‡ Leland Itin. Vol. II. fol. 26.

§ Bede Hist. lib. v. ca. 18, 19.—Will. Malmsb. lib. i. fol. 13. lib. ii. fol. 55, 58.

‖ Hearne's Leland's Collectanea, Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 302.

It is a well-known fact, and will be, in several instances, elucidated in the pursuit of our enquiry, that of the most noble, and most beautiful of the Ecclesiastical Structures, from first to last, the *Ecclesiasticks* themselves were the *very Architects*.*—There therefore is the utmost reason to believe, that *Aldelme* himself might be the very person, who designed the curious door that will now be described; and which still remains in what appears to have been a part of the old original wall, notwithstanding the additions, and alterations, made in the superstructure.—And this circumstance, (considering *Aldelme's* acknowledged great ingenuity) may account for the extraordinary elegance of design, which is so evident in it, even beyond the beauty of most other *Saxon* doors.

In the reign of King *Edwy*, about A. D. 955, during the indignation that prevailed against Monks in general, those of this Monastery were expelled,† and for about 20 years secular Priests

* Amidst all the just complaints, against the indolence, and corruptions of the monastick life, nothing can be more true, than that, whilst these societies were, by the study and labours of many excellent persons, the nurseries of almost the only science, and learning, that in turbulent ages was preserved in the world; they were equally the nurseries of Arts.—And that the same sort of ingenuity, and abundant leisure, that produced fine copies of manuscripts, and sometimes beautifully painted illuminations; and many fancied mosaic borders for their leaves; at other times produced varied ornaments for mouldings, and new designs of Architecture for building:—and even, in some well known instances, laid the foundation for *staple manufactures*.

*Wilfrid*, Bishop of York, who about the year 674 was in high favour with *Oswi*, and *Egfrid*, Kings of Northumberland, was eminent for his own knowledge, and skill in Architecture, which he had partly acquired by travelling to Rome, at the same time that he brought over Artists from thence. See Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, p. 24. Richard. Prior Hagulst. lib. i. ca. 5. Eddii Vita S. Wilfridi, ca. xxii.—Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 272.

And the Abbot *Benedict Biscopius*, who was sometimes the companion of *Wilfrid's* travels, was another skilful Architect. Bedæ Hist. Abbatum Wiremuth. et Gyrw. p. 295.

*Albert*, who became Archbishop of York, A. D. 767, had previously travelled to Rome, and brought home with him a most valuable Library of Books, for that age.—And he had taken with him two Ecclesiasticks, *Eanbald*, and *Alcuin*, who were reckoned amongst the most learned men of those days; and who both became also justly esteemed the greatest *Architects* of the age; at the same time that *Eanbald* became Archbishop of York. Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, p. 26, 27.—Willielm Malmesburiens. de Pontificibus Angl. lib. iii. p. 153.

† Wm. Malmesb. lib. ii. fol. 55.

were placed in their room.—But the Monastery was restored with greater splendour than ever by King *Edgar*,* and enriched by the patronage of Archbishop *Dunstan*, (who translated the bones of *Aldelme* from his first grave, in the Chapel, to a shrine.†)—And the Monastery was further aided also, by the liberal benefaction of King *Edward*.—It may possibly therefore be concluded, by some persons, that this door might have been constructed about the time of King *Edgar*.—Even in that case, it would still be equally *Saxon*.—But it is in truth much more elegant than those in general of *Edgar's* time ;—and there was no period afterwards, the Architecture of which does properly correspond with it.

* As to Mr. Somner's conclusion, from an expression in the Charter of King Edgar, A. D. 974, for the rebuilding of this very Monastery, that there was only a Church built of *wood* before that time ;—it has been so completely confuted, both by the most solid reasoning, and by the producing of positive facts of Churches *of stone*, affirmed by the very earliest Saxon Historians to have been built, and to have been in existence in their days, that there cannot remain a doubt but that the first old *Saxon* Church at Malmesbury must have been a structure of stone :—and if so, some parts of its walls must probably have remained :—and of all parts, none more likely to have done so, than the door-cases of stone, constructed as we see them in a manner calculated to last through many many ages.—The words of the Charter are, describing the decayed state of the Monasteries in general, *quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis, tigno tenus visibiliter diruta;* which Somner translates, by saying, *they to the outward sight are nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards;* and thence concludes they must have been built entirely of wood :—whereas the words fairly imply no more, than that the wooden part of the roofs of the Churches, and monastick buildings, and the floors of those buildings, were quite neglected, and decayed, and rotten.—See Spelman Concil. p. 488 — Carta Regis Edgari, Wilkins Concil. Vol. I. p. 260.—Somner's Antiquities, p. 86.—Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, p. 16.

In 710, even a King of *the Picts*,—*Naiton*,—wrote a Letter to *Ceolfrid*, Abbot of *Girwy*, near to the Abbey of *Wermouth*, (which had been built by Abbot *Benedict Biscopius*, A. D. 675), declaring his intention of building a Church *of stone*,—and requesting *Ceolfrid* to send him artificers. Bedæ Hist. Abbatum Wiremuth et Gyrw. p. 295. Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. ca. 21.

And in 716, when *Ethelbald*, King of Mercia, founded *Croyland* Monastery in Lincolnshire, on a marshy soil, which was even more adapted to a *wooden* structure than to one *of stone;* he caused a vast number of large oaken piles to be driven into the ground, and also a more solid kind of earth to be brought in boats nine miles by water, to be laid thereon, that he might, notwithstanding the natural disadvantages of the site, build his Church *of stone*. Ingulphi Hist. Croyland, p. 4.

† We have here another proof of the slow progress of superstition with regard to the enshrining of Episcopal Remains in England.—It was not till 91 years after his burial, that the body of *Aldelme* was translated to a shrine.

The door is represented, Pl. IV.—and surely nothing can well be more elegant, than the *leaf*,—*and the scroll foilage mouldings*,—and the enriched *lozenge moulding*,—*and enriched quater foil moulding*.—They were evidently the singular invention of some elegant mind ;—whilst the ruder transom moulding, over the door, and the stone filling up the semicircular space of the arch, with the rude figure of the patron Saint, are as evidently *Saxon* as can well be.

Pl. V. fig. 1, represents another curious Saxon Arch at Malmsbury, with a no less singular and elegant, *double leaf moulding*.

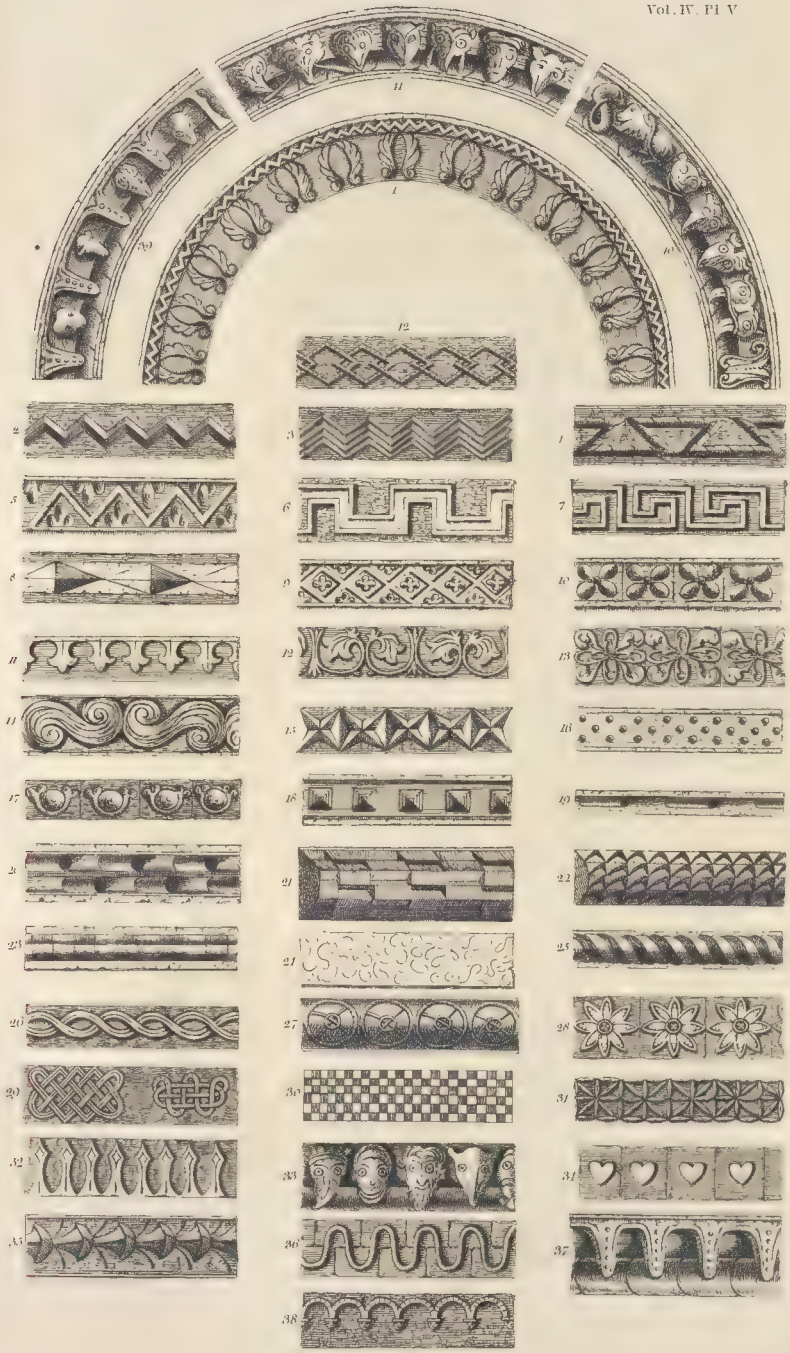
And in the same Pl. V. to avoid the representation of an unnecessary number of *Saxon* arches, are now added a variety of *Saxon mouldings*, that have been met with in different places ;—which are here put together, in this manner, for the sake of shewing them in a comparative view :—whilst, concerning them, it may be useful just to observe, that only the plainest, and most simple, and in general, only the *cheveron zigzag*, or the *triple indented moulding*, were ever imitated, or at all used by the *Normans*.

They are as follows ; (besides this double leaf moulding, fig. 1.)

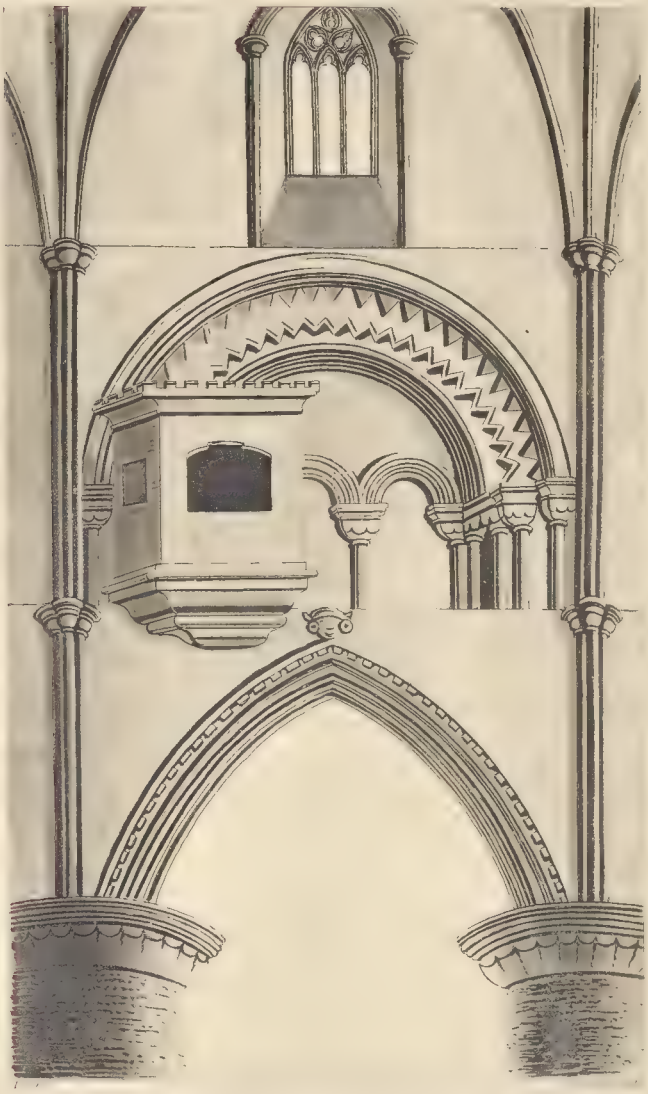
2 The cheveron, or zigzag, moulding.
3 The triple indented moulding.
4 The triangular frette moulding.
5 The enriched triangular moulding.
6 The embattled frette moulding.
7 The labyrinth moulding.
8 The lozenge moulding.
9 The enriched lozenge, or enriched frette moulding.
10 The rose moulding.
11 The trefoil leaf moulding.
12 The scroll foliage moulding.
13 The enriched quaterfoil moulding.
14 The mere scroll moulding.
15 The starry moulding.
16 The bead moulding.
17 The nobbed moulding.
18 The nail-head moulding.
19 The billet moulding.
20 The double billet moulding.
21 The square billet moulding.
22 The hatched moulding.
23 The incrusted moulding.
24 The scribbled moulding.
25 The cable, or twisted moulding.
26 The braided moulding.
27 The crossed circle moulding.



*Door at Malmsbury*




W. A. W. Adm. et fecit



Norman Alterations at Malmsbury

28 The sun-flower moulding.
29 The reticulated moulding.
30 The chequer moulding.
31 The cross pointed moulding.
32 The spear point moulding.
33 The head moulding.
34 The heart moulding.
35 The wedge moulding.
36 The nebule moulding.
37 The over-lapping moulding.
38 The corbel table.

39, 40, 41, Are three more different specimens of the *head mouldings*, shewing how oddly, and purposely, the variations of the figures seem to have been made.

And fig. 42 is a *lozenge chain moulding;* thus placed *within* the arch, because it is found in the beautiful Porch, of the same Church, at *Malmsbury*.

Besides these, which have all been taken from specimens* actually existing, there are the odd variations of mouldings that have already been described as found at *Barfreston*, in Kent; and still more varieties may be met with at *Shoreham*, in Sussex; and in other places, which will be noticed in the subsequent pages.

In the many previous descriptions of *Saxon* Castles, the giving at the same time some account of the *Norman subsequent additions, and alterations*, has tended to fling more light upon the subject:—and in like manner, in the present instance, it may not be amiss just to add a specimen of *Norman additions, and alterations*, made in old *Saxon* Ecclesiastical Structures.

Pl. VI. therefore, represents a part of the old Church at *Malmsbury*, where an original *Saxon* arch remains, in the midst, between the top, and the bottom of the wall;—but where the original circular *Saxon* arch, that crowned the two pillars at the bottom part, has been cut away; and been converted into a pointed *Norman* arch;—and where a still more modern pointed *Norman* arch has been added, in the upper part of the wall above.

In short, this is one of those odd remains of antient Architecture, (whereof many instances will be given hereafter,) concerning which an intelligent Antiquary, if he were asked the question,—*when* the several parts of the wall were built?—must return the

* Several of them may also be found in Mr. Lysons's curious Etchings of Remains in Gloucestershire.

almost ludicrous answer, (yet perfectly consistent with truth),—*First the middle;—then the bottom;—and then the top.*—For the wall originally was entirely *Saxon*, with circular arches;—but in the time of the *Normans*, first the lower circular arch was cut out into the form of what was become more fashionable, *a pointed arch;*—and afterwards the still more modern window was added above, with a new roof to the Church over it.

*Ifley* Church, in Oxfordshire, has been mentioned,* as one of the early Saxon buildings.—And in like manner some parts of the walls of *Adderbury* Church, in the same County, deserve to be just mentioned: because they have been alluded to, by Mr. Grose, as remains of an edifice of the *Saxon* age;† and as having mouldings, or a sort of freezes, ornamented with strange allegorical, and grotesque figures, somewhat like some of those at *Barfreston*.

As I never saw the building, I am not competent to form a decided opinion. But I have many doubts, whether the freeze described by Mr. Grose, as at *Adderbury*, is not rather connected with a much later age; when such sort of extravagantly burlesque ornaments, were connected more immediately with the disputes between, and the lampoons alternately cast upon, the *secular*, and *regular* Clergy.—Unquestionably, however, next to Kent, and the diocess of Canterbury; the country adjoining to Oxford, was most likely to contain remains of Churches, the *first* of all others reared on Archbishop *Theodore's* plan.

At *Dinton*, in Buckinghamshire, is another Parish Church, which may be classed with these.

The door-way of this Church, with its Saxon ornaments, is represented in the Archæologia.‡—And a transcript of the very remarkable inscription, placed over its lintel, is there given.

There is an evident difference, though not considerable, in the

* There is a representation of this Church in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, Vol. LXI. p. 499:—and its door, on a larger scale, with its peculiar croud of ornaments, is represented in Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, Pl. xiii. p. 101.

† See Grose's Antiquities, Vol. VI. p. 22.

‡ See Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 167, Pl. xvii. with a very curious description accompanying the plate; and an account of some Antiquities of very early ages, dug up near the spot; in a very ingenious paper, by John Claxton, Esq. of Shirley.

capitals of the pillars, and ornaments, on each side.—The *heart moulding* also is very remarkable:—and the *braided moulding*,—the *triple indented moulding*, and the *billetted moulding*, have singularities in them, that deserve attention.

The arch, as is the case with so many others of the earliest Saxon times, seems not to have been trusted to; and has a sort of transom stone to support it on the inside: whilst the doorway has also a flat lintel at the top.—And on the stone, filling up the arch, are odd ænigmatical ornaments, that originally did not surely deserve to be deemed either idolatrous, or superstitious; but merely as consisting of emblematical representations.

In the upper part appear two most forlorn savage figures, having heads of wolves, claws of dragons, and tails of fishes; placed on the two sides of a fruit tree; each of them with open mouths devouring part of a branch, and of the fruit of the tree:—whilst in a moulding underneath is an inscription, in letters, the near resemblance of which to *Roman letters* shews its high antiquity. It is as follows:

PREMIAPROMERITıSSIQ'SDESPE THABENDA.—

Mr. Claxton reads it,

*Premia pro meritis si quis desperet habenda.*

But perhaps it may be read either thus:

*Premia Promerita iis queis fides Petri, habenda.*

Or else thus:

*Premia Promerita, scilicet, si quis desperet habenda.*

Underneath this, in another second moulding, follows:

AVDIATHICPRECPTASIBIQVESıTRETINSDA.—

Which may be read thus:

*Audiat hic Precepta sibi. Que sunt retinenda,* (or) *que sint retinenda.*

And underneath these inscriptions, in a broad freeze, over the door, appears a monstrous winged dragon, pursuing a poor winged, fleeting figure, designed perhaps to represent an imaginary spirit, or a soul, flying from it.

The whole therefore may be thus decyphered.

The tree is meant for the tree of life.—The savage figures for

unconverted sinners;—desiring food and comfort.—The winged dragon represents the devil, or the world;—and the flying, fleeting figure, a soul making its escape.

The translation of the legends may be,

*Rewards conferred;—to be obtained by those who have Peter's faith.*

Or,

*Rewards conferred;—to be obtained, even if any one is in despair.*
*Let each hear, in this place, precepts worth retaining.*

Read how we will, or can, the plain interpretation of the whole is, surely, free from either legendary tale, or idolatry; and merely an honest admonition to wretched human beings, deformed by vice and wickedness, to seek the heavenly food, which affords nourishment unto life eternal;—to flee from the world, and the devil;—and to hearken to the precepts of the Gospel; that they may obtain the rewards consequent upon embracing its divine truths.—Advice such as seems to have been perfectly consistent with the honest meaning of *Theodore*, and of those who first built *Parish Churches* in his days, and in consequence of his exhortations, and admonitions.*

* It will be observed, perhaps, that in reading this very antient Inscription, I venture to suppose one letter, towards the end, which in the Archæologia, is transcribed as an S, to have been an E.—The ill shape of the letter, or a blundering stroke of the original workman, might occasion this mistake; or even the obliteration of time might effect it.—But as no sense whatever can be made of the whole, without venturing to make *this emendation*, we may surely venture to make it.

As to the rest, if the first reading now proposed can be thought allowable; then *the faith of Peter* alluded to, is plainly *that*, contained in those words, whereon Peter is told the whole future Church should be founded;—and which stand thus in the original;—*Thou art the Christ; the Son of the living God.*—Matthew, ca. xvi. v. 16.

The reading given in the Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 168, I cannot readily assent to; because it appears to me to be somewhat inconsistent with a right Christian faith.

" Premia pro meritis si quis desperet habenda.
" Audiat hic Præcepta sibi quæ sunt retinenda."

i. e.

*If any one despairs of having rewards for his merits,*
*Let him hear precepts which are to be retained.*

As the Gospel does not *any where* inform us of any *merits*, that any man on earth can pretend to have; or of any precepts that should lull him into such an idea; however reasonable it may be to hope that all sincere endeavours will be accepted; I cannot suppose this to be accurately the right reading of any Christian Inscription, in any age; and therefore propose the other;—which seems plain enough.

Somewhat similar, in point of simplicity, and in the design of its odd allegorical pious ornaments, is the old Church at *Quenington* in Gloucestershire: of which some very curious representations are given by Mr. Lysons, in the Archæologia.*—But I cannot forbear venturing to form a conclusion a little different from that of this very ingenious, and able Antiquary, both as to the meaning of the figures; and as to the date of the original building.

With regard to the first, we find a transom stone, over the north door, with a large semicircular stone placed over it, and filling up the whole arch, as if designed to support the arch: and on this stone emblematical figures; resembling in the first place, an holy man, or preacher, with one hand held up, evidently as speaking; and with a sort of radiation round his head. —Whilst he appears as inserting a crozier, (an emblem of his being a preacher of the doctrine of the cross; or of the good news, or Gospel,) into the mouth of a wretched being, in an human form, lying on the ground, bound hand and foot, by the twisting of the tail of a serpent; and whilst from the mouth, and power of this serpent, appear to have emerged three other human forms, delivered, and thankful: and over their heads appears a sort of sun; an emblem of light.

This whole, strange, allegorical representation, reminds one of that odd Letter of *the Pope, Leo the Third*, to *Kenulph*, King of Mercia, about A. D. 801, wherein he says *Athelard*, the *then* Archbishop of Canterbury, " was such an admirable Preacher, and Ruler of

I must add, that if the word were designed to be *pro meritis*, and not *promerita*, why should not the last (i) be a long one, like the foregoing; rather than *a short abbreviation*, as it plainly is.

It scarce needs to be remarked, that as to *the pointed arches* of the door-way at the west end of Dinton Church, and those of its windows, mentioned in the Archæologia, p. 168, they are surely only indications of a *subsequent* building having been raised on the original remains of walls of the old *Saxon* Church: and ought not to be considered as having any sort of connection with the real age of the *Saxon door-way*, or of the first building.

* Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 129, Pl. VIII.

" the Church; such an admirable Prelate, that he was able to " bring all the souls in his province from the very bottom of hell, " into the port of heaven."*

The whole therefore seems merely, and simply to indicate, in a strain of allegorical representation, very consonant to that at *Dinton;* that by the blessed preaching of the words of the Gospel, wretched beings, bound in the bands of sin, and Satan, are rescued from the devil, and hell, and restored to true light, and freedom.

Over the south door of the Church,+ on a similar stone, which resting upon a transom stone, fills up, in like manner, the semi-circular arch, are figures a little more dubious; and which plainly indicate an age something later than those at *Dinton.*

But they appear to me, though very rudely executed, to have been designed as figures of the four Evangelists; *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, with the four well known emblematical figures, usually connected with them, in consequence of the descriptions in Ezekiel's visions: the angel; the lion; the ox; and the eagle; and a sketch of the Church is added, in which their doctrine was to be preached. All surely most strangely sculptured; but without any offensive or blasphemous representation.—Whilst the whole, on both doors, seems to have been designed to represent simply, a good Bishop, and the effects of his good doctrine; or at most to have been merely an early compliance with the Canon, or Ordinance of Ceale-hythe of 816, that has been already mentioned.‡

Both in this door case, and in that on the north side, the whole of the ornaments are too fantastical, and have too much *studied difference in the corresponding parts*, to be justly imputed to *any* Norman times.

In the north door case, not only the capitals of the pillars are designedly different; but the adjoining ornaments, on a sort of freezes, also are designedly different; yet with a degree of cor-

* Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 322.

+ Represented in the Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 128, Pl. VII.

‡ P. 56 of this Volume.

respondence of general outline, sufficient to make them answer one another somewhat to the eye.*

And in the south door case, the *nobbed moulding*, and the *curb moulding*, are very remarkable; as is also the studied variety, and want of correspondence in the heads of the *head moulding*.

Again at *Elkstone*, in Gloucestershire, is another structure; the most curious parts of which have been admirably well etched, and represented by Mr. Lysons;† but which I cannot but venture to deem of still higher antiquity than he esteems it.—Every part both of the south door case, and of the chancel, shews a truly *Saxon* origin: and is of that whimsical, varied kind, which seems to have been introduced merely by the fancy of Recluses; and to have prevailed, a little after the age of Archbishop *Theodore*.

The very name, (which Sir Robert Atkyns says‡ signifies *Church Town*,) implies its high antiquity; and the sort of pre-eminent advantage which this place had of having *a Church* in the very earliest ages:—and so also does what is said in Domesday Book, concerning the tenure of this parish, and its name, in the time of Edward the Confessor.

The strangely varied ornaments of the arches, and of the capitals of the pillars, of the south door of the Church, are very unlike any thing truly *Norman*, either of the age of William the Conqueror, or of any subsequent age.

The innermost arch, is adorned with a moulding consisting of monstrous heads, all differing from one another, with as much studied variety as the ornaments at *Barfreston*, or as those at *Shoreham*;—and several of them indeed resemble very much some that are at Shoreham.—Whilst the outward *bead moulding* is very singular.

*The transom stone* also, (so unlike what is found in any Norman

* There is a general view of the *external appearance of this Church*, with some of its other Saxon arches, in the Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 128. Pl. VI.

† The South door is represented, in Mr. Lysons's Etchings and Views, Pl. VIII. and the Chancel, Pl. IX.

‡ Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 224.

structures,) filling up the whole semicircle, and which seems designed to support the arch, is itself supported by stone work from the floor on each side the door, and is simply adorned with the figure of a person, who appears as preaching the doctrine of the four Gospels; which is indicated, by the evangelical emblems placed round him;—by the book in one hand;—and by the other being lifted up in the attitude of a preacher;—and by an hand pointing down from the clouds above, over his head, as directing him;—which, as well as the radiation round his head, seems to denote his mission, and office.

Over the arch that separates the chancel from the Church, is an outward arched ornament; which, like that at Barfreston, is terminated by an head, or mask, *only at one end*.—And the arch underneath, as well as some of the other arches, is in the most fanciful, and most strange manner, formed of the parts of two or three circles conjoined. Whilst the whole vaulting is very low, being not more than twelve feet in height.

Very similar to this, also, is the south door of *Siddington** Church in the same county, with a strange *head moulding*; and having a semicircular stone filling up the arch, and supported from the ground, on which seems to be represented the figure of St. Peter, holding a key, and in the attitude of preaching; with two auditors, one sitting, and one kneeling.

The *over-lapping*, *head moulding*, with the strange irregular variation, of almost every head; and the *twisted moulding*, in this arch, are also most remarkable.

Very remarkable also, is *South Cerney* Church.†—The distinction of the parishes of *Cerney*, as being of considerable note in the most early days, appears from Domesday Book.—In *North Cerney*, the Monastery of St. Oswald, at Gloucester, held a manor in the reign of Edward the Confessor; manifestly even at that time an antient possession.—And in *South Cerney*, four manors were then held by different persons.‡

* It is represented in Mr. Lysons's Antiquities, Pl. XXXVIII. No.

† Its door is represented by Mr. Lysons, Pl. XLIV.

‡ Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 169.

In no place, therefore, was a Church more likely to have been built in the earliest period, in compliance with Archbishop *Theodore's* admonitions* to Lords of Manors, than here.

The side pillars have ornaments of alternate projecting stone-work, forming a *curb*, or *lapping moulding*.—And the strange rude heads of the *head moulding* are varied, so as to avoid any perfect similarity throughout: whilst the ornaments of the other arches have the utmost *Saxon* peculiarity of style, and one of them has a *scribbled moulding*.+

Much of the same sort, and at least deserving just to be mentioned in this place, is an antient north door, of the original *Saxon* part of the Church of *Lullington*, in Somersetshire.—A moulding of grotesque heads,—a zigzag moulding,—and an inner broad moulding of a sort of medallions, or grotesque figures in round compartments,—compose the broad ornamented arch, resting on a transom stone; on the face whereof are emblematical figures.—And it is odd enough, that over the whole, are two segments of a circular moulding, rising to a great height, to admit space for a nich, with the figures of a Virgin and Child, which segments might almost be considered as forming a regular *pointed arch* ‡

It deserves some notice also, that on pulling down the Town Gaol at Leicester, in 1792, a part of whose walls had originally been the remains of the exceeding antient *Saxon* Church of St. John the Evangelist, known to have been situated on this spot, a fragment of the arch, over the entrance into the nave, was discovered, whose projection on each side beyond the pillars of support, (which stand quite inward, with respect to the

* See Bede, Ed. Wheelock, p. 399. The encouragement given by Archbishop *Theodore* to the great personages of his age, to build Parish Churches; by expressly declaring that they, and their Successors, should become *continually Patrons* of such Churches, seems to have been the first origin of *Advowsons*, and of *Lay Presentations*, in this Country.

+ Some very curious representations, of the *Norman* parts of South Cerney Church, may be seen amongst Mr. Lysons's curious Etchings, Pl. VII. XXV. XXXIV. with a view of the Church, in Pl. XXIV.

‡ A slight sketch of the whole may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXIV. p. 893.

ornaments of the arch,*) does still further shew how peculiar this mode of placing the side pillars of support was to the early *Saxon* times.

At *Tetsworth*, in Oxfordshire, is another small Church; whose south door of entrance is ornamented with the same kind of simple devices, that have been named as peculiarly *Saxon*.

It has been represented, and described by Mr. *Thorpe*;+ but I find myself under a necessity, for many reasons, of differing totally from him, as to its being of *Norman* construction;—first, because there are none of those indented zigzag mouldings in the arch, so very peculiar to the *Normans*;—in the next place, because what ornaments there are, do so very much resemble (as Mr. Thorpe fairly acknowledges) those at *Ifley*;—because also the Church is so small; which is exactly in conformity with the dimensions of those other Saxon Churches, that there is reason to think were built about the time of *Theodore*;—because, next to Kent, Oxfordshire is surely, of all others, a County in which we may conclude the earliest *Saxon* Churches to have been built: —and lastly; because, in *true Norman buildings*, the transom stone filling up the arch, very rarely, if ever, appears.

The device, at *Tetsworth*, also, on the transom stone filling up the arch, has that plain simplicity, which marks the early *Saxon* allegorical representations.

For upon it is carved the figure of a Bishop, lifting up his right hand, in the attitude of preaching, rather than of blessing; and having his left placed just below his breast, with the crozier held in an easy inclined manner.—Not like one giving a presumptuous benediction; but like one resting the crozier, so as to be out of his way, whilst he was speaking.—And on the other side of this flat transom stone, is carved a figure, that *might possibly* be designed (as Mr. Thorpe suggests,) to represent *a Priest*: but which may just as well, or rather better, be deemed to have been designed for a figure of a Layman; the Patron, and builder

* A slight representation of it may be seen in the 62d Volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, p. 1079, fig. 2.

+ In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1790, p. 17, Pl. II.

of the Church; pointing with his hand up to a third figure, placed in a circle *above* them; which was plainly meant to be an *emblematical* figure of *the Lamb, slain to take away the sins of the world;* according to the words of St. John,* and in conformity with the apocalyptical emblem.

The whole therefore, without any purpose of placing *figures* as objects of idolatrous worship,† seems merely to have been intended to describe the office of a faithful Preacher, such as was designed to declare, within that Church, the great deliverance, through *the Prophetical, Paschal Lamb, slain to take away the sins of the world;* and the furtherance of that doctrine; by the Patrons holding up his hand, and pointing to the Prophetical Emblem, (as wishing to encourage the blessed work);—seeking salvation to his neighbours, and dependants, through hope, and reliance on the *spiritual Lamb,—The Great Redeemer, the Lion of the tribe of Judah;‡ THE MESSIAH; who hath given His Life a ransom for many; and who hath Life in himself;§ and power to give Life to as many as it pleases Him, according to the Will of THE FATHER.*— Which blessed, and only true doctrine, was the leading one enforced in the earliest times. And the whole honest emblematical device, may surely be allowed, in an age, when letters were little understood, to have implied simply this admonition:—*Hear, I*

* See John, ch. i. ver. 29, 36.—Revelations, ch. v. ver. 6.

† It is a just observation made by Hume, Vol. I. p. 45, that *Image Worship* never prevailed amongst Christians, till it had received the sanction of the second Council of Nice, which was about A. D. 787.—This was unquestionably some time *after* the building of *Theodore's* Churches.—But after all that can possibly be said, for the plain good intention of those who invented these emblematical ornamental devices, on religious buildings, for the sake of a little ænigmatical instruction, by means of rudely sculptured *figures*, in an age when few understood the use of letters; it must be confessed, that such sculptures were too soon, and too generally misunderstood, by the ignorant multitude; and perverted to the purpose of promoting a reverence for, and even the worshipping of Images;—in an age, when blindness, and darkness prevailed; and was by artful, interested imposition, daily gaining ground on the human mind:—and when cloystered simplicity of heart, was made the tool of domineering tyranny, both in Church, and State.

‡ Revelations, ch. v. ver. 5.

§ John, ch. v. ver. 26.—ch. xvii. ver. 2.

*pray you, the words of eternal life, to be spoken, and made known, in this building.*

There is a Church at *Kilpic*, in Herefordshire,* which seems to deserve attention, in order to illustrate this subject; but not having been able to examine it myself, I will not venture to say any thing further, than merely to point it out.

And at *Shobdon*, in the same county, is another, that ought not to be passed over in silence;—because, though it is said to have been built only about 1140, by *Oliver de Merlymond*,† yet on what was called improving, and beautifying, and enlarging the Church, about forty years ago, there were removed out of it, into Lord Bateman's Park, at Shobdon Court, where they still remain, three most beautiful arches, which deserve much attention, as illustrating *Saxon* Architecture;—for if they were not really *Saxon*, and prior to Merlymond's building, they are the most remarkable instances of an imitation of the true Saxon style, in the Norman age, of any that I know of.—There being such a studied and careful *difference of the capitals of the pillars;* and such a careful *variation* of the ornaments on each side the arch.

This is shewn in Pl. VII.

And, in like manner, are added, in Pl. VIII. fig. 1 and 2, representations of two of the four pillars that supported this arch, whose ornaments, in the corresponding pillars, were as designedly *varied;*—whilst these two very pillars were placed one on each side, as if to answer each other.

The other two flat semicircular stones, shewn in this Plate, (fig. 3 and 4,) had been formerly placed within two of the three arches, in the original *Saxon* manner.‡

On one seems to have been the rude representation of the

* See Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 442, 448; and there is a slight sketch of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789, p. 781.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 457.

‡ For these exact representations of a part of the remains at *Shobdon*, I am indebted to the ingenious Mr. *Wood;* from whose indefatigable pains in searching after Antiquities, and from whose faithful accounts, and delineations of them, on an exceeding large scale, I am persuaded the curious will soon receive very great satisfaction.



at SHOBDON in HEREFORDSHIRE



Fig. 3



Fig. 4





Fig. 5



*Remains at* **SHOBDON** *in* ***HEREFORDSHIRE***

arrival of some Bishop, with his attendant to preach the Gospel: —on the other, as rude a representation of a Bishop, or Patron Saint, sitting, and preaching, with a book resting on one knee.

And whilst we are mentioning remains of original *Saxon Parish Churches;* we ought not to pass by entirely unnoticed, the beautiful little door-way, with its transom stone, once existing in *the Chancel* of Sempringham Church, in Lincolnshire; which Chancel was probably originally *the whole* of the Parish Church. The capitals of its innermost pillars stand far within the extent of the transom stone.—And its outermost arch above, reaches far beyond the capitals of its outermost pillars.*

There is also a very curious Saxon arch, between the nave, and the chancel, of *Tickencote* Church,† in Rutlandshire.—Doctor Stukeley was convinced that this Church was one of the most venerable extant, and that it was unquestionably of the age of *Peada*, the founder of Peterborough Abbey, about the year 654; —and indeed the style of Architecture well corresponds with that of the age of the Archbishops *Theodore*, and *Honorius*.

It is certainly very reasonable to conclude, consistently with all the preceding remarks, and with other facts which we have been investigating; that there should be found, on the neighbouring Continent, *some* remains of very antient Churches, of small dimensions, and of a style of Architecture somewhat similar to these *Saxon* edifices, of the age of Archbishop *Theodore*:—and accordingly we do actually find, one in particular, amongst others,

* There is a drawing of it engraved, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, Vol. LXI. p. 906.

† It is represented by Doctor Ducarel in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, Pl. xiii. p. 101.

It is also represented by Doctor Stukeley, Itin. II. 62.

And from his Work, there are some representations of its arches, in Mr. Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. Pl. v. p. 223.

There is a view also of the east end in Mr. Carter's Ancient Architecture, Pl. xxiii. fig. 50.

And some other specimens of this kind may be seen delineated in Mr. Carter's Architecture;—particularly of a *Saxon* doorway in the Church of *Axminster*, in Devonshire;—and of one at *Essondine* Church, near Stamford in Lincolnshire. Pl. xx. fig. A and E.—And of one at Rumsey, in Hampshire, Pl. xxxi. fig. D.

mentioned by Dr. *Ducarel*, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities,* at *Caen;* called the Chapel of *St. Thomas L'Abbatu;* (which Monsieur Huet says was built *de temps immemorial*), in which the arches of the doors are circular; and both richly, and oddly ornamented in a grotesque manner; having the spaces of the arches filled up with flat stone work, over the doors, somewhat like transom stones, supported on each side by other stone work from the ground.—Within this Chapel, also, the capitals of the pillars consist of fantastic figures, of strange, imaginary animals, allegorically designed; much like those of our really *Saxon* capitals.—And the capitals of the pillars of the doors are equally fantastic; and *carefully varied;* made each one different from that of the pillar, on the opposite side;†—But yet there is a very discernible difference in some points, and particularly in the *tops* of the doors, between these, and the remains of *Saxon arches* in England.

And the same thing may be said concerning such as somewhat resemble *Saxon* arches, in Egypt;—whereof Pococke has given us a specimen of one at *Cairo*.‡

It is certainly true that these, as well as some mentioned by Mr. Ledwich§ to have been represented in a *Syriac* MSS. of the Evangelists, written A. D. 586, and as well as some odd arches in *Persia*, of which Mr. Ledwich seems not to have been aware,‖ were all (equally with the *Saxon*) only fantastic, rude imitations of *Roman* arches; but whoever compares the several specimens together, will perceive in them a decided difference from the original *Saxon arches* of this country.

Even in the Roman arches of the time of *Constantine*, and of the Lower Empire, there was a degree of *deviation* from the elegance of the Roman arch of the time of the Antonines; but yet nothing like the *Saxon deviation*.—This will appear to any one who con-

* P. 75, Pl. vii.

† A view of the south front also is given by Dr. Ducarel, in his Norman Antiquities, Pl. vii.

‡ It is represented by Pococke, Vol. I. p. 32, Pl. xiii. B.

§ In the Archæologia, Vol. VIII. p. 170, Pl. xiii.

‖ Specimens of these may be seen in *Chardin's* Travels, Vol. I. p. 152, Pl. viii.—p. 154, Pl. ix.—p. 207, Pl. xv.—p. 211, Pl. xvi.—Vol. III. p. 27, Pl. xxxviii.

siders the faithful representations we have of the arches in the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, built by the Empress *Helena*;*—of the Church of St. Paul at Rome ;†—and of the Gates of Constantinople,‡ such as they remain, with the mutilations, and alterations made by the Turks ;—and it may serve to convince us, that the very beautiful, though so strangely fantastic ornaments of the truly *Saxon* Architecture, (which, notwithstanding their being so overloaded with ornament, and put together in so strange a manner, have a wonderful fine effect,) were truly an *English Invention;* and that this style of Architecture, took its rise from ingenuity, consequent upon *monastick leisure*, in this very Island.

Leaving then the consideration of the *small* Churches, built for the use of Parishes, which true piety, in the time of *Theodore*, caused to be erected; let us now proceed, to consider the buildings immediately following, of a more magnificent kind, and on a larger scale.

One of the first of these that presents itself, is at *Pershore*, in Worcestershire.

The *Monastery* at *Pershore*, we are told,§ was founded, about the year 680, by Duke *Oswald*, Nephew to King *Athelred*, and it appears to have continued entirely subject to the *Lay Government* of his family, for some years.—We find one of his descendants, Duke *Delfere*, first of all, without scruple, even resuming, and usurping some of its possessions.—And when he had come to a miserable end, we find his son and heir, *Odda*, afterwards restoring those possessions; and himself, with deep sorrow for what his father had done, vowing celibacy.

*Oswald*, had placed *Secular Priests* here at first, merely as resident Religious Persons, to preach, and teach in the neighbourhood:—but on this subsequent event, *Monks* seem to have been

* This appears both from Pococke's Account, and Representation, Vol. II. p. 16, Pl. IV.; and also from a singularly curious model, made on the spot, about the beginning of the last century, by a skilful *Italian;* and which was given to me by a friend, many years ago.

† See Piranesi.—Le Magnificenze di Roma, Vol. I. Pl. xxv.

‡ See the engravings in the Archæologia, Vol XIV. Pl. xlii. xliv. p. 239, 241.

§ See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 203, 204.

placed here, by the penitent *Odda*.—Afterwards *Secular Canons* were restored to inhabit it again.—And lastly, in the time of King *Edgar*, the *Monks* finally prevailed.

The Monastery was then burnt.—But the walls of the Church, both within, and without, still plainly shew the most curious remains of the truly *Saxon* building; notwithstanding the fine additional arches, and windows, of the age of King *Stephen;* and notwithstanding many subsequent alterations: and even in defiance of the exceeding injury the whole has received by white-wash, and by most injudicious repairs, made since the time when the sketches, here engraved, were taken, with the most cautious accuracy, in the year 1788.

It must have been about the year 970, that *Egelward*, (whom Dugdale calls Duke of Dorsetshire,) in the time of King *Edgar*, settled the Benedictine Monks in this place, and became so great a Benefactor, that he is even named as a Founder of it.*—And at that time it was probably, that the great Tower was first reared, together with some of those more antient parts which we shall now describe;—and that the transepts, or cross isles, were added.

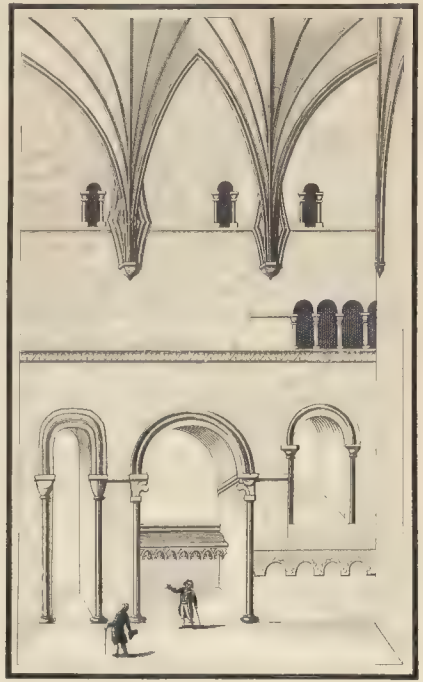
Pl. IX. fig. 1, represents the east wall, of the inside of the south transept, at Pershore.

At the bottom, on the right hand, appear a row of arches, or sort of *corbel table*, a very little projecting from the wall; under which seems to have been placed a bench, or seat; and over which are a kind of mosaic ornaments, almost merely scratched, or engraved on the flat wall; with so little relief, that since I saw them they are quite choaked up, and spoiled by the white-wash; which may, however, help in the end still longer to preserve them.—They are exactly copied, Pl. X. No. 1, fig. 1.—The same work being repeated precisely, in the same manner, over every arch.—And they are manifestly of such a kind, that one would take them rather to have been meant for a Lady's pattern for needle-work, than for an Architect's design in building.

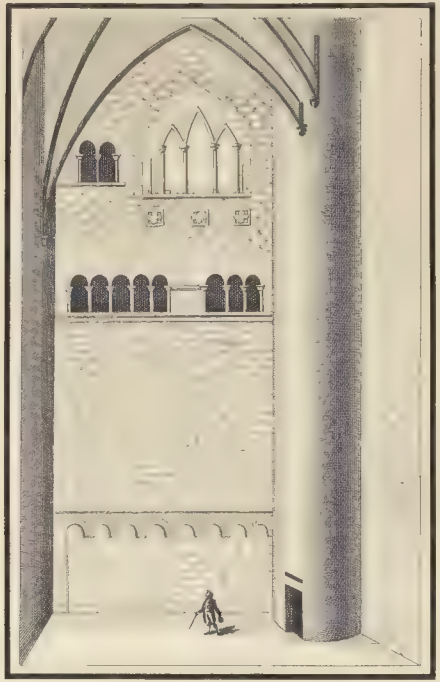
Just over these arches, Pl. IX. fig. 1, appears a well-turned

* Will. Malmesb. fol. 162, a. n. 40.

F. 1



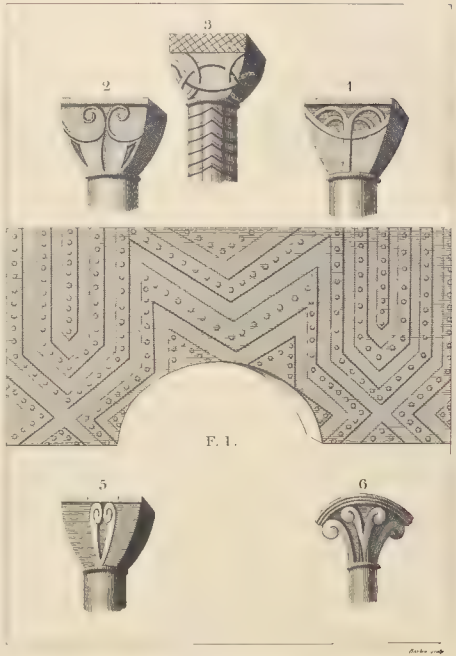
F. 2



*Arches at Pershore, Worcestershire.*




At Cafford




At Pershore ?

*Saxon* arch for a window ;—and near to them, on the left, is one much larger ; under which seems to have stood an altar, with some ornamental work added in later Norman times ;—and still more on the left, is one of those strange capricious irregularities, sometimes found in *Saxon* Architecture.—An arch, that does not deserve the name of an arch ;—narrow ;—and as nearly as possible of the strange form here delineated ;—having also odd preposterous mouldings, and as odd capitals.—Above all these arches is seen, on the flat wall, a *Saxon* freeze ; upon which stand, in a most irregular manner, a few *small* Saxon arches, of a kind that are uniformly found in all those *earliest* Saxon buildings, whose walls were carried up to any considerable height, beyond that of *Theodore's* small Parish Churches.

Again ; over these, is still another rude freeze :—and upon it, again are some of these *very small* Saxon arches, in a still stranger manner, irregularly placed ; the capitals of the pillars of which, like those of the former, are in reality all different one from another.—But the scale of this Plate being too small to exhibit that peculiarity of their structure ; some of the capitals are shewn, more at large, in Pl. X.

As to the odd trusses, and the springings of the stone vaulted roof, with pointed arches ; they are obviously of an age very much subsequent to that of this old *Saxon* wall, on which they rest, and which was most undoubtedly, originally, covered simply with a flat timber roof.

Pl. IX. fig. 2, shews the inside wall of the south end of this south transept.—In which again appear, first, at the bottom, a row of arches, ornamented exactly like those before described ; —then a freeze ; or rather a narrow moulding over them ;—then a blank space ;—and then, above, a second moulding.—Upon this is a row of little irregular arches, of disproportioned dimensions, as here shewn ; and just as irregularly placed, as in this sketch.—The capitals also of all their pillars, are every one varied :—and some of these odd varieties are represented, as nearly as possible, on a larger scale, Pl. X. fig. 2, 3, 4, 5.—Whilst at fig. 6 is shewn one of the capitals of the parts built in

the body of the Church in King *Stephen's* time, to shew how exceedingly different the old *Saxon* Architecture was from the *Norman*.

High above this first row of little irregular arches, was a second *Saxon* moulding: and, upon this, other little irregular arches.—And it should be remarked, that behind all these small arches, in every part, was a space, appearing like a gallery in the wall, though it often led to no sort of continued passage either way.

This upper row of arches, in this south wall of the transept, has obviously been broken in upon, and cut away, to make room for a pointed window, of the age of King Stephen:—which, when I saw it in 1788, had all its fine and beautiful slender pillars, and pointed arches, perfectly remaining: and so also they were again in 1789.—But, when I last viewed it, in 1790, it was totally spoiled, by having the light stone pillars partly taken down; and partly covered over with brick; so that it is become now, only an ugly piece of modern patch work.

On the right hand, appears a most remarkable little turret stair-case; built *within* the building, instead of being, (as was always the case in *Norman* buildings,) either within the wall itself, or on the *outside*.

And the great antiquity of this turret stair-case, prior to the stone vaulted roof, appears from the odd manner in which the vaultings of the stone pointed roof are made to rest against it.—Of the age and date of these sort of pointed stone roofs, more shall be said hereafter.

Pl. XI. fig. 1, shews the truly most characteristical appearance of the outside of the old *Saxon* end of the transept at Pershore;—with all its obvious alterations.—First appears the window, with its pointed arches, inserted in the age of King *Stephen*. And then, above, appear the original Saxon, *dissimilar*, irregular, ornamental arches *in relief*, upon the flat wall,* with some of the original

* The irregularity of the width of these arches, is nicely observed in this engraving, and in the original drawing; and deserves to be most particularly attended to; as being to be numbered amongst the characteristick marks of the early Saxon Architecture.

Fig. 1

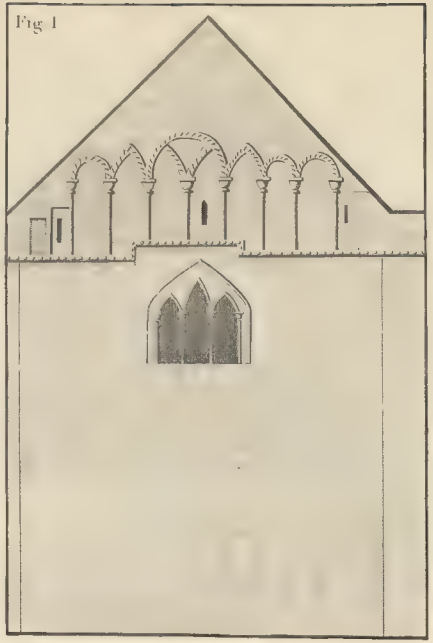
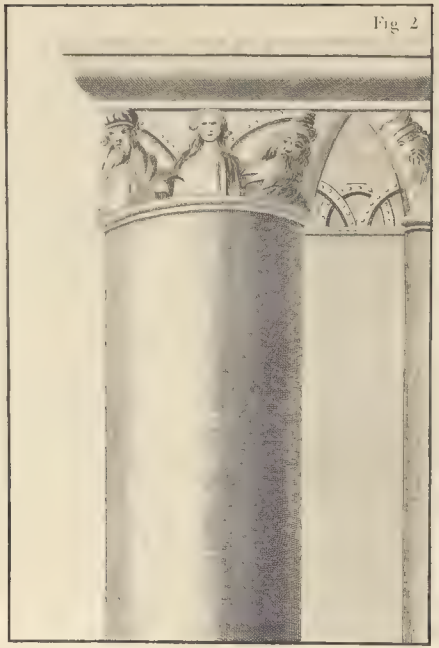


Fig. 2



*Remains at Pershore*

narrow loops;—and with two pointed intervening arches, intermixed with them, which might possibly have been added, by way of repair, when the window beneath was inserted;—or may possibly deserve to be named with the few other instances of the *pointed arch*, sometimes appearing in *Saxon* buildings, long before it was brought into common use by the Normans;—but which most probably were merely formed, by the *intersection* of real circular arches as large as that now remaining in the midst, but of which parts are broken off, and obliterated from the wall.

Pl. XI. fig. 2, shews a still more curious remain;—a capital of one of those pillars, of the antient building, on which the original tower seems to have been raised, in the time of King Edgar; which is composed, in the most odd, and yet in the most ingenious manner, (as is the next pillar near adjoining,) of figures, in the whole groupe representing the history of the trial of *Susanna*, before *Daniel*.

In the midst of this first capital, is plainly seen the figure of a woman; and, on each side, are those of two very ill-looking men, in robes of distinction, holding her; and presenting her for judgment;—and as accusing her.—Whilst, on the other side of the next capital adjoining, appears an head, as of a discerning judge, seeming to have been intended to represent *Daniel*.

I am sorry to be obliged to add, that these figures are now much spoiled, and defaced, by white-wash, since I saw them, and since I had these accurate sketches taken of them.*

* It may perhaps be not uninteresting to add, that a capital of somewhat a similar kind, was dug up, in 1785, from beneath the floor of the antient Monastery of *White Ladies*, near *Tong Castle*, in Shropshire.—This capital was formed of three heads conjoined in one, carved in stone: the middle one of which has strong masculine old features, whilst the two side ones express youth, and much feminine softness.†—Whatever it was meant to represent, such sort of oddly devised capitals we may hereby perceive were certainly in early use: and in truth they were not merely confined, in those barbarous ages, to the *Saxons* in this country; but such wildness of fancy seems also to have been introduced by the religious abroad; even in the regions where *Roman* Art itself once had the firmest establishment; for we find a specimen of a capital, composed

† There is a drawing of it engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1785, Vol. LV. p. 89, fig. 2.

All these decided remains of *Saxon* Architecture, at *Pershore;* and the certainty of the fatal event, (that soon after the establishment of the *Benedictines* here, in the time of King *Edgar*, the Monastery was burnt down, and its possessions greatly alienated,) do clearly fix the period of the construction of these walls, to an early *Saxon* age.

Whilst, at the same time that it is evident, from their peculiar style of Architecture, that they could not be built in *Norman* times; it is as evident also, that they have survived the fire, and supposed destruction of the whole Monastery; just in the same manner as the strong walls of several Castles have evidently remained, after what has been called their entire demolition.

In Dugdale's Monasticon, are still preserved, the depositions of the Prior, Sub-prior, five Monks, and nine other witnesses, making out the rights of the Abbey, after the fire had destroyed their archives.*

And this idea of its great Saxon Antiquity, is somewhat confirmed, by there having been dug up, a few years ago, at *Pershore*, a

of the heads of women, and of cornucopiæ, that is described as being preserved in the Church of St. Cæcilia, at *Verona*. See Panvinii Antiquitates Veronensium, p. 100.

It may also be mentioned, on this occasion, that in the celebrated Island of *Iona*, amongst the Hebrides, where *Columba* had formed a religious establishment soon after 565, and where Boethius says *Malduinus* built a new Church, in the seventh century, that in that Church are still found pillars, only nine feet eight inches high, including the capitals; whilst they are eight feet nine inches in circumference; pillars evidently as old as the first Church, though they indeed now have had pointed arches built upon them, which were added in later ages, in lieu of the more antient circular ones; and that on these pillars, the capitals are all varied; and consist of several hieroglyphical, and historical fancied figures;—amongst which is that, of *an angel weighing souls, in a pair of scales;*—a device that seems to have been offered to the imagination, even in the very earliest ages of the world; since we find something like it, on the coffin of a mummy, in the British Museum. See Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 253, 254.

Some sort of example was afforded, for a strange kind of deviation from the more perfect rules of Architecture, with regard to *Capitals*, even in the age of *Augustus*; for the ingenious Mr. *Reveley* brought home a very curious drawing of the capital of a pillar, standing at *Brundusium*, in Italy, that belonged to a light-house; which pillar had the credit of being erected by Augustus; and whose capital was composed of figures of syrens, and tritons.

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 205, 206, 207, 208.

singularly odd, small ornament of brass, with a sort of fillagree work:—a little less than two inches square, and four inches high; resembling a sort of rude dome; with odd rude heads of serpents, and of other kinds of animals, intermixed with the interlacing of the fillagree; with some round Saxon arches also, as a lower border; and with a rude *Saxon* inscription just over them.—It is hollow, and has at the four corners beneath, four little pendant flaps, with holes, as if to nail it upon some staff. And it seems, therefore, either to have been the head of a thick pastoral staff;* or else of the top corner of a chair.—And in either case, is such a kind of antient badge, as may well be deemed, because of the curious workmanship, to have belonged to some Dignitary, residing in the very antient religious House at Pershore.—It has already been mentioned,† that some of the *Saxons*, in King *Alfred's* time, were well skilled in goldsmith's work.‡

In this, as in many other buildings, it is curious to contrast the

* See a representation and description of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1779, Vol. XLIX. p. 537.

† See p. 65 of this Volume.

‡ The great antiquity of this Monastery is also apparent, from a strange monkish, legendary tale; which both shews the attachment of the Benedictines to *Dunstan*, and to *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, (the colleague of Dunstan, on the first introduction of the *celibacy* of the Clergy, and of strict monastick vows;) and marks the features of those times of darkness, and ignorance.

A monk named *Floberht*, who had been appointed Abbot of *Pershore*, and was known to be of a very *indifferent* character, fell sick, and apparently died;—but when all the monks of his own Monastery, with *Germanus*, Abbot of *Winchelcomb*, and many others, were standing about his corpse, he suddenly, to their utter amazement, raised himself up; and looked around him.—And, when all were fled with terror, except *Germanus*; who asked him what had brought him back to life? and what he had seen?—He told him, that he had been carried into heaven by St. *Benedict*; and that his sins had been forgiven him, for the merits of the beloved *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester: and that he was sent back to acquaint the world, that *Oswald* was one of the greatest saints that ever lived.—And being further asked, how *Benedict* appeared in heaven, and in what garb?—he said, he appeared most beautiful, and the most nobly clad of any saint; shining with precious stones; and attended by innumerable multitudes of monks, and nuns, all most beautiful.†

This *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, in the time of *Edgar*, about 969, and *Ethelwald*,

† See Anglia Sacra. Tom. II. p. 201.

*Saxon* part, with the *Norman*.—The addition of the Norman trusses, and of the Norman roof;—and the insertion of the Norman window with pointed arches, in the south end of the south transept; have been already mentioned.—And Pl. XII. fig. 1, represents one of the windows on the north side of the body of the Church.—This part of the structure appears to have been entirely rebuilt, about the time of King Stephen, and is nearly as beautiful as the Temple Church at London.—The two middle pillars of the window, are *cluster pillars;* but the two outward ones are not.—The light of the window is of that very narrow *lancet sort*, which was so frequently adopted in that age, on account of the scarcity of glass.—And the capital of one of the pillars is shewn, on a larger scale, Pl. X. No. 1, fig 6.—The trusses to support the roof are extremely light, and elegant, and have here nearly the same capitals; but it is remarkable that all the capitals both of the trusses, and of the pillars of the windows, are more varied in this Church, than is usual in most of the structures of King Stephen's time.

The outside of a part of this beautiful structure, with the outside of this window, and of the next equally narrow lancet window adjoining to it;—and with the beautiful ornament of the *corbel table cornish*, ranging along over all the windows, is shewn in the same Plate, fig. 2;—which being upon so large a scale,

Bishop of Winchester, and *Dunstan*, Archbishop of Canterbury, were the *three* great champions,† who introduced *rigid monastick vows*, and *celibacy* into England.

They were all three made saints for their pains; and there is one thing, and one thing only, which may be said, in historical pages, in their excuse: which is, that the lives of many of the *Secular Clergy*, in those barbarous times of ignorance, and brutal ferocity, were probably become so grossly indecent, and so savage, in compliance with the manners of the times, that this sort of religious sequestration, abstemiousness, and discipline, might but too easily be thought, by serious well-meaning minds, to be one of the best, or at least one of the readiest means of working reformation.

This idea is confirmed by the topics of *Dunstan's* harangues: by many passages in *Bede:* and by the complaints that were made by *Gildas*, in a preceding age, of the irregular conduct of the Clergy ‡

† Hoveden Annal, ad Ann. 969.

‡ See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 478. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ca. 14, &c. Gildæ Hist. ca. 16, 19, 21, &c. See also Hume, Vol. I. p. 84.

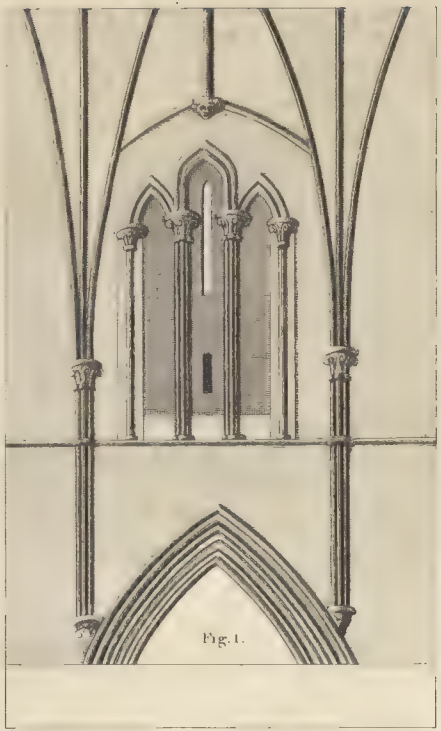


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2



*Norman additions at Pershore.*

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could include only these two windows, and a part of the tiles of the side aile of the Church, just beneath them.

The odd historical capitals, and the mosaic engravings in the antient *Saxon* stone work at *Pershore*, as well as the emblematical figures on *Saxon* doors, at *Barfreston*, and at other places, do almost unavoidably bring to remembrance those very antient *Fonts*, on several of which have still been preserved some of the same kind of odd, historical, and emblematical ornaments.

And indeed one, at *Alphington*, in Devonshire,* cannot but remind us of the very bands, or freezes, and mouldings at *Barfreston*.—Whilst there are others, in the curious enumeration, and representation of *Fonts*, in the Archæologia, and Monumenta Antiqua,+ whose ornaments well deserve to be compared with these at *Pershore*.

One at St. Martin's Church, near Canterbury, where Queen *Bertha* first revived Christian worship, is adorned in a more elegant manner than most of them, with interlacing arches; such as might very well, afterwards, even suggest the idea of the *pointed arch*, as well as those on the outside of the south transept at *Pershore*;—but most of them were sculptured with figures as oddly devised, as any even at *Barfreston*.

It may justly be asked, therefore, *whence* all these grotesque allegorical designs, so remote from Pagan superstition; so unlike regular architecture; and so much removed from the dignity, and propriety, of Greek, or Roman ornaments, derived their origin? —And a little reflection, may perhaps afford a clue, that will lead to a satisfactory explanation.

* Described, and well represented in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. II. p. 8.

+ Amongst these,—instances particularly may be met with, at *Bridekirk*, in Cumberland, described in the Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 131, Pl. ix. and Vol. XIV. p. 113, Pl. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii.——At *East Meon*, in Hampshire,—Vol. X. p. 183, Pl. xx. ——At *Sharnbourn*, in Norfolk.—Vol. X. p. 186, Pl. xxiii.——At *Fincham*, in Norfolk. —Vol. X. p. 190, Pl. xxvii.——At *Thorpe Salvin*, in Yorkshire.—Vol. XII. p. 207, Pl. xlvi.——And at *Winchester*, described in the Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. II. Pl. xxxix. xl. Nor whilst we refer to these odd Saxon sculptures on fonts, ought we to forget those remarkable Saxon historical representations, on the capitals of two of the pillars, at *Romsey*, (or *Rumsey*,) in Hampshire, described in the Archæologia, Vol. XIV. p. 136, Pl. xiv.

On the one hand, savage times, and savage manners, drove all those of the most peaceable, and naturally most ingenious dispositions, of various ranks, to seek, with eagerness, any offered rest, and leisure, for the exercise of their ingenuity, that quiet abodes, for religious retirement, seemed to afford.—And, on the other hand, the gentle manners, and dispositions of the fair sex, led them, above all others, most readily to relish the tranquillity of Christian manners, and any approaches towards civilization; whilst their natural ingenuity, led them to cultivate, with eagerness, the dawnings of arts, and of science.—We find, that even the great genius of Alfred, was first roused, by means of his Mother's taking great delight in reading, and reciting poems.*—And *that*, which one of our Historians, from his disregard for Religion, intimates with a sneer, may be true, in a manner commanding the gratitude of all the best, and wisest of men;—namely, "that the fair sex had the merit of introducing the "*Christian Doctrine* in almost all the *Saxon Kingdoms* of the "Heptarchy."†

Surely enough, they, first of all others, were glad to encourage sequestered, ingenious, peaceable associations of Christians.

Hence *Etheldrida*, about 655, with a few particular, religious, and ingenious friends, whom she herself had made choice of;‡ after a religious, though perhaps somewhat too rigid education, retired from the turbulence, and gross, offensive manners of the times, to

* Asser. p. 5. M. West. p. 167. Flor. Wigorn, p. 587. Simeon Dunelm, p. 122, 141. Brompton, p. 814. All which are referred to by Hume, Vol. I. p. 54.

† Hume, Vol. I. p. 33. And it ought not to pass unnoticed, that notwithstanding this writer's affected scorn, at *such* an introduction of Christianity; yet that he himself, *unwarily*, shews, in the very instance of King *Edwin*, with what caution, and on what solid grounds, their endeavours proceeded:—for he acknowledges (Vol. I. p. 30, citing venerable *Bede*, lib. ii. ca. 9.) that *King Edwin took time to consider well the proposal made by Ethelburga*, who wished him to profess himself a Christian.—That he examined the foundations of the doctrine;—held several conferences with *Paulinus*;—canvassed the arguments; considered them in council with his wisest counsellors;—retired frequently by himself to consider them;—and after serious, and *long enquiry*, declared in favour of CHRISTIANITY.

‡ See Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 48.

the Isle of *Ely*, her own private property: and there established a Religious Society; afterwards called a Monastery; delighting in the retiredness, and verdure of the place: and in the very deepness of the water that surrounded it as an island, and kept off savage intruders.—Delighting even in the extensiveness of the fens, which answered the same end.—And meaning to insulate herself, with a few people, more ingenious, more enlightened, more peaceable, and less noxious than the rest of the world she had been so fully acquainted with.

This *Etheldrida* was born in Suffolk, in 630:* and was the daughter of that very *Anna*, King of the East Angles, who has been already mentioned, in the account of *Orford Castle*.

From her first retirement in the Isle of Ely, she was drawn by her father's persuasion, to marry *Egfrid*, afterwards King of Northumberland.†

Concerning the Monkish Legends, as to her behaviour, either towards *Egfrid*, or towards her first husband, *Tonbert*,‡ surely there is little else to be said, except that the whole appears to be a most improbable monkish falshood, coined in much later days; and totally inconsistent with the rest of her conduct.—And as to what has been said, in derogation of her, concerning her whole conduct from 670, to 679; and her leaving *Egfrid*, and retiring a second time, imputing the whole to a propensity to gross superstition;—whoever will put dates together, will find no difculty in supposing, that a very young, and very voluptuous, savage Prince, would, without great difficulty, part with a very grave, sober, pious matron, (however well disposed, and ingenious,) who was much advanced in life,—and who wished to be allowed to live a separate, quiet, and religious life; and that he himself might be the first mover, to induce her to do so.

This alone may account for the whole feigned story, without any thing of the *marvellous:* and without at all derogating from the real excellence of her character.

She appears to have been both inquisitive, and ingenious; by

* Bentham's History of Ely, p. 45.

† Ibid, p. 48.

‡ Ibid, p. 45, 46, 48, 49, 50.

what is said of the mode of her spending her time, at York, whilst Queen of Northumberland;—very much in conversation with persons of both sexes, who were the most eminent for piety, and ingenuity;—and especially with Bishop *Wilfrid*, to whom she gave encouragement, even particularly on account of his skill in Architecture.*

Influenced by her example, *Sexburga*, Queen of Kent;—*Ermenilda*, Queen of Mercia;—and *Werburga*, her daughter, joined her in her retirement at Ely.†

It does not appear what were the precise rules, in this Religious Society of Queen *Etheldreda's*;‡ and it is much to be doubted, whether there were originally any.—For there is the utmost reason to believe, that there were no rigid rules, belonging to *any Religious Order*, established, till about A. D. 950,§ in the time of *Edred*.

*Hilda*, the great grand-daughter of *Edwin* King of Northumberland, and aunt to *Etheldreda*, had retired, in the same manner, even before her.—And *Ebba*, aunt to King *Egfrid*, had also done the same.‖

* Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 59.

† Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 57.

‡ Ibid, p. 56.

§ Osberne, p. 91.

‖ Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 55. In this age, when we are deluged with printing, we lose sight of the exceeding difficulty which there was in coming at science of any kind, in those early days;—and whilst with us an overwhelming torrent of literary productions, serves too often to deceive, and mislead, we can scarce apprehend, how precious *once* were the means of obtaining even the least degrees of knowledge, and information, either by entering into *any society* of Recluses, or by dwelling, for a time, with persons who had themselves been already instructed in a few rudiments of science.

Hence we find, a fondness for the *ascetic life*, and for religious societies, even in St. *Chrysostom*, who was no monk;—and in those other fathers, who were amongst the very first to condemn the lazy, rigid, vulgar imitations of such retired mode of life; introduced afterwards merely by monkish superstition;—and by a Church already so much corrupted, that even about A. D. 403, *Chrysostom* declared, he thought few Bishops would be saved;—and by his consequent rebukes made the whole body of the Ecclesiasticks his bitter enemies.†

† Socrates Scholasticus, lib. vi. ca. 3. Chrys. Tom. IX.—Homil. 3,—in Act Apost. p. 29.

In such ingenious Societies, therefore, as these were, formed by persons accustomed to converse with *Wilfrid* (whose travels had led him to introduce ideas of Architecture, before quite unknown to the *Saxons*) it is no wonder that efforts to produce

Hence also we find that love of study, contemplation, and quiet, had, even in the fourth century, led *Sylvania*, the sister of *Rufinus*, to prefer religious retirement at *Jerusalem*, to the gay enjoyments of an imperial court; where she unquestionably had an opportunity of appearing with more splendour, and command, than most of her contemporaries.— And whilst she had found acknowledged delight, in perusing repeatedly the Sacred Writings, and in following the enlarged contemplations of *Origen*, —*Gregory*,—and *Basil*,—she had the heartfelt satisfaction, of affording a *safe asylum* to the wife and daughter of *Rufinus*, who must else have perished utterly in the midst of popular commotion.†

And hence we find, that when *Pulcheria*, the sister of *Theodosius*, with his other two sisters, about A. D. 420, embraced a sequestered life, it was chiefly for the purpose of forming, with a very chosen train of damsels a pleasant retired religious community, employed in ingenious arts, and embroidery; in reading, devotion, and melodious psalmody.‡—Though, from excess of zeal, they moreover voluntarily (and perhaps to secure their privilege) devoted themselves to celibacy; adopted certain strict fasts; and renounced the vanity of dress;—and *Pulcheria*, unavoidably somewhat influenced by the increasing superstition of the times, whilst she established many societies of the same sort, for the comfort of others, gave way to imaginary dreams, admonishing her where the bones of martyrs were to be discovered.§

As a proof, however, *what sort of mind it was* that had sought for this kind of peaceful sequestration, and for these liberal pursuits, it is not a little remarkable, that this very *Pulcheria*, afterwards, for many years, *ruled the empire almost entirely to the day of her death*; and, by the wisdom she had acquired, kept it continually in greater peace, and prosperity, than it had ever enjoyed for centuries before, or than it ever enjoyed afterwards. And at last, in the fifty-first year of her age, for the support of the empire, when the crown descended to her, even married, and bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on *Marcian*, who reigned only seven years, but survived her.‖

As elegant, and refined minds, very naturally sought the advantages of study, and select society; so even amongst the rougher, and more busy classes of mankind, good and contemplative minds, seeking rest, and quiet, and sick of everlasting warfare, (and of that constant din of arms, which is the bitterest disturber of deep reflection, and the sorest hinderer of the best improvements of the human soul,) as soon as any opportunity was offered, naturally sought for peaceful retired habitations themselves;— and, with true charity of heart, (well knowing that one part of mankind, in the ordinary course of things, must of necessity some how be provided for by the other), eagerly

† Vitæ Patrum, p. 779, 977.
‡ Gibbon's History, Vol. V. p. 417, octavo. Sozomen, lib. ix. ca. 1, 2, 3.
§ Jortin's Remarks, Vol. IV. p. 234.
‖ Theod. p. 551. Evagr. lib. ii. ca. 1, p. 275, 285. Theoph. p. 99. Chron. Alex. d. 738.

additional *architectural ornaments* should take place, even amongst these Recluse Ladies ; and especially as they made it their avowed profession, to promote increase of arts, and ingenuity, jointly with the knowledge of Religion.

And as the most distinguished of those illustrious persons, who were at the head of these Societies, were unquestionably known to, and conversed both with *Honorius*, and his Successor *Theodore*, it is no wonder if, out of regard to them, some of their ingenious devices, were allowed to be introduced in some of the Churches built by the influence of those Prelates.

There is in the whole style of the freezes, bands, and mouldings, and ornamented arches, which we have been describing, such a wildness, such an astonishing, and odd kind of fancied, varied ornament, beyond any thing that ever appeared afterwards ;—and yet free from the grossness, and offence of the burlesque representations, of succeeding monkish ages ;—and these ornaments we find so carefully diversified, without any fixed rules, in the most whimsical, and oddly devised manner ; that they resemble the old, odd varied patterns of Ladies' needle-work, (when Ladies' needle-work was the effort of untutored wandering imagination), rather than any regular architectural design.—And it is most obvious to conclude, without any far-

endeavoured that many of those who were otherwise unprovided for, should be maintained, in peaceful habitations, to watch and pray, and to seek the good of their own souls, and of all mankind ; instead of being constantly maintained with arms in their hands, merely to promote war, desolation, and bloodshed, and to be the great disturbers of the world. —But the crooked perverseness of human nature, soon caused the remedy to become worse than the disease.—Whilst vice, ignorance, and indolence, were by these means nursed, till the ebullition of human passions, produced bigotry ;—which again sent forth armed hosts to destroy each other with more furious rage than before :—still forgetting the honest principle which the first monks, both in Egypt, and in Britain, had been wise enough to adopt ; and with the full adoption of which, our countryman *Sir William Petty*, first laid the foundation of the greatest prosperity of this country, namely,—that *honest industry alone*, the original task of man,—cultivating the earth,—cultivating science, and ingenious arts,—was the only sure foundation of peaceful enjoyment to individuals, and of public welfare :—and that the constant encouragement of it, was the greatest charity :—whilst the same ingenuous disposition of mind which was its best, and constant support, and spur, would also best produce *unfeigned piety*, and a concomitant humble disposition, the best tests of true Religion.

fetched reasoning, that such kind of ingenious, retired Recluses, might indeed be the Inventresses of these odd ornaments.

Hence it might come to pass, that the stories of some of *Æsop's* Fables,* should be found in the freezes, and on the mouldings, at *Barfreston*, introduced just as they would be on a girl's sampler.†—Hence emblematical figures of virtues, and vices; and little tales of history, are represented, to fill up nooks, and corners of compartments.—Hence a studied variation of *corresponding* arches, and of *corresponding* parts of buildings; to shew extraordinary ingenuity;—as is manifested peculiarly in the old part of the front of Lincoln Cathedral;—and hence a studied gaiety of ornament, that defied all rules of regularity.

* This book was so much in repute, that we are told even King Alfred himself made a translation of it.—See Hume, &c. Vol. I. p. 68.—And that such fancied devices, on freezes, and mouldings, as allusions to Æsop's Fables, had their first origin amongst pious, and ingenious women, in the peaceful retirement of their sequestered retreats, is much confirmed by a curious observation which has been lately made;—that even many of the Fables themselves, that now commonly pass for *Æsop's*, seem to have had their real invention, and origin, in the same peaceful abodes.

In a very curious Memoir, concerning the Works of *Mary*, an Anglo-Norman Poetess, born in France, who wrote in the French language, in the reign of Henry the Third, and who amongst other things translated the *Fables of Æsop*; it is made to appear, that there were indeed but few of Æsop's *original Fables* amongst her collection; which yet she borrowed entirely from *England;* and that the greater part, from several allusions in them, shewed that they must have been composed *in Monasteries*, before her time. See Archæologia, Vol. XIII. p. 35.

† *Call me again the day that is past;*—was said to one of the wisest, and best men, to convince him of the limited powers of the human mind.—And somewhat allied to this impossibility, is the difficulty of forming rightly, adequate ideas of past ages.—The change of circumstances, and of the whole scene of things, is so great, that the mind can hardly be brought effectually to imagine itself in the same situation, or to form apprehensions, or conceptions, at all like those which presented themselves continually to the imaginations of those who lived in earlier days.—In the present age, when in consequence of the wide spreading of the arts, and of the facility of obtaining instruction, every well educated female becomes nearly an accomplished, and excelling artist, in drawing, it is a very difficult matter to conceive, with what admiration, far less than a century ago, the wretched scrawling sketches of the pencil of some very extraordinary young woman, here or there, were beheld as efforts of prodigious genius.—Much more difficult is it, rightly to comprehend, how very admirable, and commanding of attention, the little sculptured devices, with ill shaped figures, and the varieties of ornaments, then newly introduced, would appear in the eyes of the rude *Saxons*.—A *Religious Recluse* became, perhaps, as much venerated for ingenuity, as for piety.

The whole effect, however, (pleasing in every age,) was peculiarly pleasing in an age, in which, except the ingenious efforts of *devoutly secluded* persons, nothing but the effects of savage barbarity was to be seen. And it is therefore no wonder, that the enchantment caught hold of the imagination of the people at large; and soon gave an opportunity to designing men, to convert the honest reverence which the vulgar began to have, for such ingenuity, and such manifestations of goodness of heart in *Recluses*, into a reverence for superstition; and into a blind devotion to the will of those, who proclaimed themselves to be at the head of the Church.

And thus very soon did those sincere efforts, which had been directed to improve, and enlighten the world, become, by means of craft, perverted to be the very instruments of introducing corruption, and darkness.

Archbishop *Theodore's*, was the very age in which the greatest number of these Societies of Ladies were formed.—In his own neighbourhood, in the year 670, at *Mynstre*, in the Isle of Thanet, not very far from Barfreston, *Dompneva*, Daughter-in-law of *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, and Great Grand-daughter of *Ethelbert*, founded one of these Societies, which was almost the soonest of all others called *a Nunnery*;—having established there a memorial of her two Brothers, that had been treacherously murdered by one of the chief Officers of *Egbert*, King of Kent; who, (as some sort of recompense for this murder,) gave considerable adjacent lands to this foundation.*

Here were no less than seventy young Ladies placed, with *Mildred*, the Daughter of *Dompneva*, at their head.—And here still remains, in the Church, a part of the old *Saxon nave*.

*Eadburga*, the second Governess, or Abbess, afterwards, in 740, founded a second Society, at the distance of a mile from this, which became, in like manner, a regular *Monastick Nunnery*.

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 84. The whole story is told at full length by Harpsfield, p. 65, and at once shews the savage ferocity of the age, and the too good cause there was to wish for these kind of quiet retirements.

About the same period with *Dompneva's* foundation, in the Isle of Thanet, *Sexburga*, the Widow of Ercombert, King of Kent, in 675, founded a like Society, a subsequent Monastery, for seventy-seven Ladies,* in the Isle of Shepey, which seems to have been finally completed A. D. 710.—The three Islands, Ely, Thanet, and Shepey, having been thus chosen originally, merely because of their supposed security:—though that very circumstance of their supposed secure, *insular* situation, soon became the very means of exposing these real cradles of art, and ingenuity, the more to the horrid plunder of the *Danes*;—a grievous invasion, far more noxious than the rough, *Saxon* manners of their own country, which the first founders wished to escape.

The high antiquity of the Church of this Monastery, in the Isle of Shepey,† notwithstanding the more modern building of the present structure, appears, even from an Inscription still remaining in the Church, in whatever age it might be added:—"*Hic jacent Rogerus Norwood et Boon Uxor ejus sepulti ante Con-*"*questum.*"

Let us now consider those buildings, which being undertaken upon a more magnificent scale, by Princes themselves, were therefore larger; but were built with less nice attention, and with less curious workmanship;—and were by no means trimmed, or adorned, with such variety of ornament.—Buildings which were most manifestly executed by workmen, who offered themselves in numbers, to do their best, without either such guidance, or such abilities, as devised the other small, more neat, and more artificial works.—Workmen who, therefore, produced buildings, rude, rough, and hastily reared; like their own ideas;—but *great*, and surpassing the others in magnificence; as the pecuniary abilities of their employers, surpassed the pecuniary abilities of those who reared the *smaller Parochial Churches*.

Amongst these Great Structures, the first that presents itself, in point of grandeur, though not quite the first in point of date, is

* See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 88 and 152.

† There is a representation of the more modern remains of this Church, in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II.

the old venerable structure at *St. Albans*, in Hertfordshire; in which some parts of the original Building appear to remain. —A structure that does also the rather deserve to be considered, in the first place; because its Abbots had precedence of all other Abbots in England.*—Though nothing can more strongly shew the gross ignorance, superstition, and direful errors of those sad days of darkness, which so soon obscured the true light of the Gospel in this Country, than the history of its first Abbots.+

Ten years after the dreadful persecution, in the time of the Emperor Dioclesian, that is about the year 300, a Church, or plain religious building of some kind or other, was reared at *Verulam*,‡ in remembrance of the perseverance of *Albanus*, a sincere pious good Christian, one of the earliest sufferers in those sad days;—a Church, reared, as near as might be, to the spot where he was buried.

As a stone, with an inscription, had before this building was designed, been placed in the Town Wall, to perpetuate the memorial *of his suffering for the truth*;§ so we may reasonably believe, all that was intended by the rearing of this Church was, to animate Christians to follow his stedfast example, and to prevent the record of his faithfulness from being lost in oblivion:—though it be indeed too true, that the Monks in later ages dishonoured his good name, by making a superstitious *idolatrous Saint* of him, and by even setting up his image as an idol.

This first Religious Structure, at Verulam, seems to have con-

* Stevens's Additions to Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 233.

+ Their Lives are written by *Matthew Paris*; and the whole substance of his account may be seen, sufficiently at large, translated, in Stephens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 235 to 265.—The curious original Manuscript, is in the British Museum; with small, miniature, illuminated drawings of the Abbots:—and with a curious Account of King *Offa*, and of his Exploits prefixed;—also with still more curious drawings, *in outlines merely*, illustrating, in the most interesting manner, the dresses of the age.

‡ Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. ca. 7.

§ Camden.—Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 337.

tinued for about four hundred and fifty years, without any superstitious ideas having been, in general, connected with it; notwithstanding the increasing proneness to superstition, which had caused some to fancy, that certain miraculous cures had been wrought here.—And in the latter part of this period, this first Church was destroyed, by the Picts, and Saxons.

After this, *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, the most powerful Prince of the Heptarchy,* whose conscience had been awakened, to reflect on his murder of *Ethelbert;* and whose ambitious pursuits, had been followed with burdensome fears, rebuilt this Church, on the very same spot, about A. D. 755.—But afterwards making a journey to Rome, (where every penitential idea, especially when joined with any superstitious inclinations, was cherished);† and having become animated, by a friendly correspondence with *Charlemagne;*‡ on his return, about the year 793, he founded a new, and more sumptuous Church, with an adjoining Monastery, for Benedictines, a little on the other side of the river from *Verulam;* and on the very spot where *Albanus* was said to have been martyred.§

This good man had, as *Gildas* informs us,‖ out of mere compassion, and charity, concealed a Christian Confessor, pursued by the persecutors, and just ready to be taken;—had hidden him in his house, and changed garments with him:—and being himself caught in those very garments, honestly confessed his own faith, and was beheaded.—It was with lively apprehensions of this noble sincerity, and of a conduct so different from his own offence, that *Offa* seems to have laid the foundations of this Church: and nothing can be more awfully solemn, than the words of the original Deed of Gift of *Offa*, either in expression, or signature.—Signed by himself, and by his Son; by other Kings assisting in the solemnity; and by many great men of the realm attending.¶

* See Henry's History, Vol. III. p. 50, 51.

† See Anglia Sacra. lib. i. p. 460.

‡ W. Malmsb. lib. i. ca. 4.

§ Mat. Paris, 934. See Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 13. And Chauncey's Hertfordshire; where the whole story, with the monkish additions to it, is told at large.

‖ Epistle of Gildas, Sec 8.

¶ See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 177.

But a stronger instance, of the fallibility of good intention, and honest design, can hardly be produced, than was the event.

For having founded this most magnificent Monastery, hither he translated the martyr's bones; after his grave (as the Monks gave out) had been discovered by a miraculous light.—And here he placed them, after he had encircled the scull with a golden diadem, in a stately shrine, of gold and silver, of beaten work, set with precious stones; together with that wonderful, large cargo of Relicks, of all the Apostles, (as it was pretended,) and of many martyrs, which *Germanus*, coming over from France, had deposited in *Alban's* grave,* A. D. 429: thus laying a deep foundation for superstition:—whilst Archbishop *Lambert*, not to lose the good opportunity, soon presumed to think himself entitled, in his subscription to the Canons of a Council held at *Calcuith*,† to subscribe his own name *before* that of King *Offa*;—and whilst *Offa* himself, still further coinciding with such humiliating, penitential ideas, obtained a licence from the Pope, that thenceforth a Tax, called *Romescot*, which had some time been paid annually from England, to Rome, should be allowed to be collected *throughout Hertfordshire, by the Abbot of St. Albans*,‡ and to be applied to his own use.

Superstition thus established; and *Offa*, whose penitence seems to have been most sincere, thus deeply humbled; in this Monastery of St. *Alban*, (whose Abbot took place of all others in England), the corruptions of the Church so rapidly increased, that it had very nearly the preeminence in that point, as well as in all others.

St. *Alban*, at the request of *Offa*, when at Rome, had been canonized by Pope *Adrian* the First.§

And Nicholas, Bishop of *Abba*, who was born near this

* Matth. Florileg. Hist. ad Annum. 794.

† Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 291. Canon x. 3.

‡ Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 177.—This Tax had first been granted by *Ina*, King of Wessex, the then head of all the Anglo Saxons, about 715, in consequence of *his* journey to Rome. Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 128.

§ Leland's Collectanea, Vol. III. p. 72. Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 177.

Monastery, being chosen Pope; and taking the name of *Adrian the Fourth*, in 1154; partly from a partiality to his native soil, and partly to increase religious veneration, issued a Bull, by which he ordained, that, as St. *Alban* was the Protomartyr in England, so the Abbot of this place should be the *first Abbot* of England. After which, in 1218, Pope Honorius exempted the Abbot from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln; and granted him Episcopal rights.*

Thus strengthened to take the lead; in this Abbey we find, from age to age, continued efforts made to increase superstitious imposition;—till at length the grossest idolatry, and the highest pitch of ecclesiastical arrogance, prevailed *here*.

Mr. *Ashmole* has preserved a very authentic traditionary record, from an eye witness;† that near St. *Alban's* shrine was erected a great hollow image, wherein a Monk being placed, could, by means of wires, cause the eyes to move, and the head to nod; according as any offering to the shrine was approved or disliked.

The very old man who related this fact; had, when young, just after the reformation, crept into the image, and seen the whole contrivance.—He had also seen another Image of St. *Alban*, carried in solemn procession through the town; which, being set down at the Market Cross, the Monks pretended they could not lift it up, till it was touched by the Abbot's crozier; and till he had pronounced *a solemn invocation to it*.

It is no wonder, therefore, that, in this Abbey, was attempted to be palmed upon the world, the pretended miracle of restoring a blind man to sight; and others of a similar kind; before the shrine of St. *Alban:* the detection of which frauds, by the honest *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, is described with so much spirit by our celebrated Poet Shakspeare.‡

To increase reverence, there was here, in this Monastery, also,

* Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 13.

† See an extract from Mr. Ashmole's Manuscript, which was preserved in the Library of Thomas Astle, Esq. in the Repertory, Vol. III. p. 60.

‡ In the Second Part of Henry the Sixth, Sc. II. the story is taken from Grafton, p. 597.

an imbroidered vesture, for the Abbot to put on, whenever he went into the sacred place *where the shrine stood ;** in imitation of the sacred vestments, with which *Aarön* was to be clad, when he went into the *Holy of Holies*, within the Tabernacle.

And, in the Great Hall, at dinner, the Abbot usually sat *alone*, at a table by himself; raised on an elevation of fifteen steps; up which, as the Monks ascended, with the dishes, they stopped, on a landing place, at every fifth step, and sung a short hymn. —And having thus waited on their stately *Superior*, they dined themselves, at two tables, on each side of the hall, below the steps. —Even if a Nobleman, or Ambassador, came as a guest; he was seated, not by the Abbot; but only near one of the ends of his table.†

This Abbot also had the privilege of giving solemn blessings, in the *streets*, and *high-ways*.‡—And of carrying with him a moveable altar; on which he might say mass, as well in places not consecrated, as in sacred Churches.

The Abbey also had exemption from all other jurisdiction; to that degree, that no person, of their tenants, or meanest peasants, could be summoned, on any account, by any Court of Justice, to appear without the liberties of the Abbey.§

And the Abbot, with his Monks, had power freely to dispense with any irregularities incurred.‖

To maintain strict discipline, however, amongst the Monks themselves, Matthew Paris tells us, that so early as the age of William Rufus, about A.D. 1090, Paul Paulinus, the then Abbot, built *a dark Prison* for disobedient Monks.—This Mr. Grose¶ supposes to have been in the Great Gate of Entrance to the Abbey; the present Gaol;—but as the whole style of its Architecture shews that Gate to have been of a much later age; so indeed we shall find *the Prison*

* Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 23.

† Extract from MSS. in Repertory, Vol. III. p. 61.

‡ See the Account of the Privileges of the Abbey, as settled A. D. 1257, in Stevens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 234.

§ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

¶ Grose's Antiquities, Vol. V.

was of a very different kind; still remaining, and being merely a very small narrow cell, in an hollow space in the Wall, over one of the Pillars, of the Nave of the Church: in several respects similar to some other most wretched dens of confinement, which we shall have occasion to shew did exist, in other monastick buildings, for the purpose of taming refractory spirits.

Strange is the circumstance, that such nurseries of superstition, pride, and oppression, as these monastick foundations were, should have been, in a barbarous age, almost the only means of preserving antient literature; and of fostering the first dawnings of increasing science.

Yet such was the case.—From such came forth, that excellent man, Venerable *Bede*, A. D. 720; to whom we are indebted for the first real introduction of the use of the *Christian æra*, in his elaborate History.*

Out of these burst forth, the dawning efforts of Roger Bacon, about A.D. 1270, who seems to have been the first Discoverer, in this Country, of the Principles of Optics; and of Chemistry;—and perhaps even a Discoverer of Printing; and of Gun-powder.

And, about the same time, in this very Monastery of *St. Albans*, had been educated, and was maintained, that indefatigable Writer, and interesting Historian, Matthew Paris; flourishing in the days of Henry the Third.†

And nothing can be more true, than the observation of *Henault;* that had it not been for the pains *the Monks* took in copying books, in their Monasteries, all the learning of the antients had been lost.‡

It is, notwithstanding its being an odd circumstance, and though

* It had been first invented by Denis, called the Little, in the year 526, but was not brought into established use, till the Council of Leptine, A. D. 743. Henault, Vol. I. p. 41.

† The curious Copy, in Manuscript, of his History, which he presented to the King, is, to this day, preserved in the British Museum; having rude sketches in the margin, with heraldrick bearings, and with the odd circumstance, of the shields of arms being reversed, and turned topsy-turvy, where the persons had been attainted.

‡ Henault, Vol. I. p. 185.

it relates to events a little subsequent, not perhaps unfit to be added, consistently with the same curious author's observations, that (however the fact was to be either commended, or reproved) here also, in these Monasteries, arose the first idea of *Theatrical* Representations—For one *Geoffry*, who was afterwards Abbot of *St. Albans*, in England, undertaking the education of youth, caused them to represent, in proper dresses, *Tragedies of piety;* in imitation of the Tragedies of the Greeks.*—And the subject of the first dramatick piece, was the Miracles of St. Catharine.—This was about A. D. 1179,—219 years before any such representations were brought forward in France.

Even these circumstances alone might induce us to turn our attention to the Abbey at *St. Albans*, before we take other great Monastick Piles of Building into consideration; but to these circumstances we may also add, that the remains of this most antient and interesting Structure, contain very singularly curious specimens of the progressive changes in Architecture, of many successive ages; as well as some of the strangest specimens of the *Saxon* age.

I cannot but differ, however, in a small degree, from the conclusions of some of the learned Antiquaries, who have given descriptions of this Building.

We are told by them, in general terms,† that "the north side of "the east end of the nave, retains the massy rude pillars of the "original Structure.—And that the transepts, and tower, with "the upper half of the north aile of the nave, are of the Norman "style of Henry the First."—But this does not appear to me to be exactly the case, either with respect to the one, or the other.

A little matter of close attention will perhaps explain the whole in a more satisfactory manner.

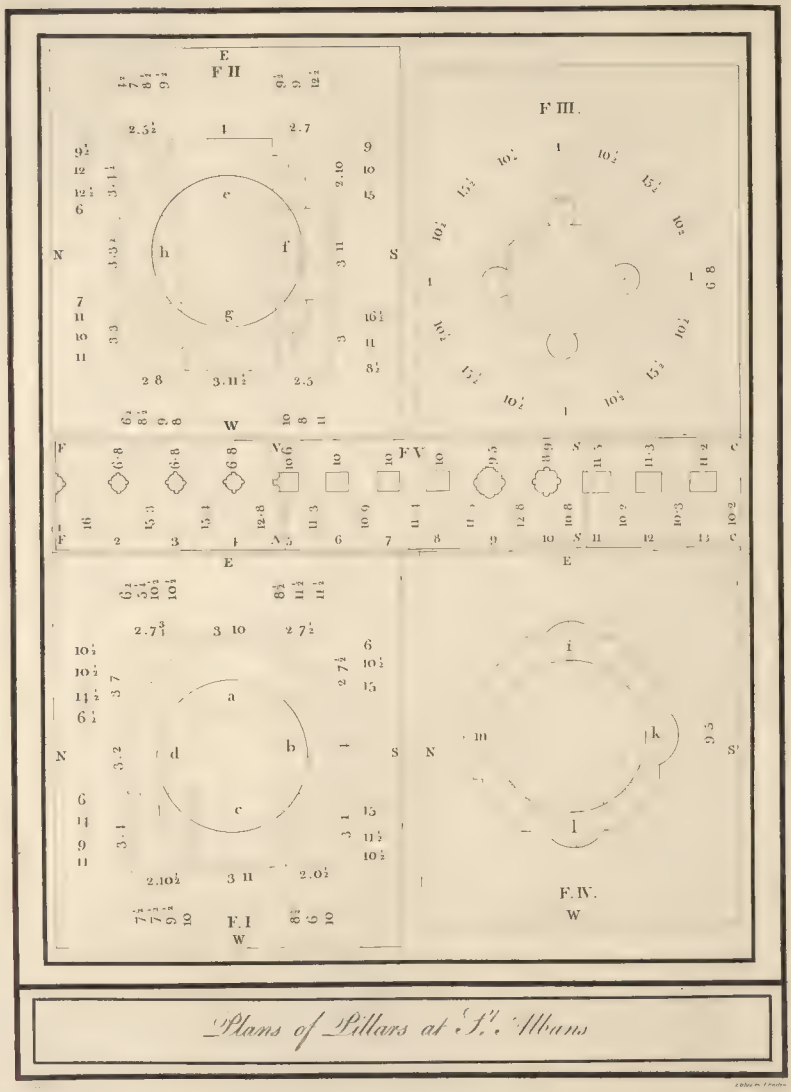
Pl. XIII. represents that part of the north side of the Great Nave, at St. Albans, where the old work (which Mr. Gough supposes to have belonged to the *original Structure* built by Offa), and

* Henault Abrege, Vol. I. p. 185.

† Mr. Gough, surely, in this respect, was led into an error. Vol. I. p. 347.



Norman Architecture, on the North side of the Nave at St. Albans.




Plans of Pillars at St. Albans

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the new work, of the time of Edward the First, join exactly in the manner here represented.

The former appears on the right hand; with that upper part, which Mr. Gough very rightly allows to have been about the age of Henry the First.—And the latter appears on the left.—And through the arch is a view into the north aile.

But now; when we come to measure and examine the whole; and to compare what we see, with antient records: as in those records we read,* that *Paulinus*, the fourteenth Abbot, who was elected A. D. 1077, *rebuilt* the Church of *Offa*, out of the stones, tiles, and other materials of *Verulam;* so here we see the whole of the work, on the right-hand side of this Plate, manifestly exhibiting to our eyes, *a style of Architecture*, entirely conformable to what we meet with in the buildings of the age of *William Rufus*, and of *Henry the First*, either at Norwich, or Ely, or elsewhere; and far unlike the *Saxon*, either at *Pershore*, or at *Tewkesbury*, or at *Gloucester*, or in any other building.

And when we come still further to measure the bases of the great pillars exactly, we find their construction, and the dimensions, and respective positions of their parts, to be so exceedingly irregular; that they suggest at once to the mind, the suspicion of there having been originally, on the spot, *smaller round pillars;* one of which might remain inclosed in the centre of each great square pillar; and be, by that means, as it was deemed, strengthened, and enlarged by *Paulinus;* who might, very probably, *case over* the original round pillars, in this irregular manner, instead of building quite new, square, regularly proportioned pillars, from the foundation.

Pl. XIV. will explain what is here said. It represents exactly the measures;—the set-offs;—and the deviations from any regular plan, as they are found in some of the pillars.

Fig. 1, shews the exact dimensions of that pillar, where the old work of the age of *William Rufus*, joins to the new work in Pl. XIII.—Which pillar is No. 5, Pl. XIV. fig. v.—And here,

* See Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 19.

in the first place we may observe, that the sides do not stand at all square; though they apparently fill up a sort of square space:—and therefore the width of the whole pillar, from the west side, to the east side, may very well measure, as it actually does, about ten feet, six inches,—though the measures of the several projecting parts, added together, amount only to nine feet, eight inches and an half, on the south side; for at almost all the corners, of the several set-offs, there actually are obtuse angles, instead of right angles.—How strangely the transverse diameters run, is also very obvious.—And therefore the whole may most rationally be believed to have been built, surrounding some original, and more antient Pillar of *Offa's Saxon* Building; which was, perhaps, similar to those at Tewkesbury, and Gloucester;—and about six feet in diameter; as represented by the letters (a b c d).

Again, fig. II. in Pl. XIV. shews the plan of that which is the next Pillar to the right, in the representation of the elevation, Pl. XIII.—And here the same kind of irregularities exactly are observable; with the same kind of probability of an original Saxon Pillar of *Offa's* having been left in the middle.

Further; the odd irregular intercolumniations speak the same language: for they are, throughout this north side of the great nave, quite unequal; as appears by the exact measures, shewn in the general plan of this north side of the nave, Pl. XIV. fig. v.

Here, if we take the Pillar, No. 5, (whose particular plan has been already given, at fig. 1, in this very Plate XIV.) to be the *first antient Pillar;* we find the successive intercolumniations to be only eleven feet, three inches; ten feet, nine inches; eleven feet, four inches; and eleven feet, five inches: which will sufficiently, and indeed almost precisely agree with the old *Saxon* intercolumniations, at *Tewkesbury*, and *Gloucester*, of twelve feet, two inches; and of twelve feet, four inches; if we suppose this old Saxon Building of *Offa's* to have had, originally, just such round Pillars as those at Tewkesbury, which are now cased up *within* the present square Pillars, by the work of *Paulinus*. And I can hardly make a doubt, but that if we were allowed to *uncase* the original Pillars, we should first find, on the outside, work

composed of *Roman brick*, and the other materials from *Verulam*, added by *Paulinus:* and *within* that, the solid round pillars, first built by Offa, possibly still to be distinguished, though perhaps constructed of somewhat the same materials.

So far, therefore, consistently with Mr. Gough's affirmation, the original Building of *Offa*, may still exist in this part of the great Nave of the Church:—but it is not at all visible to the eye at present, as he seems to have apprehended.

Before, however, we proceed to examine *where* any part of that original work does indeed still appear, it is worth our while to bestow a little attention upon the plan of this north side of the great nave; taking the whole of the old, and new work, together.

Pl. XIV. fig. (V) shews the plan of the north side, of the Great Nave.

The line (F F) shews a part of the West Front of the Church.—The dotted line (N N) shews the part where the new work, of the age of Edward the First, joins with the old work, of the time of William Rufus.—The double dotted line (S S) shews a part of the stone skreen, that separates the great Nave of the Church, from a detached part, between (S S) and (C C), called *the Baptistery*.—And (C C) points out where the partition is, that separates the choir.

The lower line of arithmetical figures, shews the number of the pillars, reckoning from the west door, to the choir.—The next line of figures above, shews the exact measures of all the intercolumniations.—The row of little geometrical diagrams, shews the general plan of the bases of the several pillars, in their several just proportions: only the large square pillars, are included merely within straight lines, because the various set-offs, all round them, are too small to be taken notice of in such a plan as this is.—And the line of arithmetical figures, over this, shews the width of the pillars themselves.—But here it must be remarked, that these dimensions of the widths of the old pillars do not exactly agree with the sum of the measures of the parts of the same pillars, as given on the large scale, fig. (I) and (II); because,

on this small scale, the measures are of the whole width of each pillar, as increased by the obtuse angles of each little set-off.

It ought to be observed also; that, for the sake of introducing this general plan of the pillars, the more conveniently in the part of the Plate where it is placed, their fronts towards the great aile, are placed downwards, in the Plate;—whereas in the larger plans of the single pillars, fig. (I, II, III, IV) their fronts, answering to these downward parts of the plan, are placed towards the right hand of the Plate.

Further, it may be curious to observe; that, after all the care that could be used, the measures of the distances from the west door at (F F), to the joining of the new, and old work (N N); and from thence to the skreen before the baptistry (S S), and from thence to the choir (C C); as computed from the dimensions of the several pillars, and intercolumniations, does not agree exactly with the measures of the same distances, as taken by a line upon the floor:—which, however, only does still more fully confirm all that has been said, concerning the irregular forms, and proportions of the pillars themselves; as such disagreement of the measures could arise from no other cause.

The computation from the several measures, turns out as follows.

| | By the sum total of the pillars and intercolumnations. | | By exact measure on the floor. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. |
| From the west wall, to the division of the new work from the old - | 79 | 3 | 77 | 6 |
| From the division of the new and old work, to the skreen of the baptistery - - | 126 | 8 | 125 | 0 |
| From the skreen of the baptistery to the choir - - - | 64 | 5 | 62 | 9 |
| Whole length - - | 269 | 11 | 265 | 3 |

In the next place we may remark, that in the new work, of the time of Edward the First, the Pillars, (1, 2, 3, 4) are not only

much smaller than the rest; being only six feet, eight inches, in diameter; but are also exactly uniform, and regular in all their parts, and set-offs:—as is shewn in the small plan of the pillar, at No. (4); and on a larger scale, Fig. III; where the respective dimensions of the several parts is shewn, by the circle of arithmetical figures placed round.

These pillars, therefore, were manifestly built entire from the ground, with great skill; instead of having any old *Saxon* pillar left standing *within* them; and have indeed much beauty in their appearance, as may be seen, in Pl. XIII.

But when we come to the pillar, at No. (5), we find here, this *new work* joined in a very odd manner to the old, at the top; and the whole lower part of this antient pillar, left just as it was in the time of William Rufus, or Henry the First.—And when we come to examine its precise plan, at the bottom, (as shewn exactly on the large scale, Fig. (I) we do not find even such an approximation to regularity, as there is in almost all other works of the age of William Rufus, or Henry the First, either at Ely, or Norwich, or elsewhere.

The same observation may be made with regard to the pillars, at (9) and (10); though they were evidently carefully constructed, in that part of the Nave, with a *designed variation* of form; much in the same manner as is usual, in some other structures of the age of Henry the First, in pillars placed the nearest to the skreen, that separates the Nave from the Baptistery, and Choir.

Such a peculiar variation of form, in pillars, in *that part* of the Nave, is found in Norwich Cathedral:—but on what account it was made, I have not been able to ascertain.—Possibly it might, be to distinguish some particular altars, placed in that particular situation.—And here at *St. Albans*, as well as at *Norwich*, there is, moreover, a little difference even in the plans of the two pillars themselves.

The plan of the pillar, at No. (9) is shewn upon a large scale, Fig. IV.—It is indeed somewhat more regular than the others; yet a round *Saxon* pillar, such as we have before described, may,

possibly, remain cased, and enclosed in the lower part of it.—And in the wall, over it, is the dismal cell, on account of which, this may justly be called *the Prison Pillar*.

The appearance of this Pillar, is represented Pl. XV. fig. (1).

The upper part of the wall above it, beginning with the square pilaster, is, externally, exactly the same as all the rest of the upper work that appears over the pillars, and arches, on the right hand side, in Pl. XIII.—And we may observe, that in the sides of the third row of arches, by the windows above, there appear small, open arches; which are the regular continuation of a walk, or gallery, from a staircase at the west front of the Church, quite to the tower in the choir;—running all the way, behind the small pillars at the top of the new work, and through these arches of the old work.—And just within one of these arches above, directly over the prison pillar, No. (9) is a steep staircase; that goes down to a frightful little cell, within the wall, behind the front pilaster; and placed just between the two lower windows; with a little narrow loop hole, looking into the Nave of the Church, to give light and air, and to afford any poor imprisoned Monk an opportunity (as in other monkish prisons at *Canterbury*, and at *Worcester*) of seeing the celebration of mass at some altar.—A wretched *den;* but not so bad by far, as that which we shall find existed at *Gloucester*.—This den, there can be very little doubt, was that very one, which is mentioned by *Matthew Paris*;* though it might also sometimes, in subsequent ages, serve (as has been supposed) for the purpose of imposition upon the common people; by causing an extraordinary voice to issue, as from the pillar.†

The pillars of the Baptistery, No. (11, 12, 13) like those of the

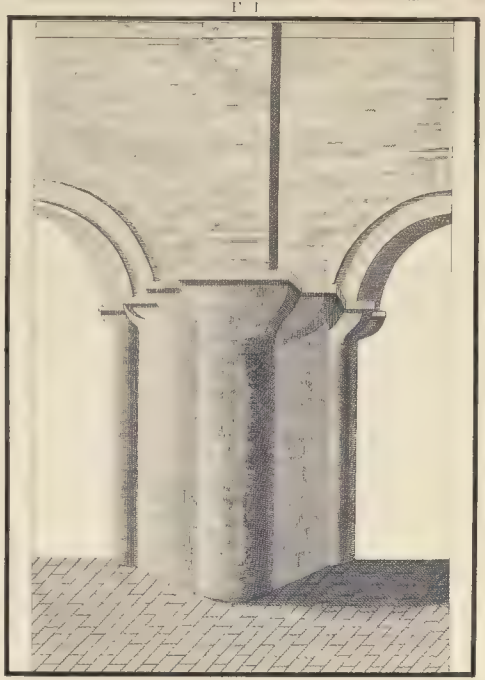
* See before, p. 120 of this Volume.

† Such prisons are by no means so uncommon, as persons unacquainted with the history of the dark and direful ages of superstition are apt to suppose:—for in the Church of Dantzic, in Germany, we are told,‡ is a vast pillar, hollowed, and antiently used to immure ecclesiastics guilty of heinous crimes; as a kind of punishment, well known, and common in many parts of Europe. This den is about forty feet deep, from the grating at its top; and is only about seven feet square.

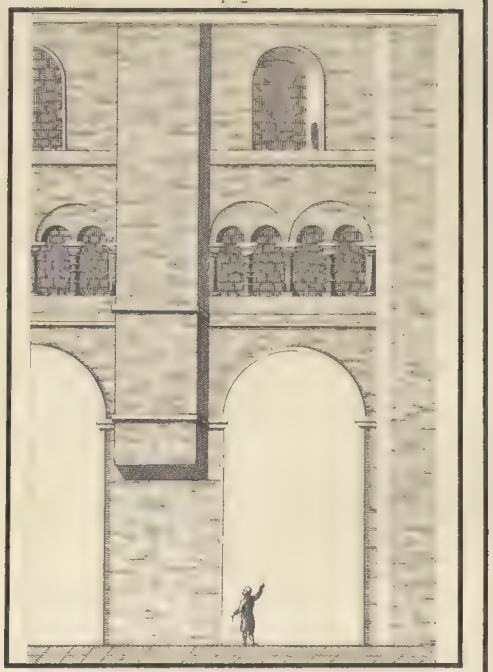
In the centre of a wall of St. Mary's Church, at *Leicester*, is said to have been a

‡ See Wraxall's Tour, p. 357.

F. 1



F. 2



*Great Prison Pillar: and Saxon part of the North Transept at St. Albans.*

Nave, are again *irregular*, both in the dimensions and intercolumniations.—And the very existence of this place, called the *Baptistery*, does, even in itself, tend to shew still further the *great antiquity* of this part of the structure.—For it is well known, that in the first ages of the Church, the holy Ordinance of Baptism was often administered by Immersion.—And that in consequence of such practice it was, that *Baptisteries* (*Baptisteria*) were built in all parts of *Italy*, and elsewhere, by the Emperor *Constantine*, and his immediate Successors;—and became imitated in some of the most antient, and most dignified Churches, in this Island. In places thus set apart stood a vessel of hewn stone, like a sort of tub; just sufficient either for partial immersion; or for the convert to stand in:—of which the old Font, now in St. Martyns, at Canterbury, and some few others, are specimens.*

In this Baptistery, at St. Albans, stood, in after ages, the antient Brass Font, that was brought from Leith, Scotland:†—in the room of which, after it had been embezzled during the Civil War, there has been placed there one of wood, as much resembling it as possible.

Perhaps it should just be mentioned, with regard to this north side of the great Nave, that upon some of the pillars, on removing the white-wash, still appear several remains of Colossal Paintings,

small closet, with loop holes, opening into the church yard, and a door into the Church, about half way up in the Wall, which den was called *Little Ease*. There is some account of this, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1783, Vol. LIII. p. 920.

And at *Glastonbury*, was much such another; said to have been not more than five feet in length, and two and an half in breadth; whilst its height was only answerable to the stature of a man, if he stood in an hole in one part excavated at the bottom; for otherwise he could not stand upright.—The door, which had a small window in the middle of it, opened into the Church.—And in this prison cell, *Dunstan* is even said to have chosen voluntarily to perform mortification, and penance. Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 96. There is some account of this also, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1784, Vol. LIV. p. 20.

* This matter is fully elucidated in a very curious Paper, in the Archæologia, Vol. X. p. 186, 187, 201, 202, 207; and Mr. Robinson has shewn, that the Baptism of Infants, did not become an established custom, till the fourteenth century. See Basnage, Thes. Mon. Eccles.—And Hist. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. Digest. I. c. 5 de Ritibus de Immersione quæ per 13 secula perseveravit dictum.

† See Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 15.

in distemper, in black and white; similar to others which have been discovered, of late years at *Hereford*, and at *Winchester*, and in other Conventual Churches.*

Let us now attend more particularly to that part of this most antient Structure at St. Albans, where remains of the original Building of King *Offa*, or at least of an early *Saxon* age, do more decidedly appear.

In the North Cross, built over the very spot where *Albanus* is said to have been martyred.—And where we might reasonably expect the firmest parts of the first Building should have been indeed found, do these Remains appear.

In the painted Ceiling, over-head, (of very great antiquity, though later than the Building of the Transept itself) is represented the Martyrdom of St. Alban.† And in the side walls appear the Vestiges of the original Building.

Pl. XV. Fig. (2), shews a part of the East Side of this North Cross.

Quite at the top indeed, near the wooden ceiling, appear arches

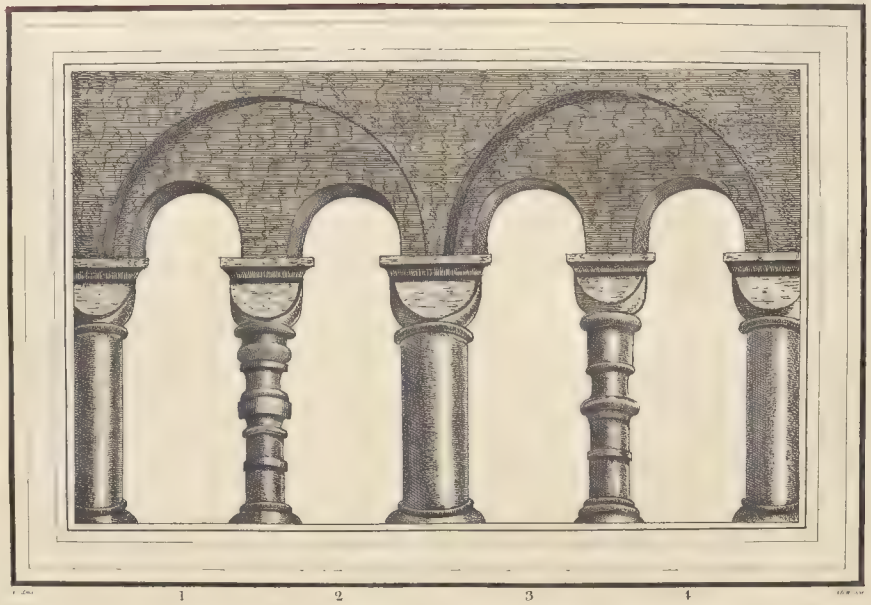
* Paintings, however, which do no credit to the artists, or to the superstitious times in which they were encouraged.—Paintings, which in many instances go far beyond the blunt, honest simplicity of the first ages, wherein mere allegorical figures, even from Æsop's Fables, as well as from Scripture Parables, were represented; or else, wherein plain Scriptural History was represented.—Paintings, in the designing of which, blasphemous allusions, and rude idolatrous ideas, seem to have crouded promiscuously into the perverted imaginations of the poor daubers.

The first Paintings we know of, in this Country, were brought from Rome, about 678, by *Benedict Biscop*, the Founder of the Monastery of *Weremouth*, and one of the first introducers of *Arts* into England. Bedæ Hist. Abbat. Weremouth. p. 295.

Pious, Venerable Bede, not foreseeing the abuse that would soon be made of them, considered them as means of good instruction, to those many *who could not read*. Bedæ Opera, Tom. VIII. de Templo Solomonis, c. 19.

*Dunstan* afterwards, himself a tolerable painter for the times, pursued the same idea, and brought the whole into fashion.—A fashion, in which he himself also led the way to the grossest corruption. Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 94. Hickesii Thesaur, Tom. I. p. 144.

† *John de Whethamsted*, the thirty-third Abbot, about 1420, who also went by the name of *Bostock*, caused the Lady Chapel, it is said, to be finely painted, with stories out of the Sacred History; and he also caused the roof of the Choir to be painted. See Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 14, 23. But there is the greatest reason, from the appearance of the painting, to think this representation of the Martyrdom of an earlier date.




*Arches at St. Albans*

similar to those of the age of *Henry the First*, or of *William Rufus*, in the great Nave; and, at bottom, the great Arch, to which the figure of a man is pointing, in the drawing, is very similar to those in the Nave, and most probably was a repair, and alteration of the same age.—But the row of arches, in the middle, between both, have a peculiarity, quite unlike either; and unlike any part of the work of *Paulinus* in the great Nave.—And the *studied dissimilarity* of their rude pillars, and even of the component parts of their pillars, shews a style of building that appears most truly *Saxon*;—as also does the great projecting, *hanging*, rude square pilaster, between them; and the bands, and fillettings upon the walls.

It is almost impossible, therefore, to avoid concluding these arches to be remains of a Building much earlier than the time of William Rufus, or of Henry the First; notwithstanding an opinion which has been adopted, that no *Saxon* Churches had *Cross Isles*, or Transepts.*—And we shall find many instances, besides this, in some of our other most antient Religious Structures, where unquestionable old *Saxon* work has been left unaltered, in the *midway part* of an original wall, between the top and the bottom; whilst the lower part has been much more transformed by repairs, than in this instance; and the upper part above has been nearly entirely re-edified.

These curious old *Saxon* Arches, of the most antient part of the Building, are represented on a much larger scale, Pl. XVI:—where the exact proportions, and disproportions of every part,

* This opinion Mr. Bentham adopts in his History of Ely Cathedral, p. 29, merely *as a probability*; founded on the consideration, that many of the first Christian Churches were only the *Basilicæ*, or Courts of Justice in great Cities, converted to that use.

He acknowledges, however, that although the Churches at *Hexam*, and *York*, appear to have been constructed without Cross Isles; yet that of *Ramsey Abbey*, in Huntingdonshire, built in 974, had both *Cross Isles*, and Towers; which he deems a mode of building that had not *then* been long in use in England.

We may very fairly conclude, therefore, that although several of the first *Saxon* Churches were indeed without *Cross Isles*; yet that those built upon a larger scale, had that improved plan, before it came into more common use:—and that the large Structures, at *St. Albans*, and *Tewkesbury*, built only about two hundred years before, were in that number.

are endeavoured to be accurately preserved.—And it cannot surely pass unnoticed, by an attentive mind, that the composition of this odd species of Architecture, seems obviously to have been a sort of designed improvement, upon the arrangement of those kind of *little rude Saxon Arches*, which are seen in the upper part of the walls at Pershore, Pl. IX;—and to have been even deemed, some advance of the art.—For the four small arches, (1, 2, 3, 4), considered in themselves, as detached from the two larger arches *over them*, (which latter are placed merely as ornamental archi-vaults, *flat*, against the wall), would form very nearly just such a row, as some of those at Pershore.

It has been already mentioned, that *Paulinus*, who was Abbot in 1077, *rebuilt* the Church out of stones and tyles, and materials brought from *Verulam*:—and it is also recorded,* that he *rebuilt* the Tower for a bell.—There cannot therefore remain a doubt, but that a considerable part of the exterior structure of the present Tower of this venerable Church, was built by him.—But as the very expression of its being *rebuilt*, shews that there was a Tower *previously existing*; so there are some circumstances, in the Architecture itself, that seem to confirm the fact.

In a careful representation of the Tower, in Pl. XVII. Fig. (1), we may observe, that in the lower part, at (a), are seen the traces of two *Saxon* windows, blocked up in part, and converted into two great circular openings; which (however they may have been repaired, even with modern work, in later ages) are still exactly of the form, and style of Architecture, with such as were introduced in Church Towers, in the time of *William Rufus*;—as is obvious from a careful investigation of that part of the Tower of *Norwich* Cathedral, which was unquestionably built in his reign.—This alteration therefore appears to have been made, in a Tower that was left remaining in existence, when *Paulinus* re-edified the Structure.

And above these round windows, in the next story, at (b), appear a row of small arches, as truly *Saxon* in their style, as

* Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 19.

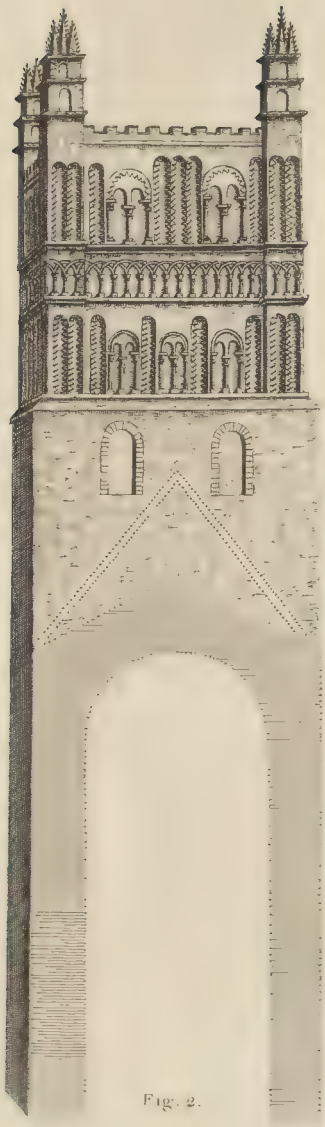


Fig. 2.

Towers of St. Albans & Tewkesbury

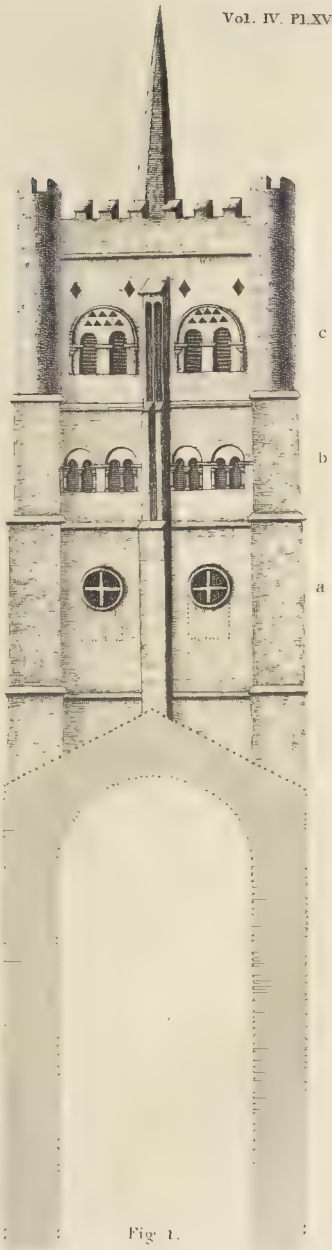



Fig. 1.

those at *Pershore;* and, like those, having a sort of open narrow walk, or gallery, in the wall behind them.—Whilst even higher up the arches, at (c), which seem to have partaken more of the additions, and alterations made in the time of Henry the First, than any other part, do yet not look like arches really of the age either of *William Rufus*, or of *Henry the First;* but like arches *originally Saxon;* and new modified afterwards, in those reigns.*

As in the Remains of Castles, so in the venerable Remains of Ecclesiastical Structures, it is very curious, to observe the manner in which the latest, and most recent Norman additions, have been added, both to the earlier Norman parts of these Structures, as well as to the original *Saxon* parts.

Here, at *St. Albans*, we see the Norman addition, joined on, in the coarsest manner possible, at the pillar, No. (5), in the plan; with an intercolumniation far less than the rest, being of twelve

* It ought just to be mentioned, that whereas it has been recorded, that *Paulinus*, the Abbot, rebuilt *Offa's* Church, out of stones, tyles, and other materials, removed from the old adjacent Roman City of *Verulam;* yet certain curious persons have imagined, that *the bricks, for the steps* of some of the round newel staircases, must have been made new, in his time; and could not have been Roman:† but for this supposition there is surely no decided authority; as we have very good reason to believe the construction of such *newel staircases* was well known in the time of the Romans.—It surely appears clear, both from *Trajan's* Pillar, and from the *Antonine* Pillar; the first of which has 123 steps; and the latter 206 steps;‡ and from what has been remarked with regard to the two Towers of Pliny's Villa, (in the preceding pages of this work, Vol. II. p. 208) that the Romans knew well, how to construct *staircases*.

There are two views, one of the south side, and one of the north side, of this venerable Structure at *St. Albans*, taken by my Antiquarian Predecessor *Daniel King*, inserted in Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 176, and 178.—There is also another of the north side, by N. Hawksmoor, inserted in Stevens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 233.—And a plan is inserted, p. 265; but none of these are so exact as such a Structure deserves they should be.

There is also a View of the south-west side, in Grose's Antiquities, and of the Abbot's Gateway, Vol. V.

And there is a representation of a part of the Great Nave; and also, a view into the South Transept, in Mr. Pennant's *Journey from Chester*, p. 262; where also may be seen, p. 264, a beautiful engraving of Abbot Ramridge's Tomb.

† See Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 347.

‡ See Misson's Travels, Vol. III. p. 154, Eng. ed. and Vol. II. p. 236, Fr. ed. where are Views of the Pillars. See also the plans and sections of the Staircases, and magnificent delineations of the Bas Reliefs, by *Bartoli*, engraved at Rome, 1674.

feet, eight inches only, instead of fifteen feet, four inches;—and with strange irregular work on the side where the joining is made.—We here find also an instant change, and total breaking off, of the whole style of Architecture;—and (instead of plain circular arches) pointed arches, that have at least thirteen separate beads, or plain filletting mouldings, in each.

The next Building that demands attention is, on every account, most surely the old Church at *Tewkesbury*, in Gloucestershire; and perhaps it should even have been mentioned first, as being a little prior in time. But the greater dignity of the *Royal Foundation*, at *St. Albans*, and its connexion with the great changes made in Religion, leading to the introducing of Papal Corruptions, was a sufficient inducement, (besides the existence of a former *Saxon* Church at *Verulam*,) to examine the Remains at *St. Albans*, almost before any other.

*Tewkesbury*, was a Monastery for *Benedictines*, founded by two great Saxon *Thanes*,—*Odo*,—and *Dodo*;—who were brothers; and had great ascendency in *Mercia*, in the reigns of *Ethelred*, *Kenred*, and *Ethelbald*.—They were also great benefactors to the Church at *Pershore*, which has been already described; and were buried at Pershore; (where *Dodo** had previously professed himself a Monk).—Which circumstance may very well account for the great similarity there is, between some parts of the Building at *Tewkesbury*, and some parts of that at *Pershore*.

The first Church built by these two great Saxon Thanes, was several times plundered, and twice burnt by the Danes; which induced both Leland,† and Camden,‡ to think that it was entirely rebuilt, in 1102, by *Fitzhamon*.—But, as its being burnt a second time, without any account of re-edification, plainly shews the Structure was no otherwise damaged, than in the burning of the *wooden roof, and wooden furniture;* so we shall find *Leland*, and *Camden*, were mistaken, in the same manner, in this point, as in their accounts of *the burning and destruction of Antient Castles:* and

* See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 154.
† Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 97.
‡ Camden, Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 260.



*Part of the South side of the Nave of the Church at Tewkesbury.*

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that the old original Building, as to its walls, and pillars, does still remain, in many parts; as clearly distinguished, by its style of Architecture, from the magnificent additions of *Fitzhamon*, in 1102, as those parts themselves, built by *Fitzhamon* are, from the stone roof of the Nave, and from the parts of the Choir, built in much later ages.

Pl. XVIII. represents, in as exact proportions as possible, the west part of the south side of the Nave of the Church at Tewkesbury.

We find here a style of Architecture, so truly corresponding with every *Saxon* idea; so unlike every thing *Norman*, either of the age of William Rufus, or of Henry the First; wherever any Architecture of either of their reigns can be perfectly ascertained; —so entirely unlike the magnificent works of *Fitzhamon* himself; or of Fitzhamon's contemporaries, in every other place;—that we cannot but remain assured, that *these* are vestiges of Buildings that have survived *both* the fires of the Danes: and were preserved, when *Fitzhamon* made his noble additions.

Pillars, perfectly unlike any at *Norwich*, or at *Ely*, of the age of *Henry the First*.—Pillars, whose bases, proportions, and capitals, shew only *Saxon* ideas.—Pillars about six feet, four inches in diameter; but yet in reality *not exactly equal in their proportions;* (for one of them measured nineteen feet, eight inches and a half in girth;—and therefore must be about six feet, seven inches in diameter.—Pillars also having their intercolumniations *unequal;* —and crowned with capitals, (whose rude figures are carefully delineated in the drawing):—but which are neither like the fantastic capitals of the small *Saxon* Churches; nor like the more enriched ones of *Alfred's*, and of *Edgar's* times.

The intercolumniations are, some twelve feet; some twelve feet, one inch;—some twelve feet, two inches;—and one only eight feet, two inches.—And the heights of the pillars are, as nearly as may be, in the same proportion to the common height of a man, as they are represented in the drawing; that is, nearly about five diameters, or between thirty and forty feet high.

The great arches, resting upon these pillars, have none of the indented mouldings, or enrichments of *Norman* arches; nor any of the strange fancied variety of the smaller *Saxon*.—Between these arches, however, are placed, odd, rude, grotesque heads; each of which seems formerly to have supported a plain pilaster, reaching (as at St. Albans) quite up to an original wooden roof: but which are now made to support the more modern springing pointed arches, of the present stone roof, that was added *after* the time of Edward the First.

And above the great circular arches, appears plainly the old *Saxon* Wall; with those same kind of small arches, and pillars, that are seen in the upper part of the walls at *Pershore*:*—whilst here, as at Pershore, the capitals of the small clumsy pillars, that separate them, are much varied, and rendered *dissimilar* from each other, manifestly in the most designed manner.

Two of them are shewn exactly Pl. XXIV. Fig. (1) and (2).

In the upper part of the walls of the south Cross Isle, (or Transept), and of the north Cross Isle, all this appears even still more plainly; where these small arches also are placed still more irregularly.—In some parts two together; and in others one by itself.—We find there also, a rude square pilaster, against the wall, just as at St. Albans, for the support of an original wooden roof: but over this again, is the addition of the more modern stone roof.

Having seen these decided vestiges of early *Saxon* Architecture, in so great a part of this Building; we, in the next place, are obviously led to enquire, where then was that Structure, which was the re-edification of *Fitzhamon?* For we are expressly told, by antient records,† that this extraordinary great man, the Son of *Hamon, Lord of Corboile* in Normandy; to whom William Rufus gave the honour of Gloucester, and who was afterwards *the first Conqueror of South Wales*, did, at the intreaty of *Sybill*, his Wife, restore, and rebuild, the Church of Tewkesbury, A. D. 1102;

* See Plate IX.

† Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 154; Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 176; &c.

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and endowed the Monastery with great and new donations: and removed the greater establishment of Monks, which was before this time at *Craneburne* in Dorsetshire, to this place.*

And on looking around, we may very soon perceive the distinguished marks of his magnificent work, in a style perfectly different from the rude *Saxon*.

For, on the right hand side of Pl. XVIII. which shews where the south side of the Nave joins to the west front of the Church; we may observe, that beyond the arch under which, in the drawing, the figure of a man is placed, there is a space of flat blank

* What sort of a Structure was originally at *Craneburne*, does not sufficiently appear, so as to deserve any particular notice in this place.

But it would be an improper omission not to mention, that at *Winburn*, or *Winborne*, in the same county of Dorsetshire, in the year 713, *Cuthberga*, the Sister of *Ina*, King of the West Saxons, and Queen of Northumberland, preferring peace and retirement to the turbulence of a Court, founded a Religious House for Nuns; in whose society she spent the remainder of her days.

In the Church of this her Foundation, were buried several *Saxon Kings;* and amongst the rest, *Ethelred*, King of the West Saxons, who was slain A. D. 872; whose tomb is still preserved, and has been repaired.†—And the crypt under the choir, with such parts of the Church as still bear evident marks of the Saxon Architecture, deserve well to be examined, by those who wish to compare the various specimens of the works of those early periods.—*Ethelred* having been the elder brother of the great King *Alfred*, the edifice in which his tomb was placed, notwithstanding reparations, and parts rebuilt, may well be expected to retain vestiges of the truly *Saxon* style. And we find that even *Leland*,‡ who took so little notice of the different distinctions, in the peculiarities of buildings, was yet struck with this circumstance.

There is a very imperfect view of *Winburne* Minster, in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. V.; or rather in the Supplement, Vol. I. drawn in 1784.

And I have therefore here inserted, Pl. XIX. one upon a larger scale, which I received from the Rev. Mr. Rackett; and which is etched by the Honourable Mrs. H. Windsor; and in which the correspondence of the antient *Saxon Tower*, with those early Saxon ones at *Sandwich*, and *Dover*, plainly appears.—Only it is to be remarked, that the battlements of this Tower have been repaired; and that the middle arches of the lower row seem to have been somewhat altered in later days into pointed arches, as we have found was the case at *Pershore*.

The intersection of the uppermost arches, just in the same manner as on a part of the Tower at *Tewkesbury*, deserves much attention; and especially as it was undoubtedly this sort of *intersection*, that first gave the idea of the *pointed arch*, long before the pointed arch was brought into common use.

† Camden, Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 46, 53.
‡ Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. p. 55.

wall, which obviously appears, in the upper part, to have been joined, *as quite a new work*, to that old *Saxon* wall, wherein are the small arches; and to have been continued from thence, quite to the west front of the Building.—Whilst on the side of the new additional wall, high above appears, first a very remarkable truss, or large *bracket*, placed somewhat in the manner of a modillion, and resembling the figure of a man, as lying in a sleeping posture, with a long beard, and in a *Saxon* dress;—and beyond this, only a little higher up, are placed two men's busts; the one erect, and the other inclining a little; but both as smaller brackets.—And these three figures support the mouldings of three great arches, springing from them, which reach entirely across the Nave, and are sustained, on the north side, by three other figures, in like manner; only there the large figure, in the sleeping posture, forming the truss, or bracket, is that of a woman.

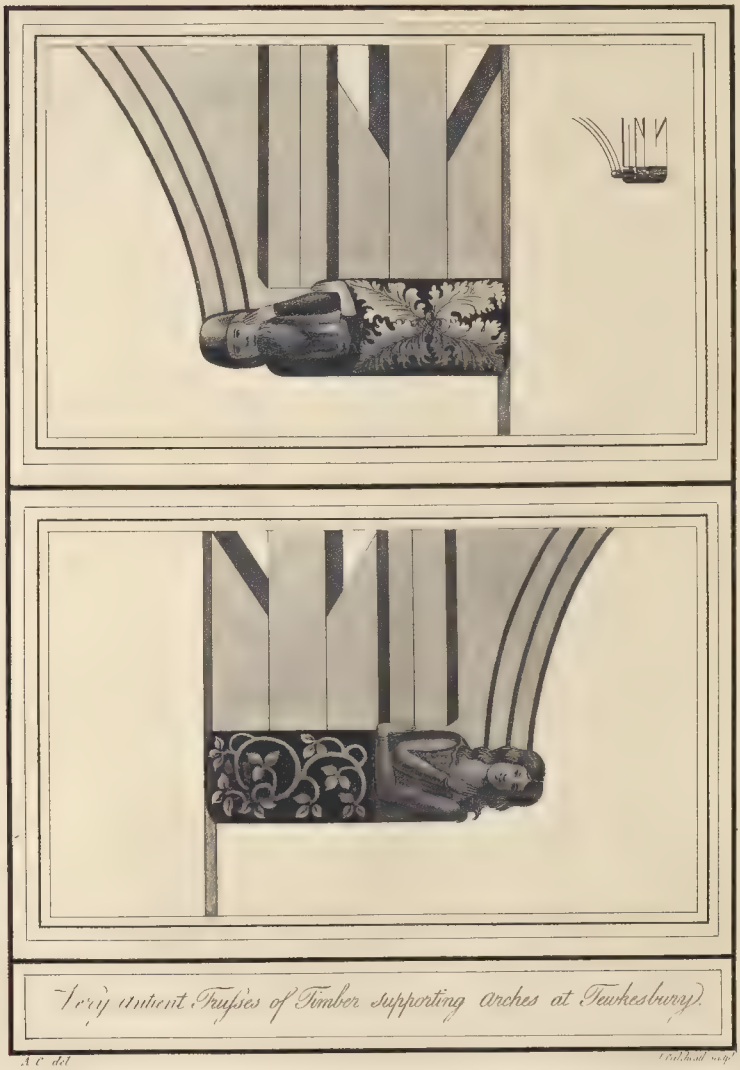
These magnificent great arches are on the inside of the Church:—and exactly corresponding with them, on the outside of the west front, is one of the most magnificent works in the Kingdom,—an high arched Portico;—shewn Pl. XX. in its just proportions.—A Portico, too magnificent for any thing *Saxon*;—yet, with circular arches, and too plain for any thing *Norman*, after the days of Henry the First.

Here then, in these arches of the roof, and in this west Portico, at Tewkesbury, is a most obviously distinguished part of *Fitzhamon's* great work.—The west end of the Church, entirely rebuilt; and rebuilt in a style as magnificent as any age could devise.

The proportions of the Structure of this Portico are as follows:—its width, within the inmost arch, is twenty feet.—Its height to the capitals of the Pillars, at least fifty feet;—and to the crown of the inner arch about sixty feet;—as nearly as one can judge by the eye.—Its depth, from the front, measuring along the Pillars, is seven feet, three inches.—And of these Pillars, or rather Pilasters, there are six on each side; every one of them about one foot, one inch, in diameter;—and as they stand most boldly



Magnificent Norman Portico at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire



Very antient Trusses of Timber supporting Arches at Tewkesbury.

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projecting nearly with their whole diameter from the wall, the intercolumniations appear wider than they in reality are.

The concentric arches, forming the archivault above, are each quite flat underneath, but rounded in the front; which produces a most noble effect.—An effect, so bold and magnificent as to be very unlike any thing really *Saxon;* though this kind of Architecture is so misnamed.

An effect also, as unlike any thing *subsequently Norman.*—For, in the very next reign of Stephen, appeared, and was introduced into fashion, *the pointed Arch;* of which, a specimen of a Portico, with *hanging* pointed *arches*, (the most similar, except for the pointing of the arches, of any in England, to this grand Portico at Tewkesbury) is to be seen, in the Great Gate of Tunbridge Castle; built by the very next succeeding great Earl of *Gloucester;* and which will be particularly described in the following pages.

Whence then could this magnificent idea in Architecture proceed?—Hardly from *Fitzhamon* himself.—For his thoughts were occupied with martial deeds.—Hardly from his builder; for then surely we should have seen more instances of it, in some other parts of the Kingdom.—Perhaps, therefore, it is no more than a just suspicion, to suspect, that it proceeded either from *Sybill*, his Wife, (the Sister of the Earl of Shrewsbury,*) who had been the real original first promoter of all the munificence *Fitzhamon* bestowed at Tewkesbury: or else from *Gerald*, Abbot of *Cranеburne*, whose Patroness she was, and whom she removed hither.

And this idea seems to be confirmed, by the figure of the great bracket, or truss, on the north side of the Nave: which may fairly be deemed to represent *Sybill* herself; as that on the south side does *Fitzhamon.*

Both are shewn, on a sufficiently large scale, carefully delineated, Pl. XXI.—and let it not be thought too great a partiality to the female sex;—to those excellent women, who seem to have been, from age to age, some of the first promoters of whatever was ingenious, and good, in this Country;—thus to endeavour

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 154.

to bring to light, what perhaps their humbleness, and modesty, alone concealed.

An endeavour has been honestly made, to detect some instances of their sincere, pious efforts, in the preceding pages: and it surely may be allowed to proceed thus far:—especially if it be considered, that either *Sybill*, or *Gerald*, might have taken a first hint for such a noble Structure, even from the Portico, though *so low*, at Hereford Chapel.—For a little after Odo, and Dodo's time, at least, is not a little before it, we ought to place the first Building of *that* most curious Structure, which remained so long at Hereford; the Chapel of *St. Catherine*, adjoining to the Bishop's Palace; built in the form of a square, of about forty feet only within; whose four pillars, supporting its arched roof, were each of single stones only, twelve feet high, it having, like the old Sanctuary at Westminster, another Chapel over it;—and whose arched Portico, nineteen feet and one half deep, with its archivault of hanging, flying arches above, might easily enough suggest an idea of constructing a still more noble, similar Portico at Tewkesbury.—There was a little sort of Sanctuary, or Choir, at the east end of this small Building; a recess not more than fifteen feet wide, and fifteen feet deep; more in the style of a *Greek Church*, than almost any thing in this Country: and therefore a sure proof of the very high antiquity of the Building.*

The magnificent Portico at *Tewkesbury*, has, however, most unquestionably, additional ornaments, beyond what belonged to it originally;—for the great pointed Window, could not be inserted *before* the time of Edward the First; and was most likely inserted about the same time with that which we shall hereafter have occasion to describe, at *Norwich;* namely in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

The great door also appears, from the peculiar style of its arched ornaments, to have been of the same date; concerning all which

* See Stukeley's It. Cur. Vol. I. p. 68. See also a curious engraving, in the Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. I. Pl. XLIX. And there is also a small engraving of this Structure, in Gough's Camden, Vol. II. Pl. XIV. p. 452.

there will be occasion to make some further observations hereafter.

As this magnificent west front was the work of *Fitzhamon*, so, in the Tower of the Church we may perceive some ornaments at least of *his* addition.—Whether the Tower was originally built by him, is much to be doubted, from several parts of its Architecture; which rather seem to indicate its having been the work of some Architect, in the days of King Edgar.—But some of the *indented* mouldings of the arches, in the Tower:—with a part of the *intersecting circular arches*, do certainly indicate some of the ornaments of this beautiful Structure to have been of his age; and therefore a part of his superb work.

It is represented very exactly, Pl. XVII. fig. 2.

In the Choir of *Tewkesbury* Church, are most beautiful vestiges of additions made in the time of Edward the First.—The massy Pillars that support the walls are obviously *Saxon*, the same as those in the Nave; only they seem to have had their upper parts taken down, and to have been so much shortened, that they are now not more than ten or twelve feet high; and have *pointed Arches* placed upon them: whilst from the fronts of the capitals of these Pillars, rise very beautiful slender round pilasters, against the flat wall; crowned with large disproportioned capitals, in the form of *basons*, at least six times as much in diameter as the pilasters themselves, and adorned with mosaic scrolls, and historical figures: from which basons spring the beautiful high pointed Arches, that support the stone roof.—One of these pilasters, with its *bason* capital, is represented Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 3.—Beneath which is shewn the lower part of the long slender pilaster, that rests upon the old Saxon column. And notwithstanding the strange disproportion, the whole together has a fine effect to the eye, as seen in the Choir.

In this interesting Building, rest the bones of *Fitzhamon* himself;*

* Interred in 1107, in the Chapter-house:—but in 1241 his bones were wrapt in fine diaper, and interred in a tomb, over which, in 1397, Parker, the eighteenth Abbot, caused a Chapel, of carved stone open work, to be erected.—See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I p. 407.

of the *Clares*, Earls of Gloucester;* of the *D'Espencers*;† of the Earl of *Worcester*, and Countess of *Warwick*;‡ of George Duke of *Clarence*,§ who (as Shakspeare relates from our antient Historians) was drowned in a butt of Malmsey Wine, in the Tower; of *Edward*, Prince of Wales,‖ Son of Henry the Sixth, slain in cold blood near this very Church; and of those turbulent warriors, *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerset*,¶ and the Lord *Wenlock:* with those

* Severally interred, in the years, 1230, 1262, 1295, 1314.—The second of these Earls, the celebrated *Richard*, usually kept his Christmas at Tewkesbury; and had sixty Knights to wait upon him.—Dugdale says he was twice poisoned; losing his hair and nails the first time; and his life the second.—Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 212, 1213.

† The younger Spencer was executed at Hereford, and quartered 1326; but some of his limbs were privately buried here. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 394.—The other D'Espencers were interred 1349, and 1375. The last is supposed to have been the person whose effigies is placed in a kneeling posture on the top of his little Chapel: and he is said to have been created Earl of Devonshire; but that does not appear from Dugdale's account. See Baronage, Vol. I. p. 396; and seems to have been a mistake.

‡ Interred 1439.

§ Interred 1477, or rather 1478.—Holinshed (p. 703) says it was on the 11th of March that he was drowned.

‖ Interred in 1471.—Having been taken prisoner, at the Battle of Tewkesbury, and being brought before Edward the Fourth, in one of the Houses near the Church, that King, provoked at his high spirit, and stout words, struck him with his gauntlet; whereupon the Duke of *Clarence*, (just mentioned,) and *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, with some other courtiers, murdered him.—See Holinshed, p. 688.

¶ Interred 1471.—The Duke of Somerset, Holinshed tells us, p. 688, provoked at a mistake in the Battle of Tewkesbury, which he imputed to the Lord Wenlock, struck his brains out with a battle-ax.—Afterwards being taken prisoner, he was himself beheaded.—They now lie in tombs opposite each other.

In Stevens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, is a plan of the Church at Tewkesbury, in which several of the tombs are marked; but some not accurately;—that of the Duke of Clarence being mistaken for one of the Spencers: and that, where the bones of the Duke of Somerset lie, being called a tomb of one of the Abbots. For the latter mistake, however, there seems to be some excuse; because it is probable the tomb might have originally been that of an Abbot, before the Duke's headless trunk was laid in it.

There is a view also of the south side of the Church inserted in the Monasticon, p. 153.—And another more modern one has been engraved at Worcester.—But neither of them do justice to the Building.

More accurate by far are the interesting representations in Mr. Lysons's very curious publication of the Antiquities of Gloucestershire;—where may be seen, in addition to the view I have given, another part of the Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey, Pl. LXXVI.—

of many other unhappy human beings, slain on both sides in the Battle of *Tewkesbury*;—human beings who could not dwell together in peace on earth; but whose ashes, thus heaped together, for a succession of ages, are now found, in that state, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary be at rest."*

The next most distinguished antient Structure, that demands our attention, is one, whose style of Architecture, and real state, has perhaps been the most mistaken of any in the Kingdom, from some strange circumstances.—And this is, the Cathedral at *Gloucester*.

We know, from the most authentic Records, and from the best authority,+ that a Church, and Nunnery, were actually built here, about A. D. 680, by *Osric*, (or *Osrick*), (afterwards King of Northumberland,) a near relation of *Ethelred*, King of Mercia; and partly at the expence of *Ethelred*, and of his Queen *Elfleda*; who having made the original grant to *Osrick*, spared no cost in the undertaking.—*Ethelfleda* also, the Daughter of King *Alfred*, with her Husband *Ethelred*, *Earl of Mercia*, afterwards bestowed cost upon it.—We know, also, that it was a foundation of such distinguished dignity, that even three Royal Ladies were successively Abbesses.—First, *Kineburga*, Daughter of *Penda*, Sister to *Osrick*, and Wife of *Alfred*, King of Northumberland; who continued here twenty years.—Secondly, *Eadburga*, Wife of *Wolphere*, King of Mercia; who continued here twenty-five years.—And thirdly, *Evah*, or *Easa*, the Wife of *Wolphere*, *Son of*

and also a view of the West End of the Church, Pl. LXX.—and of the East End, Pl. LXXV.—There is also an inside view of a part of the Cloister, Pl. LXXVII. and an inside view of the Choir, Pl. LXXVIII. which affords a very illustrating comparative representation of the additional *Norman work*, in the upper part of the Building, of the age of Edward the First.—In Pl. LXXIX. also, is a view of the Trinity Chapel.—In Pl. LVI. a view of some stone Stalls.—And in Pl. XLV. LVII. LXXI. LXXII. and C. are representations of Tombs; all which tend still further to shew, comparatively, the very different styles of Architecture, introduced in this Church, in subsequent ages, in addition to the *Saxon*.

* Job, ch. iii. v. 17.

+ See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 108.

*Penda*, and as some conclude also of *Ethelred*;* who continued here no less than thirty-three years; dying in the reign of *Offa*.

We have every reason to conclude, therefore, that the first Church, thus built, was a Structure not less costly, or strong, than either *Pershore*, or *Tewkesbury*, or *Ely*; or even than *St. Albans*; and that its remains might well be expected to continue to this very hour.

But we are told, that this Church, and Religious House, were destroyed by the Danes; and lay waste above fifty years:—after which *Bernulph*, King of Mercia, new built the Monastery A. D. 821, and placed *Secular Priests* therein, with their families, instead of Nuns: and that these were again displaced† by King *Canute*, at the instigation of *Wolstan*, Bishop of Worcester; when *Benedictine Monks* were placed in their room.

And then we are informed, that a second Church was built, about A. D. 1058, by *Aldred*, Bishop of Worcester, (who was afterwards Archbishop of York, and crowned King William the Conqueror);—and that even a third, still more magnificent, was begun by Abbot *Serlo*, Chaplain to William the Conqueror, about A. D. 1089; which was finished, and consecrated, A. D. 1100.‡

But this, again, being burnt, together with the whole City, A. D. 1122, we are much too hastily led to conclude, that there was, about that period, another entire re-edification; though there is no certain Record concerning that matter, either as to the time when, or the person by whom it was built;—the precise *parts* of the Building, whose dates are clearly ascertained by any written Records, being only such as began to be constructed, in the time of Henry the Third, near an hundred years afterwards.§

With regard to the Structures raised by Abbot *Serlo*, and again after the great fire; *Dugdale* fairly leaves us to conclude, that they were indeed merely *great repairs, and additions* to the Church

* See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 993; where, however, it may be observed that the Latin words may be otherwise translated.

† Dugdale Monasticon, p. 994.

‡ Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 113.

§ Ibid. p. 114.

that had *before* that time been erected.—But still, both *Camden*,* and *Dugdale*, evidently (though, as it appears to me, mistakenly) supposed the present Church to have been entirely *a new Structure*, reared from the foundation, by *Aldred*, about 1058.—And the prevalence of this prejudice goes so far, that the guides, who shew the Cathedral, lead you (with much absurdity) to some *pointed arches*, in an old wall beyond the cloisters, on the north side of the Church, and even shew them as being the remains of the former Church, *before Aldred's time*.—And *the Editor of Camden*, still more strangely, and hastily, concluded, that the arches they thus shew, were the remains of the very Church built by Aldred 1058; and that, therefore, the present Cathedral was of still later date.—For he says expressly† *the body of the old Church built* 1058 *by Aldred, forms a lane.*

The whole idea, however, of the present Church being thus entirely built from the ground, either by *Bishop Aldred*, or after his time, is supported merely by an expression in a manuscript, that is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester; and the extract from which is inserted in the *Monasticon*;‡ wherein it is said, that *Aldred* built his Church on a spot, *a little distant from where the former stood:* but that manuscript itself plainly appears to have been of no high antiquity; because it brings the account, contained therein, down to the time even of Henry the Seventh.

Laying aside therefore *the authority* of this Manuscript, the Author and Writer of which could have no better guide to direct his opinion, than we now have: whilst, for want of investigating the regular progress of Architecture, he could not probably have any such degree of light, as is afforded to us.—Laying aside this mere *ipse dixit;* this very slight authority; let us consider obvious facts, and appearances, that cannot well be mistaken.

And let any one fairly compare the precise Architecture of the present Cathedral at *Gloucester*, with the old work at *Tewkesbury;*

* See Camden; Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 261.

† See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

‡ P. 994.

and he will soon not only find reason to be convinced that the identical old first Church of the antient Nunnery does still in part remain; but he will plainly also perceive, *where*, and *how*, the new works were added by *Aldred*, and *Serlo*; and *what* the other additions, rebuildings, and alterations, that have been made, at so many various times, really were.—And he will even unavoidably perceive, that the first original Church was no more *utterly destroyed*, as to its pillars and walls, either by the Danes, or afterwards by the fire in 1122, than *Aldred's*, or *Serlo's* Church was by the fires in 1214, or 1223,* an hundred years afterwards, or than the still existing walls of so many antient Castles (said to have been destroyed over and over again) really were.

Pl. XXII. shews a part of the north side of the great Nave at Gloucester;—and at the first glance it may be observed, that here we do not find any pillars at all resembling those great square ones of the time of William Rufus, or of Henry the First; such as are usually met with in the Structures of that age; as at *St. Albans*, at *Norwich*, and at *Ely*;—neither do we find such as are seen in any part of the Church supposed to be built by Bishop *Gundulph*, at Rochester; (although *Gundulph* is said, in unquestionable records, to have assisted at the consecration of *Aldred's* Church at Gloucester;†) but we find pillars very nearly both of such forms, and of such proportions, as those truly old *Saxon* ones of *Odo*, and *Dodo*, at *Tewkesbury*.

These pillars at Gloucester, however, have now their Arches enriched, and adorned with ornaments, which, when we compare them with others at *Hereford*, and elsewhere, appear most clearly to have been such as were introduced in the age of *William the Conqueror*.

Here, therefore, we may most plainly detect, *what* Bishop *Aldred* begun; and *what* Abbot *Serlo* finished.—They seem evidently to have left the old Saxon Pillars of *Osrick* standing,

* See an account of these fires in the Monasticon, p. 994.

† See the Monasticon, p. 110; and Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 113. The other Bishops, besides Gundulph, who assisted, were Sampson, Bishop of Worcester; and Henry, Bishop of Bangor.



Bartlett sculp.

just as they were before; or at most only repaired them;—and added, or at least ornamented the Arches above;—and either rebuilt, or ornamented anew the wall from thence up to the roof; which was then at first framed merely of timber; but being afterwards burnt, in 1223, had the present beautiful stone roof constructed in its room, nearly about the time of Edward the First.

The whole of this idea is greatly confirmed, by the very masonry of the pillars.—For an attempt having been begun, a few years ago, to flute some of them, it was discovered,* that they were filled up, on the inside, only with loose irregular stones.*—A circumstance that at once defeated the attempt; and surely indicated that they could by no means be either of *Aldred's*, or of *Serlo's* rearing.

These pillars are about six feet, nine inches in diameter; but, like those at Tewkesbury, are not all exactly of the same proportions: for one of them measures twenty-one feet, eight inches in girt, and therefore must be about seven feet, two inches in diameter.—They are also, like those at *Tewkesbury*, between thirty and forty feet in height, and have just the same kind of Capitals† as those.—And their intercolumniations are here only a very little more; being in general about twelve feet, four inches; whereas those are only twelve feet, one inch, or twelve feet, two inches.

They are therefore, surely, truly *Saxon*.

And though the ornaments of the Arches have just the same indented zigzag mouldings, that were so prevalently in fashion, all over the kingdom, in *Gundulph's*, and in *Serlo's* time:—and so also have the little Arches above; and the mouldings on the walls;—yet the little Arches themselves, which, divested of their ornaments, are so much smaller, and so very unlike those constructed in *William the Conquerer's* time at *Hereford*, that will be described hereafter, and so exceedingly, both in dimensions,

* See the account of this attempt in Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

† These kind of Capitals also are found, in the old *Saxon* part of the Church at *Malvern* in Worcestershire.

and form, like those at *Tewkesbury*,* and *Pershore*,+ may induce us to suspect, that even *they*, as well as the great Arches, and Pillars beneath, were indeed a part of the old original work reared by Osrick, in 681 or 682, and were afterwards thus ornamented in *Serlo's* time.

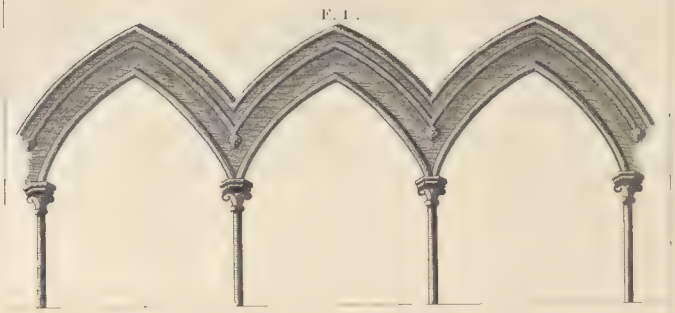
Of such ornaments, added upon old original Arches, we have many instances.—And in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, there are not only Arches of the time of William Rufus, some with those ornaments, and some without; but on the south side, near the organ, there is one in part finished, with such ornaments, and in part unfinished, as it was originally; wherein (even till my time, and till the repairs of that Church about 1765) the very iron tool, which the last workman (who there lost his life) used, in the days of Henry the First, was left fixed in the wall, as a memorial of the sad accident which happened, of his falling from the scaffold, and being killed upon the spot;—in consequence of which event, the work was stopped, and this Arch left in an unfinished state; half as it was in the time of William Rufus, and half as in the time of Henry the First.

Over these works of *Aldred's*, and *Serlo's*, we perceive, in Pl. XXII. windows, as at Tewkesbury, close to the modern stone roof, with flat pointed Arches, exactly of the kind that came into such common use, in the days of *Edward the First*.—And against the wall, beautiful corbels, or consoles, of the same age, as brackets, supporting the roof; one of which is represented more at large Pl. XXIV. No. 1, fig. 3.

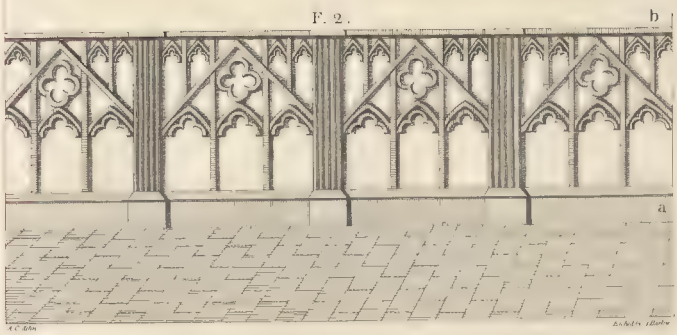
Having thus examined what so fairly appears to have been a part of the Structure of the old original Church of *Osrick*; come we now to examine those Remains, which are shewn by the guides; and are erroneously taken to be the remains either of that old Church, or of the Church built by Aldred 1358; and are even mentioned as being such, by the Editor of Camden, under an idea that both *Aldred's* and *Serlo's* Buildings were entirely *new Structures, raised quite from the ground, and on quite a different spot from the first old Church.*

* See Pl. XVIII. + See Pl. IX.

F. 1.



F. 2.




*Singular Arches at Gloucester.*

Published as the Act directs by Mess.rs Nicols

Pl. XXIII. fig. 1, represents three of the four Arches, which, as Mr. Gough* truly says, do now *form the side of a Lane*, leading from the door of the old Cloisters; and they are now (like some of the Arches of the Abbey Church at Bury) filled up with the Building of the fronts of small modern Houses;—and are generally called, *Remains of the body of the old Church.*

But nothing can be more clear, upon the very first view of them, than that such *pointed Arches, so ornamented, and with such Pillars*, could never have been either of the age of *Osric*, A. D. 681; or of that of *Aldred*, A. D. 1058.

They are as obviously as can be, of the age of *Edward the First.*—The peculiar style of the Arches; the Capitals; the slender Pillars; every circumstance of these Remains, demonstrate this fact.—And the Cloisters, close to which they adjoin, are peculiarly of an odd species of Architecture, introduced in that age.

A part, of one of the sides of these Cloisters, is represented in the same Pl. XXIII. fig. 2.—Its straight lines, instead of Arches, are very remarkable; and so also is the low appearance of the whole:—for at (a) is the floor; and the roof springs from (b); and its whole length is only about fifty-one feet.

There can hardly rest a doubt, therefore, but that the supposed *Remain of the body of the old Church*, instead of being any such thing, was merely a part, either of the *Refectory*, which was built in A. D. 1246, by Abbot *John de Felda*;† or of the *Dormitory*, which was built in A. D. 1303, by Abbot *John Gamages:* and the peculiar situation of these Remains, so nearly adjoining to the Cloisters, which seem evidently from their Architecture, to have been of the time of Edward the First, plainly speaks the same language: as also do the apparent dimensions of the Building.

The obvious remains of the real old Church, are to be discerned, not only in the Nave of the present Cathedral; but still more especially *in the Crypt*, under the Choir; where is evidently seen, the manner, in which the old *Saxon* Pillars originally stood; and indeed do still remain;—and which formed a *Saxon* Church,

* Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

† See Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 114, 115.

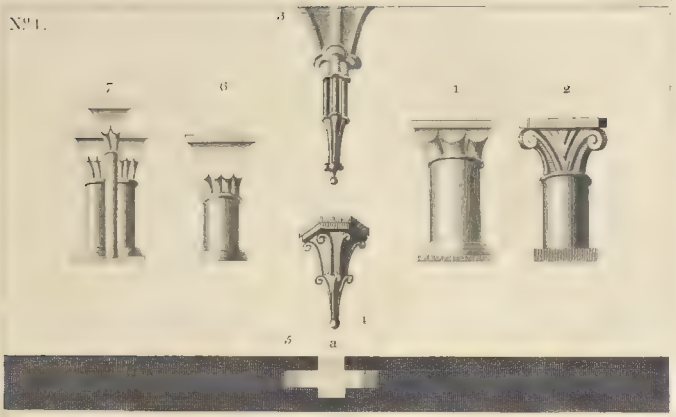
circular (as such Churches very usually were) at the east end;—and where may be discovered, the manner in which Abbot *Sebroke*, (or *Seabrook*) in the time of Henry the Sixth, between the years 1450, and 1457, caused near half of each original pillar, on the two sides of the Choir, to be cut away, in order to insert his beautiful stone skreen:—and caused also the whole of the pillars, to be cut away level with the floor of the Choir, at the east end, in order to contrive, most ingeniously, to introduce his magnificent east window, *wider* than the Choir itself.

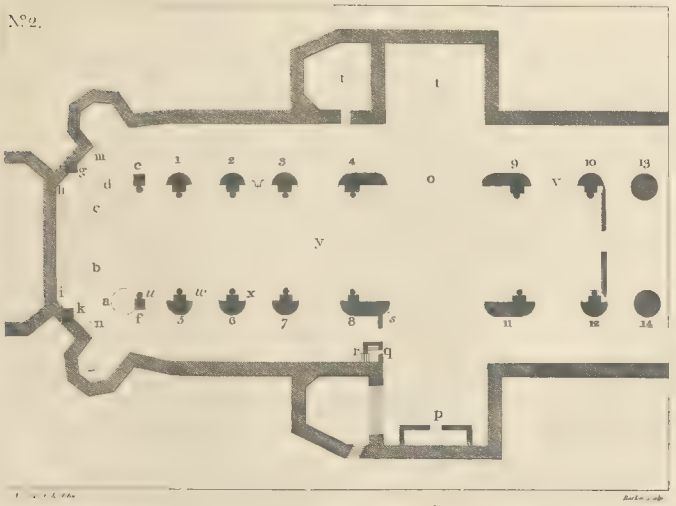
For the purpose of explaining this, No. 2, Pl. XXIV. is a Plan of the Choir, and of a small part of the Nave, at the west end; and of a small part of the *Lady* Chapel, at the east end.—The parts of each pillar, engraved with *black lines*, shews what alone now remains in the Choir above; whilst the *dotted lines* shew the whole of the Saxon pillars, as they still remain of a round form, in the Crypt beneath;—and shew also, how the whole of those (a, b, c, d,) at the east end, have been cut down to the floor of the Choir.

At (f), and (e), are two new square pillars built by *Sebroke*, to complete his skreen:—and from thence it is obvious how he contrived to expand the Choir, to two others, at (k), and (g), made to correspond with the former; whilst the noble window above was made to extend along (k, i, h, g);—and whilst, oddly enough, two now *unmeaning* semicircular pilasters, at (n), and (m), are still left remaining against the wall, with as unmeaning segments of arches, over-head, springing towards the places above, over the now vacant places of the old original *Saxon* pillars (a), and (d).

As in the description of *Saxon* Castles, the *Norman* additions afterwards made have also been represented, for the sake of shewing, more clearly, the perfect distinctions, in point of Architecture; so here it may be useful to shew, what kind of Architecture was added by Abbot *Sebroke*, in the Choir above.

Pl. XXV. therefore, represents two of the divisions, of his beautiful skreen; begun when he first cut away the front halves of the old Saxon pillars, in the time of *Henry the Sixth*;—and which were finished in the time of *Edward the Fourth*.




Remains at Tewkesbury & Gloucester

Fig. 1

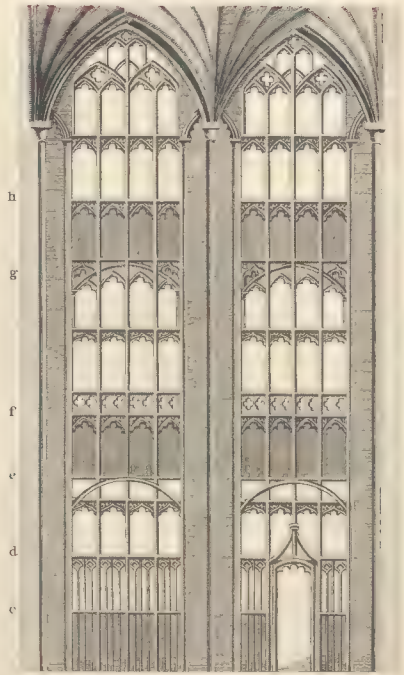



Fig. 2



The light flying flat arch, (one of the most curious things in England), represented in Fig. 2, which is directly under the Great Tower, near the middle of the Choir, was perhaps one of *the very first* appearances of *a flat arch* in this country. A tendency to the same sort of flat arch, appears in every part of *Sebroke's* skreen; and might, most probably, give occasion to the real introduction of the flat arch, *with four centres*, which came so much into use, in the reign of Henry the Seventh.*

The width of this extraordinary arch, is thirty-five feet, five inches.—And the width of the pointed arch behind it, is only twenty-three feet.

In consequence of the irregularity of the intercolumniations of the old *Saxon* pillars, it may be observed, that the divisions even of the *Norman* new skreen, are not exactly equal: the width of the division (a), No. 1, being eleven feet, ten inches;—and that of (b), only ten feet, six inches.

In the Structure, upwards,—Pl. XXV. Fig. 2, from (a b) to (c) is solid wall;—from (c) to (d), light open work;—from (d) to (e), still more open, with light transom stone-work, of a most remarkable kind, crossing the open arch;—from (e) to (f), is again solid blank wall;—from (f) to (g), open work, opening into the walk over the side isle;—from (g) to (h), again solid wall;—and from (h) to the top, quite open work, with glass windows.

Having shewn the great contrast, between *Sebroke's* fine skreen, and the old *Saxon* Architecture, it is curious, in the next place, to contrast the workmanship of the small old Cloister, represented Pl. XXIII. fig. 2, of the age of Edward the First, with that of the very beautiful great Cloister, built by Abbot *Frowcester*, (or *Trowcestre*,)† between the years 1381, and 1412; when that fine style of Architecture began, which prevailed in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

It is about sixteen, or eighteen feet, in height;—thirteen feet in breadth;—and nearly one hundred and fifty feet in length, on

* This circumstance will be more particularly attended to hereafter; when we come to examine the *gradual* introduction of the different kinds of pointed arches.

† Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 116.

every one of the four sides of the quadrangle ;*—with stone benches under several of the windows :—whilst, on the south part, it was moreover fitted up, so as to be a sort of *Scriptorium*,+

* From east to west it is nearly about 144 feet; and from north to south about 148 feet.

+ Each Monastery had usually some apartment, or else some portion of its Cloister, appropriated for this purpose ;—where their Musick, and Missals, were copied out; and such other books as they could obtain to copy.—In the old Library, at Worcester Cathedral, and in the remaining Libraries of some other Collegiate Churches, may still be seen the manner of writing Musick, before the invention of the present *notes*;—and some of the old copies of Books.

By means of such *Scriptoria*, were compiled, and preserved, the first Annals of Saxon History; without which, (however strange the composition of some of them may be), this would now have been a land of darkness, as to any accounts of what passed therein, during those ages.

The custom of making this one good use of Convents, and of Christian Societies, was derived from very early days.—About the year 220, Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, built a Library there, for preserving the Epistles of learned Ecclesiastical Persons, written one to another; and their Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures.—And in what manner *Origen* was aided to write his admirable Works, we learn from *Eusebius*, who tells us that he had more than seven notaries appointed for him, who, every one, in his turn, wrote that which he uttered; and as many more Scriveners, together with *maidens*, well exercised and practised in penning, who were to write copies. Eccles. His. of Eusebius Pamphilus, lib. 6. ca. 20.—And ca. 21.

The preservation and progress of science, by means of Convents, is a very curious fact;—and the precious estimation in which books were held, when few could read them, is still more so.

The Books which *Fergus the Second*, who assisted *Alaric* the Goth, had brought home with him, as a part of the plunder from Rome, about the year 406, had been deposited in the Monastery, in the Island of Iona.—From thence they were, by degrees, copied for the use of other Monasteries ;—and besides these, other Books were obtained afterwards, by means of various journeys to Rome.—*Benedict Biscop*, the Founder of Weremouth, and the friend of Bishop Wilfrid, made no fewer than five journies to Rome, to purchase copies of Books.—Boethius, lib. vii. p. 114.—See also Paulus Jovius, as cited by Archbishop Usher, Br. Eccl. 597.—And see Bedæ His. Abb. Wermuthen. p. 297.

They became deposited in various Monasteries.—Some such were at Canterbury,—where also were Books that had been brought from Rome, both by *Augustin*, and by *Theodore*. And the Letter of *Aldhelm*, (the very person who founded Malmsbury), containing an account of his studies, and progress, at Canterbury, by the help of such Books, is one of the most curious fragments of antiquity.—(Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 6 and 7).

The price of these Books, was at various times enormous.—*Aldfred*, King of Northumberland, gave eight *hides of land*, (that is as much as eight ploughs could till) for one volume of Cosmography.—Yet probably it was but a very indifferent work.—For

for the Monastery; convenient for writing;—and whilst, at the

perhaps it ought not to be forgotten on this occasion, what a strange, most antient map, on parchment, for the illustration of Cosmography, there is still preserved, in the Library at *Hereford* Cathedral.

In these Conventual *Scriptoria*, were copied out the Writings of the Fathers;—in these also were copied out the abstruse Works of the first Schoolmen;—and here also, little works of Genius, besides additions to Æsop's Fables, (which have been already mentioned, p. 113) were added sometimes as effusions of fancy, and imagination.

It is an interesting circumstance, deserving to be mentioned on this occasion; that before the time of Venerable *Bede*, there lived *an Anglo-Saxon Poet*, of the name of *Cædmon*, or *Kedman*, of the wondrous powers of whose mind Bede speaks in the highest terms, (Bedæ His. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 24), and says, he sung of the Creation of the World,—of the Origin of Mankind,—and of the whole History of the Book of Genesis. —He died about A. D. 680, and therefore must have been a contemporary of *Etheldreda*, who founded the Monastery at Ely.—And it is a very curious fact, little known, that *Lisle* (the Author of the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary) translated this Poem;—and that, therein it was found had been introduced, almost exactly,—the same idea of the Fallen Angels, and even the peculiarity of the nine days falling, and of Satan's assembling his *Thanes*, on their rousing themselves;—which was afterwards introduced by *Milton*, in his *Paradise Lost*. This account I received from the learned and venerable Dr. Percy, Lord Bishop of Dromore, who had several Manuscripts of *Lisle's* bequeathed to him; —and was of all other men the best qualified to investigate such curious matters of antient Literature.

It should not be forgotten, with regard to Manuscripts, the productions of these painful penmen in *Scriptoria*, that King *Alfred* is said (by the Saxon Writers) to have first received his eagerness for erudition, in an age when he himself complained of the general ignorance even of the Clergy, from his Mother's shewing him a Book of *Saxon Poems*, *beautifully written*, and illuminated; and promising to give it to which-ever of her Sons should soonest learn to read it.—(See before, p. 108, and 113).

Till the eleventh century, musical notes were expressed only by letters of the alphabet: —and till the fourteenth century, they were expressed only by large, lozenge-shaped, black dots, or points, placed on different lines one above another, and then first named—*ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*, (to which *si* was added afterwards);—and they were all expressed, without any distintion as to length of time; and without any such things as *breves*, *semibreves*, *minims*, *crotchets*, or *quavers*, &c.—The old Psalters, in many Cathedral Churches, are found thus written:—and in consequence of this it was, that the Scriptoria, in some other places, as well as at Gloucester, are found so contrived, as to have long ranges of seats, or benches, one beyond another, for the copyists; so that a master, or person, standing at one end, and naming each note, it might quickly be copied out by all, naming it in succession, from one end to the other.—Hence the Psalters were more easily copied than any other books;—and it is not a little remarkable, that, in the Library, at Worcester, is a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, set to music throughout, with these sort of notes.

It would be not only a great omission, but the utmost injustice, not to refer, on this occasion, to Mr. Bonnor's incomparable miniature view of these Cloisters, No. 1, Pl. X.

west end, near the *Refectory*, were *Lavatories*, or places for the Monks to wash at, both before, and after their repasts.*

Two divisions of this Cloyster, are represented Pl. XXVI.—And another part, near one of the angles, is represented in Mr. Lysons's very curious Work.+

Let us now return to a little further examination of the Plan, Pl. XXIV. No. 2.—At (o) is the fine light flying arch, under the Tower;—and the circles, numbered from (1) to (12), shew the original pillars, that have been pared away in the upper parts:—the white space in each, shewing what has been cut away; and the black shewing what is still left, in the Choir above.

At (r), on the north side of the side isle of the Choir, just on the left hand, on entering the door-way, and behind the partition wall (q s), are a few stone steps of ascent, to an inclosed stone desk, placed just behind the door by which you enter this isle, for the purpose of reading, the regular portion of the Gospel, on the celebration of Divine Service, to the common people standing in the north cross isle, through a little open arched window at (q);‡ after it had been read to the Monks, and persons attending in the Choir.

And at (p), is a very odd, and curious remain, of an inclosed Cell, with strong, high, arched iron gratings,§ which, tradition says, was used occasionally for the temporary confinement of disobedient, and transgressing Monks;—imprisoned in this situation, *purposely*, that that they might have, during their confinement, both the opportunity of hearing the Gospel read, from the open window at (q), and of seeing, and hearing (as they could do, in

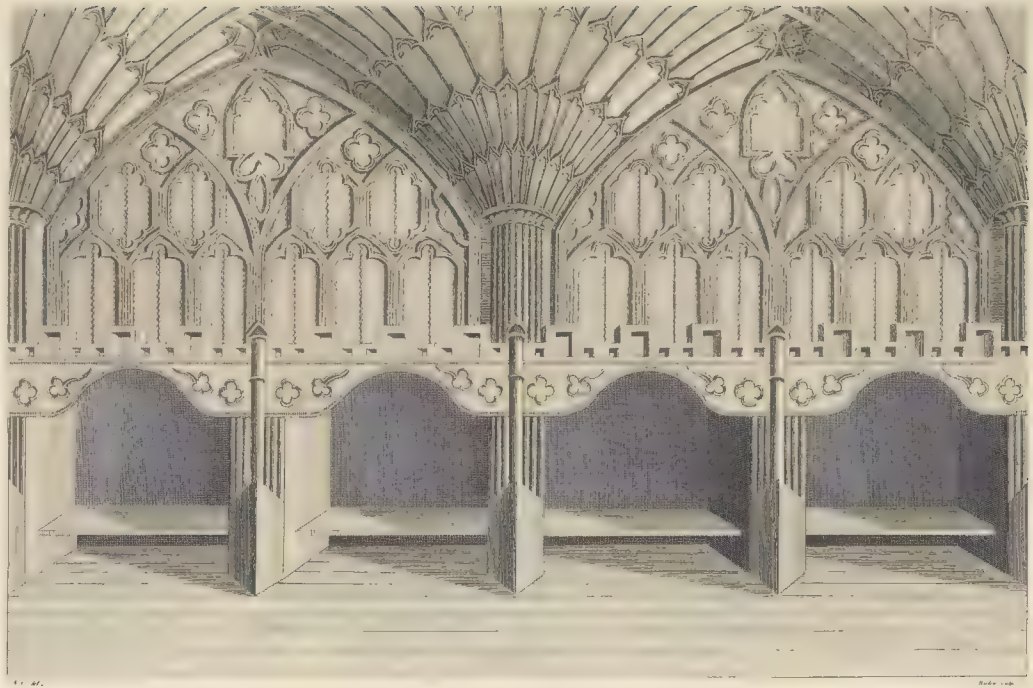
which conveys the most complete general idea of them that can possibly be given.—And indeed his other views of this most interesting fabric, though on so small a scale, serve in the highest degree to explain, and illustrate its different parts.

* Atkyns's Gloucestershire, p. 66.

+ Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities, Pl. CX.

‡ Stone desks, in similar situations, and exactly of a similar kind, have (as I have been very well assured) been used in several Conventual Churches abroad, for the same purpose, till of very late years.

§ The very curious front, with the fine iron gratings of this Prison, may be seen most nicely delineated, in Mr. Bonnor's miniature views, No. 1, Pl. IV.



Cloyster at Gloucester.

the original situation of the high altar) the celebration of Mass in the Choir.

In a part of the Crypt of the Church, beneath, was a Prison of a much more dreadful kind, for those deemed more heinous offenders.—For, in the wall, on the side, nearly under the Choir, appears another most strange Remain, which is incapable of having any other account given of it, than that it was, from the earliest ages, designed for this dreadful use.—Tradition positively affirms, that it was actually made use of, as a Prison, for Hereticks, even so late as the time of Queen Mary.

Its Plan is shewn, Pl. XXIV. No. 1, fig. 5;—having a strong door at (a); whilst on each side within, a cell is formed, in the thickness of the wall, merely just wide enough, and just high enough, for a man to stand, or to sit; a stone bench being placed at each end, as shewn by the shaded part of the plan.

The Prison that has already been described, as existing in the Pillar at *St. Albans*,* may prevent our being surprised at such an appearance of antient Ecclesiastical rigour, and severity.—And a reference to a few other Prisons, and places of confinement, in some other *Benedictine* Monasteries, will help both to confirm the fact, as to this kind of rigorous confinement, and as to the more lenient modes of Ecclesiastical punishment.

With regard to the former;—at *Ewenny*, in Glamorganshire, (which was a Cell of *Benedictines*, dependant upon this identical Great Monastery at *Gloucester*;+ and was one of those that was, in antient times, on account of the uncivilized state of the surrounding country, strongly fortified); under the Tower of the South Gate, is as strange a Dungeon as has ever been found in any Religious House.

Its Plan may been seen, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 1; as it remained in the year 1788. At (a) is a strong door-way; and at (a b), (b c,) and (c d), the winding continuation of a narrow Gallery, only one foot and an half wide, which leads, by two turnings at right angles, to a very deep Dungeon (d), only six feet in diameter,

* In this Volume, p. 128.

+ Leland, Vol. V. p. 12.

placed directly in the centre of a strong Tower. It is almost impossible to behold it, without bringing to mind the account given of that strange place of confinement, at Jerusalem; *the Dungeon of Malchiah, the Son of Hammelech, that was in the Court of the Prison*;‡ where the holy Prophet *Jeremiah* had well nigh perished.

With regard to the more tolerable kind of Prisons, so contrived that a prisoner might be both a spectator, and auditor of, daily celebrations.

At Canterbury, there are obvious Remains of an Apartment of such a kind, both spacious, and convenient; but yet clearly intended for a Prison, and penitential place of abode for *refractory brethren*. The real original designation of which, has been so well ascertained by the curious, and inquisitive Mr. *Gostling*, that the best account of it will be nearly in his own words.*—referring to his Appendix,+ for a fair and full vindication of his opinion, in answer to a petulant objection, founded on mere surmise.

" A newel Staircase leads to a Room over St. Anselm's Chapel, " in the Cathedral;—a Closet belonging to which Room, has a " Window looking into the Choir, with an Iron Grate.—This has " been shewn as the place where John the Second, King of " France, was confined, when taken prisoner, and brought into " England, by Edward the Black Prince.

" The story is too ridiculous for confutation;—but that the " place has been used *for a Prison*, may very well be believed.

" In all probability it was so, for such of the Monks as had " deserved confinement by their irregularities.—The Room is " pretty large; and has light enough.—It has a Chimney, and an " Oven; so it should seem, they who were confined here, were " to dress such provisions for themselves, as the Convent was " pleased to allow them.

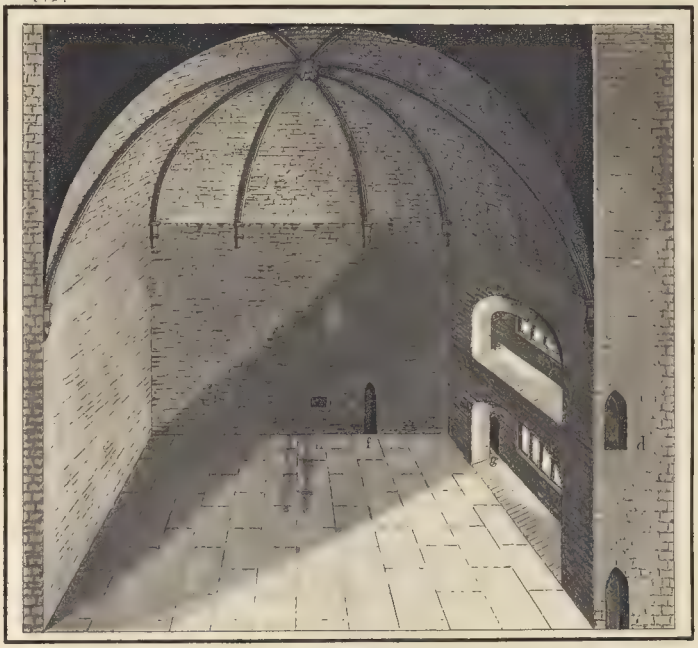
" There is a door into a Platform, where they might have fresh

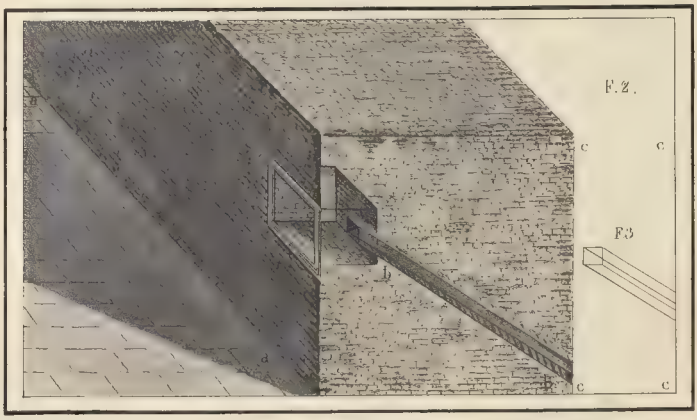
* Jeremiah, c. xxxviii. v. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

+ Gostling's Walk in and about Canterbury, p. 253.

‡ Ib. p. 389.

F. 1.




*The Monks Prison in Worcester Cathedral.*

A. C. del.

Fieldhouse Sculp.

" air; and a pleasant prospect of the country;* but at such an " height from the ground, that any attempt to make an escape " that way would have been very dangerous.

" The grated Window toward the Choir, I apprehend, was " made, that the prisoners might be eye-witnesses of the per- " formances of those sacred solemnities, which they were ex- " cluded from joining in: and was so placed, that they might " have a fair view of the elevation of the host.†—And probably " notice was taken whether they duly attended at their grate on " such occasions, and how they behaved themselves there.

" Whether any thing of this kind is to be seen in other " Churches I know not," says Mr. Gostling.—It remains, therefore, now to be added, to his curious observations, that just such another large Prison is to be seen at Worcester: where, though the apartment is also spacious, there are some devices that evidently denote its intended use.

Its Architecture, and Arches near the Windows, shew it to have been repaired, so late as the time of Henry the Seventh, but all the rest is much more antient.

Pl. XXVII. Fig. 1,—shews the inside of the Great Room.—The ascent up to which is by a very steep, strait, narrow Staircase, from the side of the South Isle of the Cathedral; very nearly in the same part of the Church here, as at Canterbury. And this

* The situation of this Prison may be seen, in the Plan of the Cathedral, at Fig. 42, which is inserted in the Monasticon, p. 19;—and in Somner's Antiquities, Pl. II. p. 9; and also in that inserted in Stevens' Translation, p. 4.—And, in the two latter Works may be seen, the situation of the platform here mentioned, in a fine South View of the Cathedral, engraved by Hollar.—See Somner, Pl. II. p. 17.

† In the Churches of the Roman-Catholicks, at the Benediction, the Priest, turning from the Altar, holds up the consecrated wafer higher than his head, and shews it to the congregation; and a small hand-bell is rung, to call the attention of the people to the elevation.—In consequence of this usage, in many of our old Parish Churches, where the families of Benefactors had their own chancels, or seats, in Cross, or Side Isles, a sort of loops, or spying holes still remain, cut slaunting through the Walls, towards the Altar, that such families might see the whole ceremony fully, from their proper places, and pay the required attention, without removing from their stations.—For the same purpose was the strange contrivance of the *Spying Pipe*, that we shall find in the Prison at Worcester.

ascent was secured, not only by a strong door at bottom, with cavities remaining in the side walls for an exceeding strong bar; but also by several *machicolations*, the whole way, over head.

From this sort of fortified appearance, a tale has taken rise, and is commonly told by the guides, of its being the apartment where *Oliver Cromwell* resided, during his stay at Worcester. A tale, however, which deserves little more credit, than that concerning *John, King of France*, at Canterbury: although, considering the spacious convenience of these Apartments, at both places, neither the one nor the other, is absolutely impossible.

Having climbed up this steep, narrow ascent; the entrance into the Room is by a door, which appears at (g), just behind a partition wall, on the right-hand side;—not far from the Window.

We then find a square Room, lined as it were, with very smooth stone walls, of that reddish stone, whereof the whole Church is built; and vaulted with stone.—It is lighted by two great Windows; one above, and one below: by means of which it has as good air, and light, as the *Canterbury* Prison.—Before these Windows, however, both below, and above, at the distance of some feet, stands a cross partition Wall, with two similar Arches, one above the other, which, there is some reason to think, were formerly filled with gratings; as well as the Windows;—and by means of which, any direct access to the Windows, from the Prison Room, was quite cut off, except by a door of entrance, once existing, through the grating, near (g); and by the Gallery above.

In front, in Pl. XXVII. Fig. 1, appears a small narrow door, (f), so very strait, and narrow, that a corpulent man could scarce pass through it:* and by means of this alone is access to a Stair-

* It would be allowing an idea much too ludicrous, to apprehend that this Door-way was designed, *as a gauge*, for any fat, gormondizing, gluttonous Monk; who might be confined here, till he should be able to pass through it.—Though such a supposed reduction of corpulence, would not be at all more impossible, or surprising, than that of the celebrated *Doctor Cheney*, who, by an abstemious diet, so reduced himself, in the last century, as to be able to draw his enormous loose skin, from the top of his back over his head, like *an hooded serpent*.—Incredible as this may appear, it was positively

case, nearly as narrow, which leads directly up to the sort of Gallery, that appears on the right hand, before the upper Window, and over the lower Arch.—Entering which, at (e), and proceeding along this Gallery, you come to a door-way, marked (d), through which was a Bed Chamber, with a small Oratory adjoining; and also a Closet, serving for a Privy.

In the great Prison Chamber, in front, by the side of the narrow Staircase door, appears, at (h), a square opening, with a frame for a little door, much like the mouth of an oven, both in dimensions, and form:—but on careful inspection it is found to have been contrived for another purpose:—for it incloses merely a cavity, like a cup-board; at the further end of which is seen a square hollow pipe, going downwards through the Wall, about six inches square.—This is now quite dark; having been of late years shut up, and stopped at the further end, by the erecting of the Monument, in memory of Bishop Maddocks, in the South Cross Isle, exactly at the outmost end of it:—but formerly, and within the remembrance of several persons still living, it had its lower end opening quite through that Wall, in a sort of loop; and was manifestly designed for the purpose of enabling any prisoner, both to see, and to hear the performance of Mass, at an Altar, that once stood against the opposite Wall, in that South Transept: whilst the mouth of the cavity, next the Room, was at other times shut by a wicket Window, about two feet square.

The whole of this contrivance will be better understood, by Pl. XXVII. Fig. 2; which represents a Section of the Wall; and in which (a a) shews the inside of the room, with the front of the cavity, where the wicket Window was placed.—(b b) shews the pipe, descending obliquely through the Wall;—and (c c c c) shews the open space towards the South Transept, on the other side of the Wall, opposite to which stood a Mass Altar.

attested, to me, by an old Physician, of the first eminence, at Bath, who knew him well.

I myself once remember a very corpulent *Fellow of a College*, at Cambridge, who seating himself every day, at dinner, with his back against the wall, used to eat (according to his own facetious account of himself) *up* to the table; and the next day, when he came in hungry, wanted an inch or more of it.

There do not remain, to the best of my remembrance, any rings, or staples, in either of these Ecclesiastical Prisons.—If there are any such, they escaped my notice.—But those that actually remained, a very few years ago, in what is called *the Lollard's Tower*, at *Lambeth*, in the Archbishop's Palace, are well known. —This Ecclesiastical Prison, like the two last mentioned, was in an airy, fine situation; and was one of those, last of all, used in this kingdom.*

It must be distinguished, however, from that other, which went by the same name, in *St. Paul's Cathedral*, whilst the old Church remained.

This latter was in one of those Towers, which adorned the western front of that Church; and was over the close adjoining Parish Church of *St. Gregory:* the Tower standing indeed within the very body of that Building.†—Here had been a place of confinement for Ecclesiasticks, similar to some of those which we have been describing, from a very early period.—Its name of *Lollard's Tower*, it probably obtained about the time of *Henry the Fifth*.—And in the reign of *Queen Mary*, hereticks, or offenders against Ecclesiastical laws in general, whether Clergy, or Laymen, were frequently confined in this place.

Here *George King*, *Thomas Leyes*, and *John Wade*, were imprisoned; till they fell sick, and were removed to neighbouring Houses, where they died.‡

Here, in the same year, 1555, *William Wiseman* ended his days, in bonds.§

Here, in the year 1514, *Richard Hunn*, was murdered.‖

And in a similar Prison to this, in the opposite Tower, that sincere good man *John Philpot*, Archdeacon of Winchester, was ordered to be imprisoned;¶ though he was first confined in a Vault,

* See Fox's Martyrology.

† Its situation may be seen in Dugdale's Plan of St. Paul's, inserted in his History of that Cathedral, p. 161:—and its appearance, in his South View, inserted p. 162, and engraved by Hollar.

‡ See Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 266. § Ib. p. 340.

‖ Fox's Martyrs, II. p. 8 to 14. Holinshed, p. 835.

¶ Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 343, ed. 1791.

that was made use of as *a Coal Cellar*,* by the then Bishop of London; and afterwards in a still more narrow Prison; of which, as well as of *Lollard's Tower*, and of his similar Prison in St. Paul's, we have a most particular and curious account, in the remaining details of the hard usage, and sincere confessions of honest faith, and adherence to truth, of this truly Christian Martyr.†—His description of both these places of confinement, deserves the utmost attention;—both as illustrating the present subject, and the horrible history of those times.

"Bishop *Bonner*,‡ (he says), after examination, calling the "keeper aside, commanded to keep all men from me, and nar- "rowly to search me; and brought me to his privy door, that "goeth into the Church; and commanded two of his men to ac- "company me, and to see me placed.—And afterwards I passed "through Paul's, up to *Lollard's Tower:* and after that turned "along the west side of St. Paul's, through the wall; and passing "*through six or seven doors*, came to my lodging, *through many* "*straits*, - - - &c.—And it is in a Tower right on the other side "of *Lollard's Tower;* as high almost as the Battlements of *Paul's;* "eight foot in breadth, and thirteen in length; and almost over "the Prison where I was before; having a window opening "towards the east, by which I may look over the tops of a great "many houses, but see no man passing into them. And whoso "walketh in the Bishop's Upper Gallery, going to his Chapel, "may see my window, and me standing in the same."

The curiosity of this whole subject, which deserved to be taken in one comprehensive point of view, on this first mention of the most antient *monkish*, penitential, and imprisoning Cells, will apologize for the length of this digression: and will render it a matter of just attention, to advert, on this occasion, to that remarkable little Cell, which exists in the Temple Church, at London;—and which has been very exactly delineated, in Mr. Britton's accurate Plan.§

* Ib. p 344.

† Ib. fol. p. 343, 344.

‡ Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 367.

§ In his interesting Work of Architectural Antiquities, Part III. p. 13 and 15.

The ascent up to it, from the body of the Church, is by the same Staircase that leads to the Gallery, over the circular Aile that surrounds the antient Dome.—It is formed within the thick wall; and is only four feet, six inches long, and two feet, six inches wide; so that a person could not well lie down therein: —but it has two small apertures, or loop holes, for air; one looking eastward, into the Church, towards the spot where stood the high Altar; in order that a prisoner might see, and hear the performance of service;—and the other Window looking southward, into the part under the Dome; and towards the entrance of the Church.—A more decided place of penitentiary confinement, can hardly any where be met with: it almost deserves to be compared to the prison at St. Albans.*

To return from it, to the consideration of the antient Saxon part of the Church at *Gloucester:* we find another curious specimen of *Saxon* Architecture, though apparently of a later date than the very early *Saxon*, in a Door-way, at the west end; at present leading to the Deanery.—It is represented, Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 1.

And we find there, the transom stone supporting the Arch, and a scroll underneath of great peculiarity.

Somewhat similar to this, and apparently also of the time of King *Edgar*, when the so remarkably designed *diversification of ornaments in corresponding parts*, began to be left off, seems to have been another antient Door-way, of the Church at *East Dereham*, in Norfolk, on the south side;—represented Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 2.

The Church itself has been almost entirely rebuilt; and there are only a few very antient Remains. But this Door-way appears to have been a part of the original Structure; mentioned by Dugdale† to have existed in the time of King *Edgar*.

A Monastery was first founded here, by *Withburga;* the Daughter of that very *Anna*, King of the East Angles, who we have had reason to believe resided occasionally at *Orford* Castle; and her body is said to have been found incorrupted, in this Church, in

* Described p. 128 of this Volume

† See Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 176, and Vol. II. p. 853.

Various
Normans & Saxon
Remains.

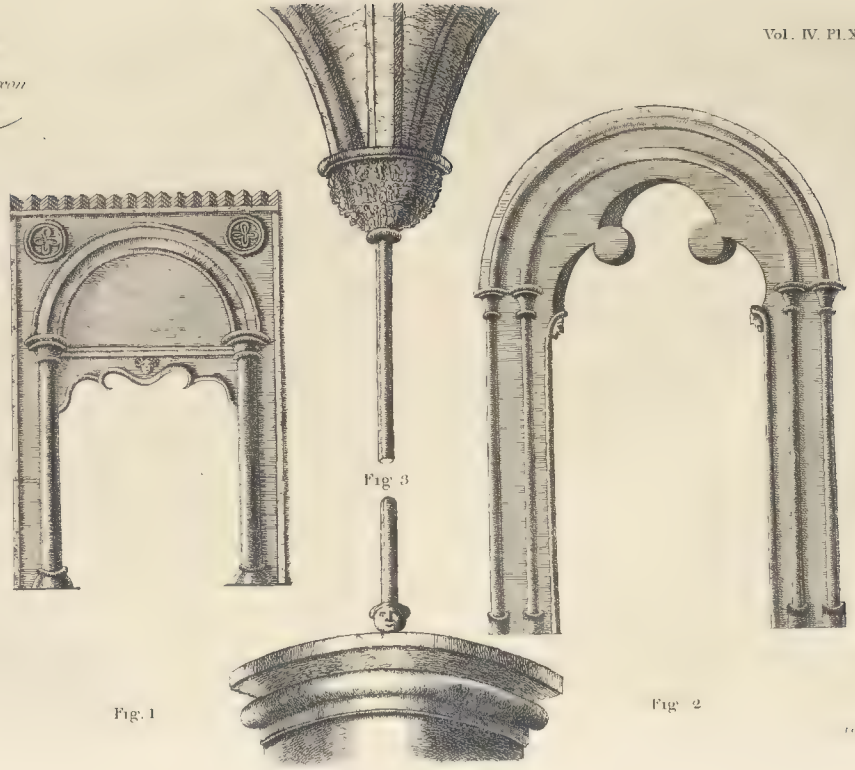


Fig. 1

Fig 3

Fig 2

the year 798; that is, fifty years after it was buried:—and to have been afterwards removed to Ely.

Another antient Remain, shewing the high antiquity of this Church, was the Baptistery, at the *west end*, which, in 1752, was converted into a cold bath.*

To return to Gloucester Cathedral, we ought not to close our remarks with regard to this most venerable pile, without adding, that here were buried *Ethelfleda*, Daughter of King *Ælfrid*, and also her Husband *Ethelred, Earl of Mercia*;—and that when the Church, about three or four hundred years afterwards, was repaired, and *enlarged*, (*Turstan*, Archbishop of York, contributing, *in ecclesia dilatanda*,)† the remains of both were found, on digging up the old foundations, in the South Portico, (*in porticu australi*), and treated with great respect.

And whilst this circumstance, with several others, tends to explain what was meant originally, amongst the *Saxons*, by the word *Portico*;‡—and also leads us evidently to conclude, that the *enlargement* spoken of, was the adding of the southern part of the

* See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 117.

† Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 108.—Wm. Malmsb. fol. 161, *b*.

‡ Mr. Collier, in his Church History, (Vol. I. p. 86), with several other Ecclesiastical Writers, considers the *Portico* as meaning merely the Porch. And Mr. Bentham, in his very curious Work, took a great deal of pains to elucidate this matter, (p. 18, 19, 20); and concluded, that the *North, or South Porticos*, when mentioned by *Saxon*, or other antient Writers, meant *the North, and South Isles*.

But Mr. Wilkins, with a great deal of force of reasoning, (in the Archæologia, Vol. XIII. p. 294 to p. 304) endeavours to shew, that *the Porticos* were only divisions (like little Chapels), on each side the entrance of the Church, at the west end, corresponding with the North and South Isles, as a continuation of them;—and illustrates his arguments, by a Plan (Pl. XX.) of *Melbourne* Church, in Derbyshire.

There is great consideration due to all the arguments of these curious Investigators of high antiquity;—nevertheless I find myself inclined to adopt a conclusion, not exactly corresponding with any of them, but between them all;—which is, that the *Porticos* mentioned by *Saxon*, and other antient Writers, were a sort of *little Chapels*, partly like those described by Mr. Wilkins, at the west end of *Melbourne* Church, (which I conceive to have been unquestionably *such Porticos*);—and also partly little Chapels, on the sides of the Side Isles;—and also such little semicircular Chapels, as may be seen, on each side, surrounding the eastern parts of the Church, in the Plans of Gloucester, and Tewkesbury;—and indeed, in Norman times, at Westminster Abbey.

And I am the rather inclined to form this conclusion, from *Alcuin's* original poem,

Building, with the South Cross Isle, at (t t, Pl. XXIV. No. 2,) it also confirms all that has been already said, concerning the *original* Conventual Church having been first built, on the *very spot* where the present Cathedral now is; and concerning several pillars, and parts of the original Building still existing.

The Remains of *Osric*, the first Founder, were first laid in a small side Chapel (*or Portico*) called *St. Petronells*;* from thence they were removed into our *Lady's* Chapel; and only a few

concerning the building of Archbishop *Albert's* Church at York, about 780, of which the Architects were, the learned *Alcuin*, and *Eanbald*.—The Poem is, *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Ebor*, (and was published by Dr. Gale, A. D. 1691); and has these remarkable words:

Ast nova basilicæ miræ structura diebus
Præsulis hujus erat jam cæpta, peracta, sacrata.
Hæc nimis alta domus solidis suffulta columnis,
Supposita quæ stant curvatis arcubus, intus
Emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris,
*Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis,*
*Plurima diversis retinens solaria tectis,*
Quæ triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.

In this great Prelate's time, this Church of fame,
A finished, consecrated pile became:
By him alone, begun, completed, blest:
Where, by high Arches, mighty Columns prest,
And glitt'ring Roofs, of well-wrought timber form'd,
And Windows fair, with nicest art adorn'd,
Render the whole both awful, and sublime,
And long to be admir'd in future time.
Full *many Porticos surrounding all;*
*Where the sun's rays in all directions fall;*
And thirty Altars, each adorn'd with art,
Give lustre to the whole, and every part.

The very remarkable words, *Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis*,—the more literal translation of which is,—*its lustre is beautiful, surrounded with many Porticos*,—seem manifestly to point out, its having had *more* such *Porticos*, than merely the *two* at the west end, as at *Melbourne*;—and therefore that they were placed, either on each side the body of the Church, or else surrounding the eastern parts;—and must have been nearly such little Chapels, as are found at Gloucester, at Tewkesbury, and at Westminster Abbey, truly *receiving the light in all directions*;—and with reference to which, the whole Building might be truly said to be,—*Plurima diversis retinens solaria tectis*,—*retaining many of the sun's rays, under different roofs.*

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. p. 172.—Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 110.

years before the dissolution of Abbies, placed on the north side of the high Altar, at (u), in the Plan, Pl. XXIV. No. 2.

The Tomb of *Edward the Second*, in which his body is inclosed, is at (w) in the Plan:—but where the remains of *Robert, Duke of Normandy*, were deposited, is not so certain; for the present apparent Tomb, formerly placed at (y),—and since that placed at (z), in a Chapel at the north east angle, is a mere cenotaph of wood; easily moveable:—and the body could not be placed underneath it, because of the Crypt beneath the Choir; unless it was buried in that Crypt.—It is said to have been buried in the College Library.

At (ϕ), the body of Bishop *Aldred* is deposited, in a stone Tomb, above ground;—(according to the words of *Atkyns**), *as if he had been lodged in a manger*.

And at (v), are deposited the remains of Abbot *Sebroke;* just at the beginning of his beautiful Skreen.†

Here, in this Church, *William* the Conqueror celebrated a Christmas.—Here *Henry the First* is said to have met *the first* assembly of the Nobles, and Representatives of the People, that could deserve the name of a Parliament, after the Conquest.‡—Here *Henry the Third* was crowned;—here the unhappy *Edward*

* Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 68.

† In addition to these remarks concerning Gloucester Cathedral, and as a further illustration of the Architecture of that fine, and interesting Building, I cannot but refer the inquisitive reader, to the very curious Plates, in Mr. Lyson's Antiquities of Gloucestershire;—where he will find, Pl. CX. a view of a different part of the Great Cloister, in addition to that given in this Volume.—And in Pl. LIV. a view of the Antient Crypt.—In Pl. LXV. a view of the Chapel of our Lady;—and in Pl. LII. a view of the Library.—In Pl. LIII. the appearance of some Stone Stalls;—and in Pl. XXXI. some Stained Glass;—all of which help greatly to place the additional *Norman Architecture*, of the later ages, in a comparative point of view with that of the more early *Norman* period, and with the *Saxon*.—The exquisitely beautiful Tower, there will be occasion to describe more particularly, when we come to examine the style of architecture during the reigns of Henry the VIth. and VIIth.

‡ We have this account in Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 994, from the antient Manuscript in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester:—but it is very remarkable that both Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 38, and Stow, p. 138, mention the *very first* Parliament as being held at Salisbury.—The fact therefore seems to have been, that Henry assembled *one of the first* of these great Councils here;—but not *the very first*.

*the Second* lies entombed ;—and the remains of the unhappy *Robert, Duke of Normandy* rest in peace.—Here *Richard the Second,* no less unhappy than either, once came to hold an entire Sessions of the Great Estates of the Kingdom, which sat in this Church.—And here, tradition says,* before any of the Churches which we have been describing were reared, was the Gospel preached, and a Christian Church existing, of some kind or other, even so early as the year 189, in the time of *Lucius,* who is spoken of as a British King ;—and seems to have been undoubtedly, in command, as a British Chieftain, under the Romans.

The next early remain which more immediately deserves notice, as capable of illustrating the peculiarities of *Saxon* Architecture, is a curious specimen of *Welsh imitation,* in the Church of the old fortified Monastery, or rather Priory, of *Wenny,* or *Ewenny,* in Glamorganshire ;—which was dependent upon the very Monastery, at *Gloucester,* that we have just been describing.

In the year 1141, (that is during the reign of King Stephen) it was by *Maurice de Londres,* (or *Moris de Londres*) Lord of Ogmore Castle, given to be a Cell to the Abbey of St. Peter's at Gloucester. —But it had long before been founded, (as Leland+ assures us), by a *John de Londres ;*—and concerning the date of this first *founding,* and of the building of the Church, neither Leland, nor Dugdale, nor any Records whatever, (no not even the Pedigree of the Family, given by Powel, in his History of Wales),‡ do afford us the least information.—The Structure therefore must be left to speak for itself ; which it does very forcibly.—Whilst the very circumstance of its having been *given by Moris,* indicates its existence *before* his time ; though, on account of that gift he is (as was the case with many other Restorers of antient Monasteries) *called a Founder.*

The greater part of the Architecture of the Church is, manifestly, of a kind that has no sort of connection with the age of King *Stephen ;* but a very obvious one with that of the *Saxons,* in

* Monasticon, p. 993. + Itin. Vol. V. p. 12.

‡ See Sir Richard Colt Hoare's very curious account, in his *Giraldus Cambrensis,* Vol. I. p. 148.

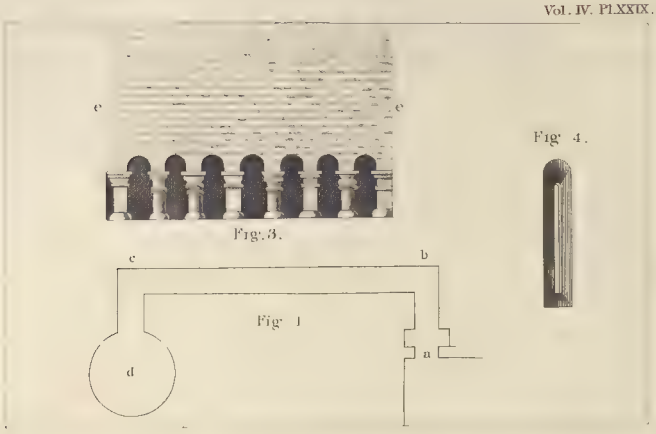
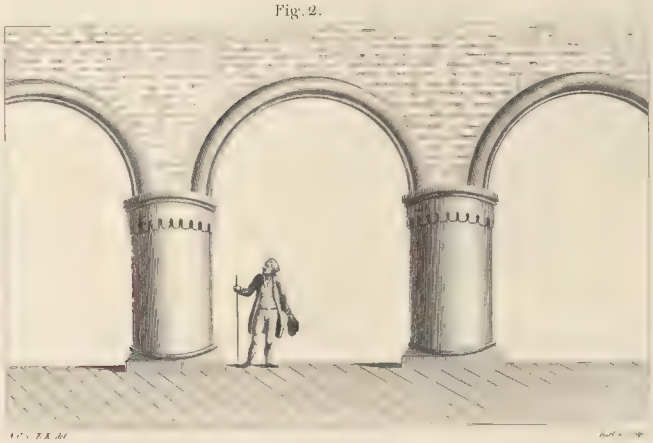



Fig. 2.



*Arches &c. at Cwenny in Glamorganshire.*

the time of King *Edgar;* and with a part of the Architecture, so remarkable, in the Church at *Pershore*, in Worcestershire ;—and if this Church was built at all later, is still a most remarkable imitation of that *Saxon style*.

The Door-way has a circular Arch, truly *Saxon*.—And the Pillars, throughout the Church, are massy in an extreme degree, in proportion to their height ;—which circumstance it has been endeavoured to represent accurately, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 2, by means of making use of the figure of a man, of ordinary stature, standing by one of the Pillars, as a scale.—The Capitals also are of the strange disproportionate thickness,—and of the odd simple kind there represented. And the Arches are constructed with very few, and very plain mouldings, something in the manner of those at *Tewkesbury*, and *St. Albans*.—And in the wall, high above, in different parts of the Church, (and especially over the door, on the west side of the South Transept), are rows of *very small Arches*, just as at *Pershore:*—some of which are represented at (e e), Fig. 3 ;—of which it may be observed, that the Capitals are oddly, and intentionally, made *dissimilar;* whilst some of the Pillars themselves are round ; and some square.

The exceeding narrow Windows also, in the upper part of the Church, of the sort plainly designed, before the introduction of glass, to admit only a little light, without too much exposure to the weather, (and which evidently shew the larger Windows beneath to have been inserted in a much later age), might be mentioned as proofs of high antiquity.—But not so decisive of a *Saxon* age, as the *small Arches*, and the *Saxon* inscription.

One of these narrow Windows is represented, Fig. 4 :—and we learn from William of Malmsbury,* that such Windows had sometimes mere wooden lattices ;—sometimes only iron gratings ; —and sometimes fine linen cloth, instead of glass.†

As in the subsequent additions, made in later ages, to this very

* W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. 149.

† There is found in the Chancel of this Church, a very antient Tomb-stone, on which is an inscription, that has long been almost illegible, by means of the darkness of the place; and in consequence of that circumstance, and of the apparently high

antient Religious Establishment, we have a most curious specimen of a *fortified Monastery;* it may be interesting to give a Plan of its very singular Remains:—and the measures of several of the parts are added, for the sake of comparing it the better with others.

Pl. XXX. shews the whole in a manner sufficient to convey a general idea.

At (A), is the great North Gate of Entrance,—strongly fortified by a Portcullis, and two double gates, one before the Portcullis, and the other behind it; and in the spaces between the Gates, and Portcullis, further fortified, by means of machicolations over head; and also by a provision made for strong barricadoes; to be formed by strong wooden beams of timber, placed in holes and grooves prepared in the side walls, in such manner, that the spaces, between those beams, might even be filled up with stones; —and the whole Gateway be completely walled up.

This Gate leads into the great Court, which is above 300 feet in length; and more than 200 feet in breadth: whilst the whole fortified area, including both this Court, and the Buildings of the Priory, is at least 400 feet in length.

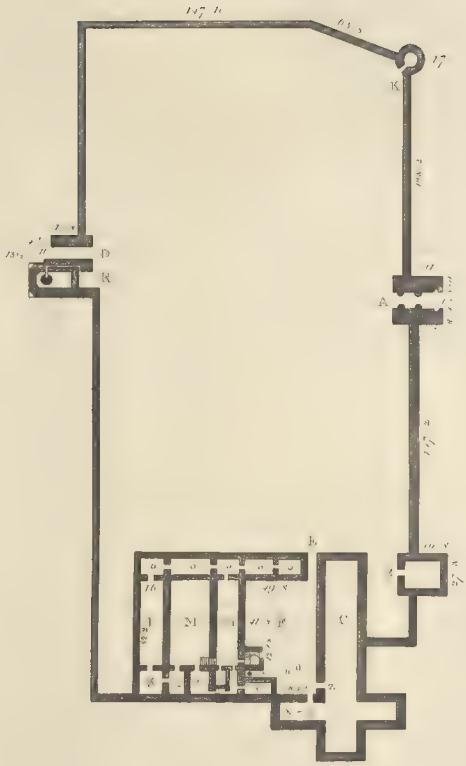
At (B), is a square Tower, which was evidently designed for the occasional lodging of a garrison.—And as the Court is of an irregular figure, at one of the angles, at (K), is a small round Tower, which seems to have been designed as a sort of Keep.

The Walls of the whole Court are from four feet and a half, to five feet thick; varying a little in different parts; but every where very strong.

antiquity of the surrounding ornaments, it has sometimes been suspected to be Saxon;—but Sir Richard Colt Hoare, had the good fortune to bring it to light;—and, in his very curious Annotations on the Itinerary of Giraldus, (p. 149), has given us an exact representation of it, with the inscription at length, which is,

ICI GIST MORICE DE LUNDRES LE FVNDUR
DEU LI RENDE SUN LABUR. AM.

And he has also ascertained, that an old Altar Tomb, in the South Transept, supporting the cumbent, mutilated, effigy of a Knight, in armour, which was long supposed to be that of one of the Turbevilles, Lord of Coyty, is in reality that of a *Sire Roger de Remi.* —The situation of this Tomb is shewn in the Plan, at (x), nearly opposite to the door (y);—and high above, over it, are the small Saxon Arches, which have been represented, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 3.




*Ewenny Priory, Glamorganshire.*

E. Kell.

At (D), is the South Gate, or Monastick Entrance;—which had no Portcullis; but only cavities in the side walls, for the fixing strong beams across, to form a strong barricado, closing, and walling up the whole passage entirely, in times of alarm, and danger.*—This Gate is under a Tower (R D), strengthened, on

* Some other *fortified* Monasteries will occasionally be hereafter mentioned;—and the strong barricadoes, and munitions of this, in a rough, rude country, such as Wales once was, ought not to surprise us, when there are instances even of more strange precautions used, not only in very early ages, but even to the present age, in countries liable to the inroads of marauders.

The Convent of St. Anthony, near the Red Sea, on the very spot where the monastick mode of life was *first* begun, is still surrounded by a strong high fortified Wall, through which there is no gate, nor any access whatever, except only through a window, at a great height, well flanked by projecting walls on each side; to which window, whoever enters is drawn up by a rope, and pully, by means of a windlass; and in a machine, or sort of basket, let down for the purpose.

And least even this strong wall should be forced, there is within the inclosure, what is evidently a sort of *Syrian Keep Tower*, (such as has been described in the former part of the Munimenta, Vol. III. p. 32, 80), having an entrance, only by means of high steps, and a drawbridge; or of a drawbridge from the wall:—and herein it is that they keep their books, and provisions.

Yet in this Convent are Palm Groves; an Apricot Garden; an Olive Plantation; a Vineyard; Caroubi Trees; and three Water Sources; a Mill; and all necessary conveniences:—and, from the top of the Walls, an exceeding fine view.

The same is the case, almost exactly, at the Convent of St. Paul, a day's journey to the north, from this spot.

And the Convent of Mount Sinai, where the body of St. Catherine was deposited, is fortified in the same manner; having the Window of Entrance, at least, thirty feet from the ground; Pococke says, about forty.

These are all described by Pococke, (Vol. I. p. 128, 142), with plans of the two former, taken from a manuscript Map of the Country about them;—and with a still more full Plan of the Convent of Mount Sinai. Pl. LVI. p. 150.

There are two views of the Convent of Mount Sinai, in *Niebuhr*'s Travels, Vol. I. tab. xlvii. xlviii. p. 196, 197):—and a confirmation of all that Pococke has said.—But Niebuhr himself (having no letter from the then Bishop of Mount Sinai) could not obtain admittance, notwithstanding his having a letter from a former Patriarch, and notwithstanding the most earnest entreaties, and the waiting with patience a long time.

This Convent is also described by *Shaw*, in his Travels (p. 350, fol.):—who says, the Window, to which those who enter are drawn up, is thirty feet from the ground;—but who also describes *a Gate*, which is *continually kept walled up, and barricadoed*, except when the Archbishop (who usually resideth at Kairo) is to be installed.—He describes also the very abstemious diet of the Monks;—but at the same time the exceeding excellence of the grapes, pears, and other productions of their garden.—A strong proof, he says, of the effects of indefatigable industry, and culture.—It is a curious circumstance, and that ought not to pass unnoticed, that the first origin of this Convent seems to have

the external round projecting part, in the Welsh manner, with strong *triangular projecting Buttresses*:—and, within the Court, at (R), on the left hand, is a most remarkable narrow Passage, only one foot six inches, or in any one part, not more than one foot ten inches in width;—but long, and leading to the deep Dungeon, only six feet in diameter, with the vaulted stone roof, —which has already been mentioned* as a monkish Prison.

At (E), within the great Court, is the Priory Gate, leading to the two smaller Courts, which contained the monastick apartments; and which, exclusive of the Church, occupied an inclosed space of more than fourscore feet one way, and of more than an hundred the other.—The whole has been re-edified, manifestly about the time of Henry the Eighth; but evidently upon the very same spot, and using, if not almost entirely, yet a great part of the foundation walls, of the old monastick apartments, as they existed about the age of Edward the Third.—Their Remains, therefore, are sufficient to shew what was the general plan of this Monastery; but as they have undergone such alteration, it would be useless to trace them with great precision.

The Priory Gate (E) has been evidently re-edified since the dissolution. But on entering the first small Court (F), appear two very curious *Saxon* Doors, leading into the Church at (y) and (z);—and at (H), the antient Hall, oddly ascended unto, by a winding flight of steps, in a sort of little vestibule.—This Hall is between fifty and sixty feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth; and at the bottom are two doors, the one leading to the Buttery Offices, (b b b), and the other to a very small Wine Cellar, (c).—At (k k), were the Kitchen Offices, in the second Court, (M).—And most strangely situated, in a little recess, in the first Court, at (W), on the left hand side of the Vestibule, is a Well.—Over the Buttery, and Kitchen Offices, are apartments leading to the Great Chamber, or Gallery, at (L);—which, since the Priory was converted into a private Mansion, appears to have been fitted up, about the time of

been, *a strong Tower*, built by the Empress *Helena*, for her own *convenient residence*, when visiting the sacred mountain;—which Tower has since been continually appropriated to be the lodging of the Archbishop, whenever he visits the Convent.

* See p. 155 of this Volume.

Queen Elizabeth; and has the same sort of deep stucco freeze, painted in distemper, as is found at *Hardwick House*, in Derbyshire, and at *Haddon House*.—The devices of this freeze are remarkably odd, and emblematical; and amongst the rest of the figures, is a Dial, formed on the wheel of a cart, of Roman form, bearing an Ark.—The ceiling of this room is painted, and adorned with blue and gold;—and it has communication with the small Apartments (oooo o).—These formerly were Cells, and Chambers, for the Religious, and for guests; but both above, and below, they have been so much altered, that I do not pretend to have given their divisions exactly.—Under the Buttery were Beer Cellars.

The antient Conventual *Saxon* Church at Ely, has been so fully and accurately described by Mr. Bentham,* that it would be an injustice to his excellent work, to do otherwise, than merely to refer to his exact Plans, and Representations of that interesting Remain;—from whence it appears, that the proportions of its Pillars, and Arches, are much nearer to those of Greek, and Roman artists, and had a symmetry beyond what we usually find in other *Saxon* Buildings.—Nor is this to be wondered at, any more than that such symmetry should not have been found in the Religious Structures of other nearly contemporary *Saxons*.—For, as has been already mentioned,+ this Church was built by *Etheldreda*, Daughter of Anna, King of East Anglia, and Queen to Egfrid, King of Northumberland, with the assistance of Bishop *Wilfrid*, whose uncommon acquirements, and observations when at Rome, might unquestionably enable him to become a more skilful Architect, than any of his contemporaries in England;‡

* See his History of the Church of Ely, Pl. IV. and V. p. 29; and also Pl. XLVIII. XLIX. and L. quite at the end.

+ In this Volume, p. 108, 109, 110, 111.—And see Wharton Ang. Sac. p. 594.—Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 89.

‡ His indefatigable pains in converting the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, not only to Christianity, but to the knowledge of the means of obtaining subsistence, and the comforts of life; and his integrity, as *almost a reformer*, in opposing the corruptions that were introduced into the Church, and for which he was persecuted; have been also mentioned in this Volume, p. 47, 48.—He had lived in great splendour, ensnared by high ambition, (Eddii Vita Wilfredi apud xv. Script. p. 58):—He had, by ill usage, been

whilst at the same time, the little intercourse there was, in that age, between different parts of the Island, and especially between *Etheldreda*'s retirement at Ely, and the interiour parts of England, may well account for such proportions not being easily met with in other places.

What the proportions of these Pillars and Arches were, may be seen in Mr. Bentham's curious Plates.*—And there also may be seen one of the antient Capitals ;†—which is not very unlike one of those at Shoreham, that will be represented in this Work.

In the same curious Plates of Mr. Bentham's, are also delineated,‡ the designs of the two Saxon Door-ways, of this old Conventual Church.—In one of which may be observed the transom stone, as it were, supporting the Arch ; in the manner which we have mentioned was in fashion, in the earliest Saxon days ; and which

tempted to fall into bitter rage:—but amidst both he persevered in labouring to be useful to mankind.—He had been eager to introduce even *auricular confession*;—because he thought it might aid those distressed in mind, who could neither read nor write ; and he had been as eager honestly to oppose the *further innovations* of the Councils of *Hartford* and *Hatfield*, with the spirit of a sincere reformer.—In the days of his greatest prosperity, he had journeyed to Rome ;—and his great wealth, and affluence, had enabled him to bring back with him, both from Italy, and France,§ the best builders and artists of the times ; whilst himself became skilful in Architecture.—He was the very first person who introduced *the use of glass*, in windows,‖ in this country ; which he did about A. D. 669:—and seven or eight years afterwards, *Abbot Benedict*, who had been his companion on his travels, introduced the art of *making that sort of glass*.—Wilfrid also brought over persons to improve Church Music ;¶—whilst *Aldhelm*, the Founder of Malmsbury, composed sacred Songs for their performance.

* See his History of the Church of Ely, Pl. IV. p. 29.

† See Pl. XLVIII. Fig. 3.—And it ought to be here added, that we have now still better representations of several of the varieties of these capitals ; and also of the mouldings of the Arches ; by Mr. Wilkins, in the Archæologia, Vol. XII. p. 165, 167, Pl. XXVII. and XXVIII.—where they are very judiciously compared with some others, which seem to have been nearly of the same age, at *Dunwich*, in Suffolk ; at which place was a Church, like this at Ely, built upon the most truly original *Saxon* plan.

‡ Pl. V.

§ See Bentham, p. 21, 23.—Rich. Prior. Hagulst, lib. i. ca 5.—Will. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 272.—Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. 22.

‖ Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. 17, p. 59.—Bedæ His. Abb. Wiremuth. and Gyrw, p. 295.

¶ Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. 14.—Bedæ His. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 2.—Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 9.

was therefore not quite omitted by *Wilfrid*, though he certainly understood the nature of the Arch, better than to suppose such transom stone of any real use;—and though it is not a little deserving of notice, that he avoided the *studied dissimilarity* of Capitals, and of ornaments in correspondent parts, so almost uniformly adopted by *Saxon* Architects, in his days.

These two door-ways might almost be taken for *Norman* doors, but that their proportions are less; and that, in the same curious work of Mr. Bentham's, there are representations of two other *really Norman* door-ways,* of the present Cathedral Church; which are of the kind that has occasioned so much confusion in the apprehensions of several skilful Antiquaries, in their ideas of *Saxon*, and *Norman* architecture.

One of these latter door-ways, has the *transom stone* supporting the arch; and ornaments upon it, and on the side pillars, and pilasters, as thickly placed, and as rich, as at any *Saxon* Church.

But there is one circumstance, which being carefully attended to, will, both in this, and in all other similar instances, (whereof another occurs again in a Cloister door at *Norwich*), at once decide the difference;—and shew *where* the true distinction between the *Norman*, and the *Saxon*, is to be discerned—and this is, that there is in the Norman, a *regularity* and *correspondence*, in the ornaments on each side, which is not to be found in the Saxon.—And there is also an elegance, in the particular design, and execution of each individual part, in the Norman; beyond what is usually to be seen in the Saxon.

*Etheldreda* having built her Church, and Monastery; bestowed upon it all the great possessions, and rights, which she had either from her father, or from her first husband *Tonbert*, the East-Anglian Prince;†—and these were afterwards confirmed by a Charter of King *Edgar's*:—and from hence are derived, both *the exclusive jurisdiction* of the Isle of Ely, now vested in its Bishop; and also its claim to be a *Principality*.‡

* Pl. VI. and VII. p. 35. † Bentham's Ely, p. 47, 73.

‡ Perhaps there ought not to be passed by unnoticed, on this occasion, a circumstance

Some little circumstances of history, connected with this most antient religious establishment, are so singular, and so illustrative both of the savage manners, and of the scantiness of civilization, and cultivation, during the *Saxon* period, that amidst enquiries designed to fling light on the progress of manners, as well as of architecture, they ought not to be passed by in silence.

As was the case at *Gloucester*, so likewise here, Ladies of the highest distinction, seeking the advantages of peace, and science, and of the most refined society, and converse, known in those days, presided in succession, for a number of years, till A. D. 870.*

After Queen *Etheldreda*, there presided *Sexburga*, the wife of *Erconbert* King of Kent;—then *Ermenilda*, wife of *Ulferus* King of Mercia.†—And then *Werburga*, the daughter of *Ermenilda*.

It then ceased to be a foundation for ladies.—For here, as well as in other places, after the destruction of many religious houses by the marauding Danes, Benedictine monks were placed in the room of pious women.

*Brithnoth*, the first Abbot, who presided over these Monks, having, unfortunately for himself, been unwillingly an eye-witness, by accident, of some horrid superstitious ceremonies, and acts of *Sorcery*, performed by the fair Queen *Elfrida*, under a tree in a forest;‡ and having ventured to reprove her, for the irregu-

mentioned by Lord Coke, (Coke Littleton, fol. 7),—that the real formal *sealing* of Deeds, and Charters, appears to have been more antient than some have imagined;—in the instance of a Charter of King *Edwin*, brother of *Edgar*, of land called *Jecklea*, in the Isle of Ely, A. D. 956. having been *sealed*, both with his own seal, and that of the Bishop of Winchester.—The fact we must take, only on such credit as it stands avowed—and can only observe, that as to disputes concerning *forgeries*, there is no end—and therefore, *valeat quantum valere potest*.

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 87. † Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 269.

‡ It is impossible to forget the many admonitions, in the wirtings of the Apostles, against such sort of practices.—And it is a melancholy proof that they continued so long in the world, even after the light of the Gospel, that in the reign even of *Canute*, it was found necessary to promulgate an express law, against the idolatrous worship of trees, and fountains; and against superstitious heathenish practices.—LL. Politic Canuti Regis, ca. 5.—Apud Lendenbrog in Glossar. p. 1473.—See also Henry's Hist. Vol. I. p. 181.

larity of her life, and manners, was cruelly murdered,* by her orders, in 981; by having long red hot pins thrust into his body, under his arm-pits.

But in contrast to this, about A. D. 991, the second Abbot, *Elsin*, so won the heart of the fierce, and gigantick Duke *Brithnoth*, by his great hospitality, in entertaining both the Duke, and his soldiers, when marching to attack the Danes, who had plundered the coast of Suffolk, and were just landed again at *Maldon*, in *Essex;* that the Duke, to give proof of his satisfaction, endowed the Monastery with many capital manors;—and gave great sums of gold, and silver; and some parts of his rich wardrobe, on condition that his body, if he were slain, should be buried in the Church.†—As he was unfortunately soon slain; the Monks soon obtained both:—and as *Brithnoth*, their first Abbot, had been the very first introducer of *any kind of gardening* into this country;‡ it easily came to pass, when the Monks became thus possessed of great additional wealth; that under the care of the religious, the Isle of Ely was soon rendered *more pleasantly cultivated*, than any other parts of England:—and the contrast was so striking, that when King *Canute*, (about 1030), whose Chancellor was then Abbot of Ely, went to visit the Isle, with *Emma* his Queen, and many nobles; on seeing the verdure, and hearing the distant harmony of the Choir, as he approached, this great Prince, became as if suddenly inspired, and starting up in the boat, both composed, and sung, an extempore song, which is still preserved.§

* Bentham's History of Ely, p. 80. † Ibid. p. 84, 85.

‡ Hist. Eliens apud Gale, Lib. ii. ca. 2.

§ Bentham's Ely, p. 94. In like manner, another of these insulated retreats, *Croyland*, though in the midst of a most dreadful Fen, and marsh, in Lincolnshire, was rendered, in the estimation of those who lived in Saxon times, a most beautiful, and desirable spot, by means of the introduction of a little regular gardening.—Its grove of alders, kept up from age to age, near the church; || its verdant waving willows; and even its high green rushes, marshalled with care, may easily be conceived to have had almost an enchanting effect; in an age when nearly every other tract, and nearly every human mind, was in a rude, wild, uncultivated state;—barely rendered useful so far, as to produce the absolute

|| Camden, Gough's Ed. Vol. II. p. 224.

Not so poor Prince Alfred; who, as has been already mentioned,* was basely seized by Earl Goodwin, A. D. 1036, in the Castle of Guildford in Surry, where he had been honourably received as a guest; and was afterwards conveyed to Ely, to be confined in this Monastery. Part of the way he was carried upon a horse, with his legs tied under the belly; and being afterwards put into a boat, when he drew near the shore at Ely, before they landed him, he was forced to undergo the cruel operation of having his eyes forced out:+ of the consequences of which barbarous act he died in the Monastery.

As these few specimens may be sufficient, to illustrate what remains of the larger Conventual *Saxon Churches*, we may now return to bestow a little further attention upon some others of a smaller kind.—And amongst these, a most singular antient Church, in which the characteristick wild irregularity of the earliest *Saxon*

necessaries of life.—The garden at *Croyland* was so cultivated, as to be called, even in the time of the Conqueror, *the Vineyard.*‡—And Ingulphus tells us, that fruitful fields were formed in meadows, which a little before had been impassable bogs; and a delightful garden, out of the pits, and mire.§

Not far from Ely, also, and plainly by the means of this little skill in gardening, first introduced by Abbot Brithnoth, *Thorney* Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, (another Monastery in a sad marshy situation), became in estimation so pleasant, that William of Malmsbury described it as a terrestrial paradise. It was first built by *Saxulph*, Abbot of Peterborough, about A. D. 870, and refounded by *Ethelwold*, Bishop of Winchester A. D. 972.

The words of Malmsbury, in his description of this *marshland garden*, are so descriptive of all the very circumstances that occasioned such places to become in the eyes of beholders the pleasantest spots in England, that they ought not to be omitted.

" Thorneia ulterior scripto et contractior spacio, sed prior laudum titulo, paradisi " simulachrum, quod amœnitate jam cœlos ipsos imaginetur, in ipsis paludibus arborum " ferax, quæ enodi proceritate luctantur ad sydera, æquora planities herbarum viridan- " tibus comis oculos aduocant, currentibus per campum nullus offensioni datur locus. " Nulla ibi vel exigua terræ portio vacat, hic in pomiferas arbores terra se subigit; " hic prætexitur ager vineis, quæ vel per terram repunt, vel per baiulos palos in " celsum surgunt. Mutuum certamen naturæ et cultus, ut quod obliviscitur illa pro- " ducat iste." ‖

* Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. III. p. 230.

+ Bentham, p. 96.—From Matt. West.—Floren. Wigorn.—Roger de Hoveden, &c.

‡ Ingulphi Hist. p. 75.

§ See also very curious extracts in Steevens' Additions to Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 366.

‖ Vide Scriptores post Bedam, p. 294.



Tower at New Shoreham.

*style* appears, even in a still more striking manner than almost any where else, is to be found at *New Shoreham* in Sussex;—which seems to derive its name, very oddly, (though it is indeed one of the most antient towns in England), merely from its having been built, during the very earliest dawnings, and improvements, of civilization *amongst the Saxons;* on a spot that was somewhat preferable to the *then Old Shoreham*, because of the greater convenience of the harbour, in this place.

Its Church, therefore, although the name of *New-Shoreham* conveys an idea of a more recent date, is unquestionably much more antient than that now standing at *Old Shoreham;* where no Church seems in reality to have existed, at the time when this was built.—And it is indeed one of the most curious, and interesting structures in this country.

It is so very antient, that just as is the case with that at *Barfreston*, in Kent, no original authentick records are to be met with, concerning it: though it is known, that in Norman ages, long subsequent to its building, an house of Carmelites, or White Friars, was established in this town.

Its architecture, in the more antient part, exhibits, in the most decided manner, that strange irregularity, and *studied dissimilarity in apparently corresponding parts*, which, in the most antient *Saxon* buildings, is always so glaringly conspicuous—and at the same time this structure contains that sort of very curious mixture of the additional architecture of various long succeeding ages, that gives to some of our first built churches, the strange appearance, of having some of the *upper* parts of their walls built *before* the lower.

This is most conspicuous in the Tower, represented Pl. XXXI.: where the two divisions in the upper part, opposite to (a) and (b), appear to be most truly *Saxon;* and to have been built about the time of King *Edgar;* and with this very strange peculiarity, (unless it may be supposed to have had such addition made, when the other parts of the Tower were altered, and repaired), that there seems to have been introduced, the ornament of *a pointed arch*, long before that species of ornament was introduced into common use; as we

have already observed was certainly the case, in some few of the most antient Castles, and particularly at *Guildford* in Surry.*—The manner however in which both the pointed arch, and the more inward circular arch, are here filled up with stone-work, as if to support the whole of the arches, as the *transom stone* often seems to do, in other early *Saxon* buildings, is very remarkable:—and so also is *the smallness* of the real open arches of these windows themselves,—another circumstance that points out a *Saxon* original.

It may be observed further, that these upper windows have a considerable degree of similarity, (except in their pointed arches) to the uppermost windows, in the antient Tower at *St. Alban's*, represented Pl. XVII.

The third division of the Tower, at *Shoreham*, lower down, opposite to (c), and (d), appears most obviously to contain a large window, inserted by way of repair, and addition, about the age of Henry the Third.

And the lowermost division, beneath, opposite to (e), and (f), contains again arches, that appear to be *Saxon;* but not of so very antient a date as those high above:—whilst the two little wings, forming the west ends of the side ailes, are certainly of a very much later date, than any of the rest of the structure; and seem to have been added, even so late as the time of Henry the IVth, or Vth.+

The interior part of the Church, contains specimens of a style of building, still more antient, and original, than the Tower.

It would fill a volume, to do justice to the peculiar curiosity of this whole structure.

In a row of arches, against one of the side walls, in which almost every arch is varied from its fellow, we find the very ele-

* See in the Third Volume of this Work, p. 234, 236, and p. 160, 164; see also in this Volume, an appearance at *Pershore*, p. 103, Pl. XI. Fig. (1).

+ This was just about the age when the *Carmelites*, or *White Friars*, became the objects of encouragement, to the most serious and best disposed people; as being labouring, preaching Friars, who endeavoured anew to instruct, and to lead mankind to consideration, and to some real knowledge of truth; instead of adopting the torpid supersition of the Monks;—or of imitating their general ignorance, and lazy vices.

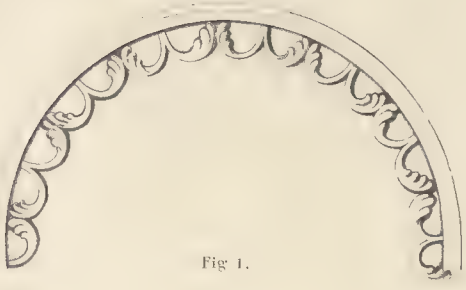


Fig 1.

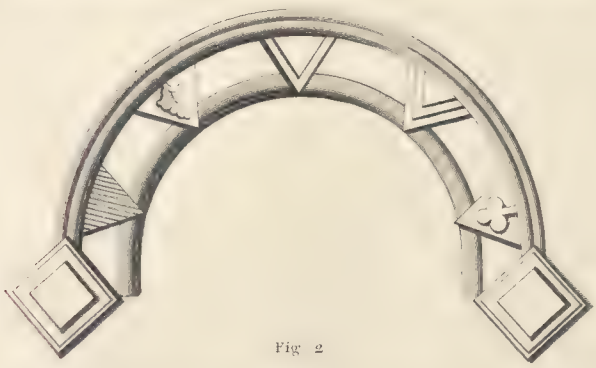
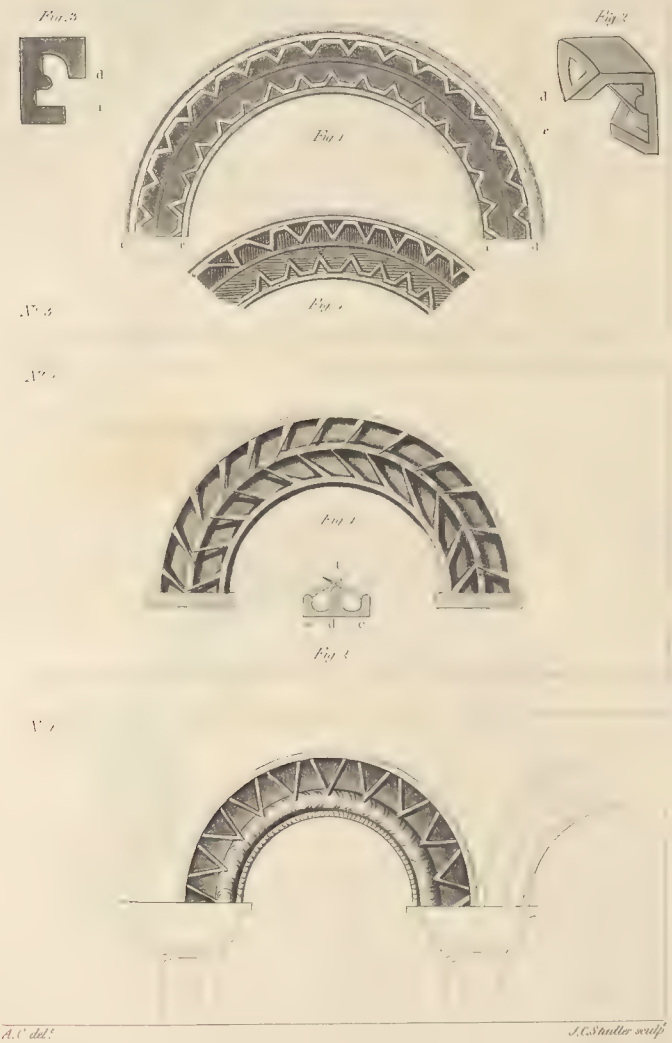


Fig 2

## Arches at Shoreham

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Arches at New Shoreham, Llanduff and Clevve

gant one represented Pl. XXXII. Fig. 1. whose ornamental foliage is cut in bold relief, standing out quite clear from the wall.

And in another part, we find the arch represented Fig. 2;—wherein every individual ornament appears to have been most carefully made different from any other; and yet so as to preserve an appearance of uniformity in the whole.—Both the inner and outer semicircles, and all the indentations, are cut and carved in the most bold *alto-relievo*, clear from the wall.—And the varieties and boldness of the open work of several others of the arches, are not at all less curious than of this.

One other of them is represented Pl. XXXIII. No. 1, with a slight sketch of its pillars, and of the springing of the arch adjoining—and it should be remarked, that the sort of triangular frette-work is here again not merely in bold relief; but its parts are actually more than in alto-relievo; and stand as detached from the wall, and resting on the two semicircular mouldings, with an absolute hollow space between them and the part behind.

And that this sort of bold carved work, was not uncommon amongst the *Saxons*, appears from two other arches, shewn in the same plate;—one whereof, No. 2, is still remaining, in the most antient part of the Cathedral at *Llandaff*, in Glamorganshire.

It has been supposed,* that the present Cathedral there, was first built by Bishop *Urban*, A. D. 1120; and that, therefore, all its most antient parts are *Norman*—but a close inspection of many of those antient parts, plainly shews that this is a mistake.—And indeed, as it is well known that a Church existed at *Llandaff*, at least as early as A. D. 612;† and that this was one of the most distinguished Bishopricks in Wales; and only at a very little distance from *Caerleon*, the most distinguished seat of arts, and of science in the early ages; it would be very extraordinary indeed, *if there were no remains of early architecture here;* whilst such still exist, in so distinct a manner, in places of much less note.—But such there are at *Llandaff*, both numerous, and of the most elegant, and most curious kind.—Remains, existing in such *lower* parts of the

* See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 499.
† Dugdale, Vol. III. p. 188, 191.

walls, as appear obviously to have belonged to a more antient, and more original structure, than that of *Urban*, reared above them.

Amongst these is the Arch in question ;—which seems to have had, in its construction, a pious allusion to the crown of thorns ; and may therefore be called the *thorny arch*.

Its external appearance is shewn Pl. XXXIII. No. 2, Fig. 1,—and in Fig. 2, placed underneath, which represents a section cut through, from the front of the wall behind, its constituent parts are explained.

(a) And (c) shew the relief, and great projection, of the internal, and external semicircular mouldings ; and (b) the high projection of the middle semicircular moulding ;—on which three mouldings, the carved representations of the thorns, are made to rest, projecting still further from the flat surface of the wall (a b c), to (t), with sharp points.

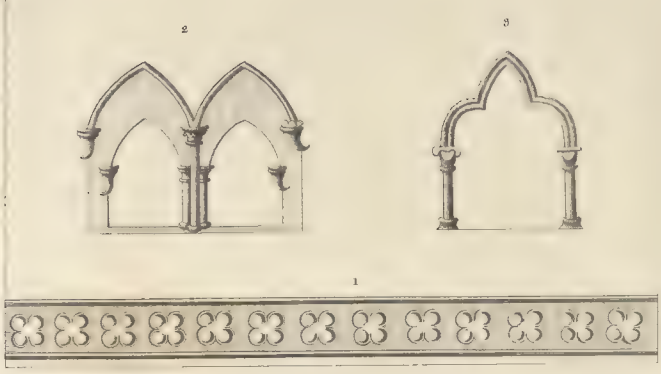
There is another Arch, on the south side of the Church, at *Llandaff*, which nearly resembles some of those at *Shoreham* :—and both are very obviously, far, far different from the circular really Norman Arch of the west door.

Again, at the curious antient Church of *Cleve*, in Gloucestershire, there is another of these curious *Saxon* Arches, that is represented Pl. XXXIII. No. 3, Fig. 1, as far as is possible to represent it by a drawing ;—for never surely was any thing so difficult.—A little description therefore must somewhat supply the defect.—The indented parts of the circular moulding (d d) are beyond *alto-relievo ;* having a void, clear space left behind, between them and the flat wall. And the indented parts of the circular moulding, (r r), stand right out, perpendicularly from the wall, and approaching, straight forwards, towards the eye of the beholder.

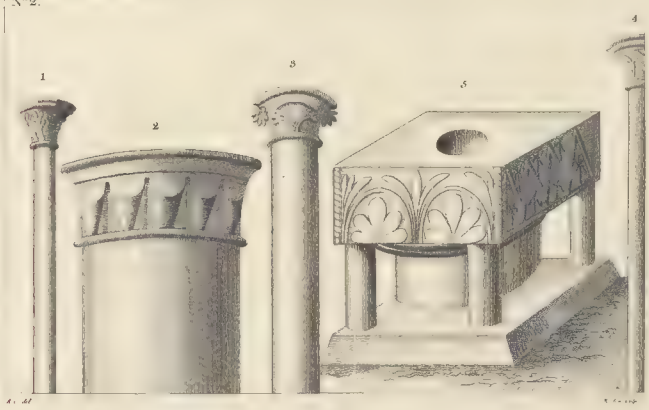
Fig. 2. is a sketch, in order to shew this in the instance of one single triangle, of those, whereof each indented mouding consists :—and Fig. 3. is an endeavour to explain the whole, by a section ;—whilst Fig. 4. placed beneath, is an endeavour to shew the appearance, in a side view, and different direction.—But, in truth, no pencil can give the proper effect to the appearance.

In some parts of the Church, at *New-Shoreham*, we also find odd

N°1




N°2.




*Remains at New Shoreham.*

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

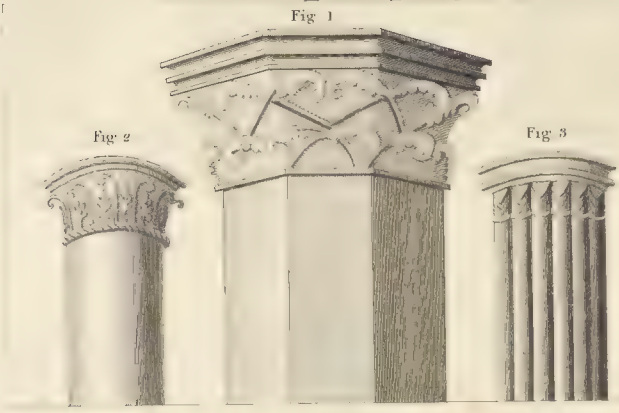
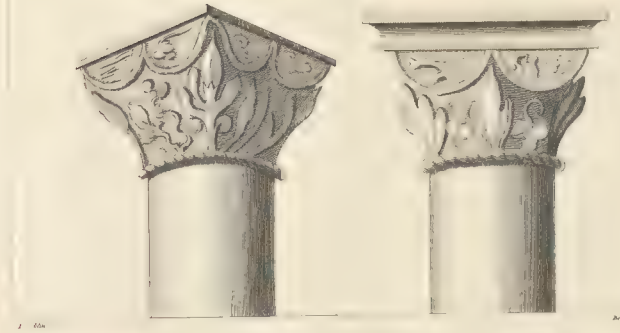


Fig. 4

Fig. 5.



*Remains at Thorsham, Bosgrove, and Rumsey.*

Published as the Act directs by J. Nichols, June 1st 1st 1797.

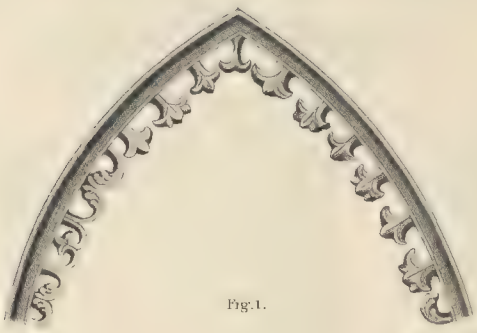


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

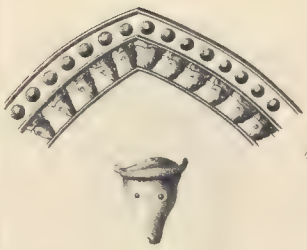


Fig. 4.

Fig. 3.

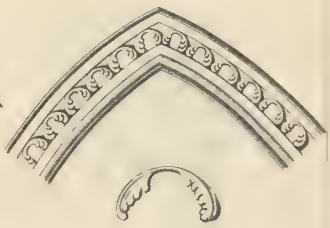


Fig. 5.

Arches at New Shoreham

mouldings, and freezes against the walls; as at *Barfreston*.—One of these is represented Pl. XXXIV. No. 1, Fig. 1.

It is placed just over some of the lower great Arches; and between them, and some more modern Arches, of the time of Henry the Third, which have been added in the part of the wall above;—and which last are shewn Fig. (2) and (3): and are of a most singularly odd construction; especially as to the brackets, or consoles, supporting the sides, or bearings of those No. 2.

The slight drawings Fig. (1, 2, 3, 4,) Pl. XXXIV. No. 2,—and Fig. (1) and (2), Pl. XXXV. No. 1, will serve sufficiently to shew the odd sort of fantastick designs of the capitals, of several of the antient Pillars at Shoreham.

And by way of comparison, and also as being in a degree similar to some others of them, Fig. (3), Pl. XXXV. represents one at *Bosgrave* in Sussex; and Fig. (4) and (5), represent two at *Rumsey* in Hampshire.

These sort of remains of the most antient *Saxon* times, are to be met with in more churches than is generally supposed;—and they are very often mistaken, as to their date:—because, in other places, as well as in a part of the Church of Shoreham, the original round Arches which such Pillars once supported, have been pulled down, and *pointed ones* built in their stead; or even the very identical old round Arches have been cut into *pointed Arches*.

Pl. XXXVI. represents some of these at *Shoreham*;—wherein, if they were not odd instances of attempts to introduce *the pointed Arch* long before it came into common use, (concerning which there may perhaps be formed some suspicions), still the odd fantastick kind of work, found in the more antient parts of the Church, is in a very remarkable manner *imitated*.

This appears particularly in Fig. (1), and in Fig. (2) and (3), whilst the oddity of the ornaments of those two Arches is shewn Fig. (4) and (5), more exactly, on a larger scale.

Before we quit *Shoreham*, it may also be right just to mention, as a further badge of its antiquity, that there is a truly antient Font there; of which Fig. 5. Pl. XXXIV. is a slight sketch.

The next most antient *Saxon* Church that may deservedly be brought to remembrance, on this occasion, as illustrating these remarks, is *Cleve* in Gloucestershire, a part of which structure has already been referred to.

This parish is called *Bishop's Cleeve:* and in Domesday Book is said to have been held of the Church of *Worcester*, in the reign of King *William* the Conqueror, when *Ulstan* was Bishop there.*—And as *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, in the time of King *Edgar*, was one of the most strenuous supporters of all *Dunstan's* measures, we may be well assured, that a Church existed here, in early Saxon times; under that patronage.

The present structure retains evident marks, in various parts, of having been of this high antiquity; notwithstanding the reparations, and alterations, that have been since made.

One most remarkable Arch of a Door-way, in this Church, has already been described, Pl. XXXIII. No. 3.†

Another Door-way is here represented, Pl. XXXVII. Fig. 1;—the *allegorical* simplicity of whose design, shews the inoffensiveness of the *Saxon* emblematical devices;—whilst the regularity of its mouldings, shews it to have been of a later age than those already described, and nearer to the time of the Conquest.

The representation of two dead serpents, forms the upper moulding, with the extremities of their tails elegantly entwined, by way of ornament to the crown of the Arch; but with their heads hanging, in a flaccid manner, downwards; as being emblems of the destruction of the power of the serpent, and of the victory over the great enemy of mankind.

This kind of simple allegorical device is surely *Saxon*,—and the Pillars beneath, stand on each side, quite *within* the compass of the Arch, also in a truly *Saxon* manner.‡—But, in other respects, the mouldings are such as might be suspected to have been *Norman*.—

* See also Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 284. † See in this Volume, p. 180.

‡

| | Fe. | Inch. |
|---|---|---|
| The width of the inner Arch is | 4 | 3 |
| The height to the top of the Pillars | 6 | 7 |
| The breadth of the Arches outwards | 2 | 5 |

Fig. 2

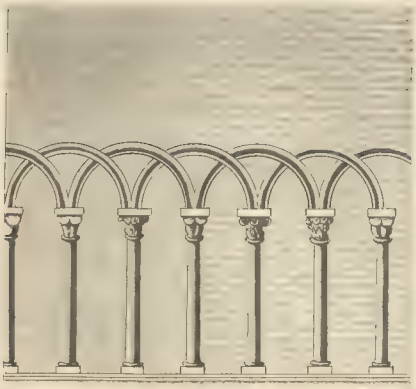
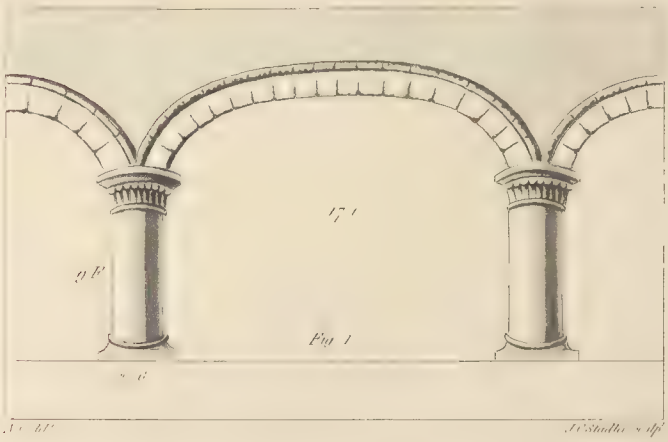


Fig. 1



Doorway and Arches at Cleeve, in Gloucestershire






Modern Arches placed on antient Pillars, both Saxon & Norman, at Cleeve, and at Battle.

And, indeed, on the two sides of the Porch also, to which this door belongs, are found some large *intersecting* Arches, placed on pilasters, by way of ornament to the walls, such as were at first introduced in *Saxon* buildings, but which were more peculiarly in fashion in the age of *Henry the First*.—There is, however, here a particularity of *variety in the capitals*, which evidently shews them to have been more antient than the days of Henry the First.—This may be seen in a pretty exact representation of them, Pl. XXXVII. Fig. 2.

Amongst the more modern alterations, *within* this antient Church, we find, upon the tops of the old original *Saxon* Pillars, in lieu of their primitive circular Arches, others now placed of a different form, and more recent date. And one of these, which is the most singular flat Arch, that can be beheld, is represented Pl. XXXVIII. Fig. 1.

The Pillars are only nine feet high, and two feet and an half in diameter:—but the intercolumniation is seventeen feet one inch.—The antient original Capitals have manifestly been preserved;—and the Arch is as far as possible from being what is called the *Wolsey Arch;* or the Arch of four Centres; for it has no sort of *point* to crown it;—and is much nearer to the being elliptical, than of any other regular form, if it be not exactly so.

In other parts of this building, Arches that are really *pointed*, are found placed upon antient Saxon Pillars.*—And the greatest part of the present body of the Church, seems to have been rebuilt, about the age of Henry the Third.

Further, it deserves notice, that in the upper part of the two little Towers, at the west end of this Church at *Cleve*, there are some large *Saxon* Arches, very remarkable for the vastness of proportion, in respect to the Arch, of their indented ornaments;

* There is in Mr. Lyson's interesting *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, Pl. LVIII. a view of the inside of Cleve Church;—which serves very much to illustrate the manner in which *pointed Arches* have been, in later ages, reared upon some of the antient *Saxon* Pillars.—And in his Pl. LIX, is a south-west view of the outside, shewing both its *Saxon* Arches, and its more modern *pointed* Norman Windows.

each Arch, in the whole periphery, having only three large indentations, in the form of isosceles triangles.—These are carefully represented Pl. LIV. Fig. 1.

As the attending to the manner, in which modern *pointed Arches* have often, on rebuilding, and repairing Churches, been placed on antient *Saxon* Pillars, may tend to remove several difficulties, that have occurred to some observers, it may be worth while to pursue this enquiry, a little further.

We find in other places, modern Arches, placed on old *Saxon* Pillars; as for instance, at *Seaford* in Sussex;—and at *Folkstone* in Kent:—and even upon *Saxon* Pillars;—or at least upon such as were coeval with, and imitations of *Saxon* Pillars;—as in that very antient Church of *Iona*, in the Hebrides.*

And the style of the Capitals of all these Pillars, may clearly be distinguished from *Norman* Capitals;—with which they have nevertheless often been confounded; from a mistaken idea, that none were truly *Saxon*, but Pillars with such Capitals as those in *Grymbald's* Crypt, of St. Peter's Church at Oxford

Many more truly *Saxon* Capitals, and Pillars, are unquestionably still remaining in England, than the curious have been at all properly aware of.†

At *St. John's* Church, in *Chester*, which was built originally by King Etheldred in 689, and was for many ages *the Cathedral*, are

* See a representation of these Pillars in Pennant's Voyage, p. 253, Pl. XXIII.

† Amongst these may be mentioned, Avington Church, and Shillingford Church, (where the same sort of difference, in the ornaments, at the ends, or bearings of a mural Arch, as at Barfreston in Kent, may be seen);—Aldermaston Church;—Sparsholt Church, (where a new moulding, different from any that I have given, may be seen);—Tidmarsh Church, (where still somewhat more different mouldings may be traced);—Bucklebury Church;—Thatcham Church;—Padworth Church;—all in Berkshire:—the curious varieties of whose Pillars, and Arches, may be seen delineated in Mr. Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 204, 205.—In the course of which Elaborate Work, I am persuaded, many more specimens will be brought to light hereafter, that will tend to confirm all that has been advanced in these pages.

The Churches also of Stewkley;—and Water Stratford, in Buckinghamshire;—the architecture of whose remains is, in like manner, given by Mr. Lysons, in the *Magna Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 486, tend equally to prove this fact.

most massy columns; which notwithstanding the subsequent re-edifications of that antient structure, still remain curious specimens of the clumsy strength of *Saxon* architecture.*

And at *Great Malvern*, in Worcestershire, although the greater part of the Church is only of the age of Henry the VIth, and VIIth, —yet, in the nave, are found truly original *Saxon* Pillars, with Capitals very much resembling those at *Tewkesbury*.—A circumstance that may easily be accounted for, when we recollect, that a Religious House existed here, in the earliest times, which received additional endowments, from *Edward the Confessor*, as having been an establishment of prior existence; and was at last made a Benedictine Priory, in 1083, by the conversion of *Aldwin*, its then chief, to the rules of that Order; who also began to rebuild the Church anew.†

There is in this Church at Malvern, moreover, a very curious *Saxon figure* in stone;‡ almost the only sepulchral one I know of in England: which further confirms the idea of its high antiquity.

Nevertheless it must be allowed to be true, that as modern *pointed Arches* are, in several instances, found to be now placed on antient originally *Saxon Pillars;* so also modern *pointed Arches* are, in some instances, found placed, even on such Pillars as were, though indeed much more antient than the Arches themselves, yet nevertheless originally equally *Norman.*

Of this there seems to be an obvious instance, at *Battle* in *Sussex;*—where, in the antient Church, are found Pillars that cannot be of a later date, at most, than *just after the Conquest;* but which *now* have pointed Arches placed upon them, that cannot be of an earlier age than that of Henry the Third.

Two of these are slightly sketched, Pl. XXXVIII. Fig. 2.

To return to the Church at *Cleve:* as the antient part of it seems to have been, with regard to its age, about the time of King *Edgar*,

* See Pennant's Tour, Vol. II. p. 3.

† This seems to be the real substance of all the accounts that are extant put together.—Dugdale, beginning his account of it, only as a Monastery, from the first establishment of the Benedictines.—See the Monasticon, p. 366;—Stevens' Additions, Vol. I. p. 46, 217.—Tan. p. 621; and Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 361; and Grose, Vol. VI.

‡ Of this figure there is a representation in this Volume, Pl. III. Fig. 2, p. 80.

or a little after; so here we find *Towers*, that formed a part of the original Building; and which appear to be *Saxon*.

The upper part of one of these, in the front of the Building, is that whereon are carved the Arches, *with only three long indentations each*, so peculiarly curious; which have already been just mentioned, and which are represented Pl. LIV. Fig. 1.

The accurate Mr. Bentham has very justly observed, that Towers, and great Bells, seem to have been first introduced into this country, in the reign of King *Edgar*.

There are, he says, some traces of the use of Bells to be discovered in our Monasteries, even in the seventh century.* But larger ones, such as required distinct buildings for their support, do not appear to have been in use among us, till the tenth century; about the middle of which, we find several of our Churches were furnished with them, by the munificence of our Kings.†

It will easily be recollected, by the curious, that the Church at *Ramsey* Abbey, in Huntingdonshire, built in 974, had a Tower in *the west front*, as well as one in the intersection of the Cross:‡—and therefore a fuller conviction will arise in the mind, of the real *Saxon* origin of these, at the west end of the Church at Cleve.

The Saxon Tower at *Winburne*, in Dorsetshire, has been already mentioned.§—The *Saxon* Towers at *St. Albans*, and at *Tewkesbury*, with their Norman alterations, have been already referred to;‖—and original *Saxon* Towers, with ornaments greatly diversified, are to be met with in various places.

Amongst these, in the very first instance, deserves to be mentioned that of *St. Clement's* Church, at *Sandwich* in Kent: in a part of the country, where, on account of its vicinity to the Metropolitan Cathedral, we might most reasonably expect to meet with the very oldest of these structures.—And such this Tower is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been.

* Bentham's Ely, p. 29.—See also Bede Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.

† Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 40.—Matt. West. ad annum 946.—Hist. Ramesien, cap. 22.

‡ Ibid. cap. 20.

§ See p. 137, Pl. XIX. in this Volume.

‖ See p. 132, Pl. XVII. Fig. 1;—and p. 141, Pl. XVII. Fig. 2, in this Volume.

There is an exceeding good representation both of it, and of its particular ornaments, in Mr. Boys's History of Sandwich.*

It stands in the middle of the Church, and is square: being supported on four circular Saxon Arches, standing on as many substantial Piers.—In the upper part, it is ornamented, on each side externally, with three tiers of Pillars, and circular Arches, that are in every point most completely *Saxon*.—One of these ranges has only six Arches, and another only seven; but one has nine.—And as there is this sort of studied *dissimilarity*, in the *number* of the Arches in each range, so also is there, in the dimensions of the Arches themselves:—for those even in the same range are of very different diameters—and yet the whole together produces artificially a very fine effect.

The Capitals also of the Pillars, which adorn the great Piers within the Church, have strangely *varied*, fantastick, yet elegant ornaments;—in the true *Saxon* manner.—And the door that leads up to the Belfry, by a staircase adjoining to one of the Piers, has its Arch filled up, and, as it were, supported by a transom stone, in the true *Saxon style*;—whilst this stone itself is ornamented, in its front, with odd simple allegorical figures, and devices; and the Arch of the Belfry has nothing but what appears to be most truly *Saxon* in its whole composition.

Yet the Tower itself appears as if built of Norman, or Caen stone—a most curious circumstance:—but a circumstance which, instead of indicating to us that this is any *Norman structure*, contrary to the whole apparent style of its architecture; only seems plainly to indicate, that there was commerce with Normandy, (as we indeed know there actually was) *before* the Conquest;—and that *Norman*, *Caen stone* was sometimes imported for *Saxon* Buildings:—as it is also certain, that stones, from quarries in this Island, were so cut into small blocks, of the same size of *Caen stone*, as to be mistaken for it by hasty observers.†

There is another curious *Saxon* Tower, of a Church at *Dover*,

* P. 285.

† Instances of this are mentioned, in the preceding third Volume of this Work. p. 31, 47, 150, 155, 221.

unquestionably of an early age; but ornamented in a style somewhat different from that at *Sandwich:* the Arches, with which the external walls are adorned, having their Pilasters higher, and being narrower.

A third of the earliest *Saxon Towers*, deserves also to be mentioned; (whilst we are considering this beautiful part of Religious Structures, introduced into common use in the reign of King *Edgar;*) because its ornaments are still again varied from the former; and because it is built of a *round* form, instead of being square.

This is found at Little *Saxham* in Suffolk, in the neighbourhood of the antient Monastery of Bury St. Edmund's, well known to have been first built by King *Canute:** and where, therefore, as well as in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, we may most reasonably expect to meet with antient *Saxon* Structures.

It is represented in the subsequent part of this Volume; Pl. LIV. No. 2, where it is also referred to, on another account.—Being of *a round form*, it was supposed, by Sir James Burrough, to be *Danish.*†—But if it were so, the difference is very little from perfect *Saxon:*—since still it was in truth, only *Saxon* Architecture adopted by the *Danes;*‡ *after* the reign of their first great Monarch in this island;—whose beautiful square *Saxon* Tower, built by his *Saxon* artists, opposite to the west front of *Bury* Abbey, is well known; and still in tolerable preservation; together with the numerous Arches and Pillars, with which its walls are adorned on the outside;—and with the remarkable circumstance of having a flatter inner Arch, somewhat like a transom stone, supporting the uppermost large Arch of the Gateway.§

Another such *round Saxon Tower*, is at *Witlingham* Church,‖ near Trowse, in Norfolk: only its top has been raised in height,

* Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 81. † In Brit. nov. et antiq. Suff.

‡ There is a very good account and representation of it by Sir John Cullum, in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. II. p. 237.

§ There is an engraved representation of this Tower, inserted in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. III. p. 1. from an old drawing.—And such a sort of *inner flat Saxon Arches*, may be seen, represented, in the preceding pages of the *Munimenta*, Vol. III. p. 254, Fig. 2 and 3.

‖ There is a tolerable view of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1795, p. 457.

and repaired; evidently after having long remained broken down.

Having endeavoured to bring all these different kinds of *Saxon* Towers, as it were into one point of view, on occasion of mentioning the introduction of *Towers* into common use, in the buildings of Churches, in the time of *Edgar;* which was effected, probably, by the advice, and example, of Archbishop *Dunstan*, (who, with all his faults, seems to have had skill, both in Architecture, and Drawing, and in other ingenious works of art, far beyond most of his contemporaries,) it may not be amiss to bestow a little degree of attention, in this place, upon a few very uncommon instances of *Saxon sculpture*, which do not seem to have been noticed in the manner they deserve.

Two of these are represented, Pl. III.—The one; a little bass relief, amongst the numerous odd ornaments, on the Door-way at *Barfreston* Church, in Kent.—The other; a cumbent figure, in somewhat more than alto relievo, at *Malvern*, in Worcestershire;—and if it is to be deemed a really cumbent figure, almost the only *Saxon* one I know of; unless one of those at *York Minster* is to be reckoned of the same kind: which is perhaps the best account that can be given of it.

Both these represent warriours:—the one mounted;—and the other armed, as for marching on foot;—and they both afford us very fair, though rude, representations of the *Saxon* dress.

As to the first, which is pretty faithfully copied, with all its *disproportions*, Pl. III. Fig. 1; it has already been taken notice of in the account of *Barfreston* Church,* and compared with one at *Canterbury* Cathedral.

We find in this little piece of sculpture, the conical helmet, *without any vizor;* which was so peculiar to the Anglo Saxons:—the spear; which was even deemed so essential a part of the common dress of an Anglo Saxon Thane, that he never stirred abroad without it:† the saddle *without the crupper;* in which

* See p. 73 in this Volume.

† In consequence of this usage, there were even laws to prevent their wearing their spears carelessly. See Wilkins Leges Saxon, p. 42.

circumstance the *Saxons* differed so precisely from the *Normans*:—and the stirrups, by which *the Thane* was distinguished from his inferiors.

The second figure, Pl. III. Fig. 2, has often been considered, by mistake, as representing a *Norman Chieftain*, merely because it has, for many years, been placed upon a Tomb belonging (as appears from some arms on tiles beneath) to the family of the *Corbets*, in the Church of Great Malvern: but the whole garb of the figure shews that to have been impossible.

The long surcoat, or *mantle*, reaching down quite to the feet;—the peculiar form of the battle axe;—the no less peculiar form of the round shield, found here, instead of either the heater shield, or target;—and even the kind of broad-sword,* with the point so different both from the *British*, and *Norman* swords; do all indicate, what was *peculiarly Saxon*.†

There is also a great singularity in the mode of sculpture:—for the figure is *so flat*, that it is rather a mere sort of alto relievo, than a cumbent statue.

It has been called a Knight Templar's Tomb:—but it has no one circumstance to distinguish it, as being in that class.—It is well known that the figures on *such* as truly deserve that denomination, have almost always either *the heater shield*, or the *target;* and are usually placed lying on one side; or at least *cross-legged;*—and with a dress, and equipment, in the whole far different from this; though they have indeed the hawberk.

There is every reason, therefore, to believe, that this figure, (which is moreover on a long flat stone, that does not at all *fit* the

* The advantage of this sort of sword is well described by Hume, Vol. I. p. 17.

† There are already two engravings of this figure; one in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. III. p. 192; and one in the Addenda, at the end of Mr. *Grose*'s sixth Volume of Antiquities, Pl. IV.—But both of them appear to me to be incorrect; and to convey erroneous ideas. The first has neither the shield rightly represented; nor the hawberk; nor the mantle; nor the sword.—And the latter, though it delineates all these particulars in a better manner, yet has the hands and arms too long; and has given the whole the appearance as if the legs were broken off near the knees; whereas any one who views the figure fairly, will perceive, that they are broken off close to the feet.—In the Repertory indeed some tolerable idea of the peculiar flatness of the figure is given; but that is all.

top of the tomb whereon it is placed,) was at some time or other taken from the old *Saxon* part of the Church, and placed where it now is, on a Tomb of the *Corbets*, without any real or proper connection, either with that family, or with that tomb.

The figure at *York*, both as to its present situation, and appearance, is very much of the same sort;* except that it is not in armour.—The whole garb evidently represents that of a Layman of high rank; and not that of an Ecclesiastick. The appearance of a rich gem above the breast, and of a lion's tail falling over the vestment, shew this; as do also the sleeves of the garment; which are made close to the arm.—The great length of this garment, quite down to the feet, and its whole stile, is surely *Saxon*; whilst the appearance of the hair, and beard, is as manifestly neither *Roman*, nor *British*; though the figure has sometimes been mistaken for a Roman figure.

It is well known that *York*, from its great dignity, in the very earliest ages, was a place, where, if any such works of *Saxon* art ever existed at all in this country, remains of them might most reasonably be expected to be met with.—Here the Emperour *Severus* died; and from hence his ashes were conveyed, in a precious urn, to Rome.—Here also *Constantine Chlorus* died:—and here his Son *Constantine the Great* was declared Emperor; in whose time the Empire first became Christian.—Here *Edwin*, King of Northumberland, first reared a temporary wooden tent, A. D. 627,† in which he was baptized; and afterwards began a Church *of stone*, which was finished by King *Oswald*,‡ on the spot where the present Cathedral (begun A. D. 1171) was afterwards built.—At York, Geoffry of Monmouth says, several British Kings and Princes were buried.—And Venerable Bede affirms,§ that the head of King *Edwin* was interred in the Cathedral here; and also the remains of *Ethelm*, and *Etheldrida*, his children. —Besides these, here were deposited the remains of *Eadbert*, King of Northumberland, A. D. 767; and of *Egbert*, his Brother;

* There is a representation of it in Dart's History, p. 97.

† Dugdale, Vol. III. p. 128.

‡ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 8.

§ Ib. lib. ii. ca. 20.

and of King *Eanbald*, A. D. 797.—And to this Church, soon after the death of Canute, in 1036, the great northern Danish Chieftain, *Ulphus*, gave his celebrated horn, as the token of delivering up all his lands, and estates; and of his enfeoffing and investing the Church with them.*

It ought by no means therefore to be deemed a matter of astonishment, that at *York* should be still found a *Saxon figure;* which may very well be believed to have been removed from the old *Saxon* Church.

There is said, also, to have been a figure of *Ailwin*, deemed one of the oldest in this country, existing amongst the ruins of *Ramsey* Abbey, in *Huntingdonshire;* which was founded by him in the year 969.—It lay on his Tomb, and represented him holding two keys, and a ragged staff, as badges of his high office under King *Edgar*.—Whether it really was a piece of *Saxon* sculpture I will not presume to affirm, having never seen it.—But it is by no means improbable, as it has constantly been spoken of as being such.—And the existence of the inscription, mentioned by *Camden*,† as being on the Tomb, whereon the figure was placed, does rather confirm the fact, since that inscription itself may very fairly be allowed to have been of a much later date than this antient piece of sculpture, intended to be explained by it.

Those who could carve so many neat devices, as are found on so many of their door-ways, and arches, could not be at a loss to cut a figure in stone, on such occasions as they thought proper, though the common introduction of *such*, to be placed on tombs, was not the fashion of the times.

A very antient figure, in the Church of *Boseham* in Sussex, is said to be that of *Canute*'s Daughter.

The Tomb, on which it *now* lies, has indeed pointed Arches; both on its side, and over it; and certainly is of a very modern date, in comparison of the time of *Canute*.—But the wholé stile of the figure (whatever its real age be) shews it manifestly to have

* See a very curious dissertation on this subject, by Mr. Gale, in the Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 168.

† Camden, Vol. II. p. 154.

been of much higher antiquity than either the Tomb itself, or the Wall against which it is placed; and has a sort of rudeness, and simplicity in the sculpture, much resembling those at *York*, and *Malvern*.—And when we recollect that *here* was, in the first Saxon ages, a small Monastery;* and afterwards a Church, so considerable as to be represented in the *Bayeux* Tapestry;+ it is not at all improbable, but that from some part of such antient *Saxon* Church, this figure might be removed: as that at Malvern was from the former *Saxon* part of the Church at that place.

Nor are we without instances of the *Saxons* having had some sort of ornaments of other kinds upon their Tombs:—for according to the account of the antient Historian *Eadmer*, there was the form of a Pyramid, of great height, placed over the grave of *Dunstan*.‡

Amongst the remains of their ornamented pillars; before we proceed further in our enquiries, those of the old Chapel, at *Orford* in Suffolk, deserve just to be named.—And the rather because they were so near one of the places of residence of *Anna*, King of the East Angles.§

This Chapel is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been originally a separate, and distinct *small* Building, long prior to the Church, though it was afterwards made use of as the Chancel to that Structure; from whence it is now again separated, on account of its having fallen into decay.—Both its Founder, and the precise date of its construction, are quite unknown.—But as it is unquestionably allowed to have been one of the first of those Buildings erected by the antient Lords of Manors, for the sake of promoting the cause of religion, and for bringing men to a knowledge of the Gospel; so there is every reason to believe, both from the *smallness* of the Structure, and from the peculiar style, and *diligently varied* ornaments of its Architecture, that it was one of those very early ones, built in compliance with the admonitions of Archbishop *Theodore*.

* Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 19.

+ Antiquitez de la Couronne de France, Tom. I. Pl. XXXVIII.

‡ See also Dart's Canterbury, p. 3.

§ See in the preceding third Volume of this Work, p. 151.

It has a double row of thick columns, supporting circular Arches. The height of the columns being not more than twelve feet; barely equal to their circumference.—Their surfaces are ornamented in various manners with carvings, sharp and well finished.—And even the opposite ones *are not alike*.—Some having a small cylindrical moulding, twisting spirally round them;—some being crossed lozenge fashion, so as to appear covered with an embossed reticulated net-work;—and others, which are square, having small columns at each of their angles.*

The Arches are, also, on their insides, decorated with zigzag, or indented ornaments.

That exceeding curious Structure, which once existed at *Hereford*, deserves, in like manner, to be mentioned.—It is much to be lamented, that it was pulled down, in the time of Bishop Egerton. The Dean's name, if he concurred in the deed, is well forgotten.

It was built entirely of stone, and roofed with stone:—it was

* There is a drawing of this Chapel, in the third Volume of Grose's Antiquities;—there are also representations of some of the pillars separately, on a larger scale, in the Addenda to the sixth Volume, p. 22, No. 2; and there are very good representations of some of them, by Mr. Wilkins, in the Archæologia, Vol. XII. p. 167, Pl. XXIX. XXX.

Amongst Mr. Grose's representations, two are delineated, whose undulated capitals, are not very unlike those at *Ewenny*, which have already been referred to, in the preceding pages, Pl. XXIX. No. 2;—as indeed the proportions, of all the Pillars themselves, are very similar to those at *Ewenny*.

In the same Plate, of Mr. Grose's Antiquities, are also delineated some of the same *sort* of Pillars, only with different ornaments, found remaining at *Lindisfarne*, in Northumberland;—where it is well known a Church *of Stone* was built, very soon after the original one of wood had been consecrated by Archbishop *Theodore*;†—and where indeed the Gospel had been first preached, in Northumberland, by *Aidwin*, a truly good man; whose apostolical simplicity of life, and manners, corresponded exceedingly with the life and manners of Bernard Gilpin who, in much later days, was called the Apostle of the North.‡

At *Lindisfarne* therefore, might very well be expected, to be found a Church, corresponding in its style of Architecture with others of the age of *Theodore*.

And I ought to add, that at *Lindisfarne* was found, as far as we know, one of the *first* instances of the introduction of the use of lead, for the covering of the roofs of Churches, in this Island, about A. D. 652.§

† Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. ca. 24.
‡ See his Life, admirably written by William Gilpin.
§ Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. ca. 25.

only about forty feet square within; supported in the midst by four pillars.—It consisted of two Chapels, one above the other. —The four pillars in the midst, with arches extending every way, formed the support.—In front, towards the west, it had a Portico of *Saxon* round Arches, retreating backwards, one within, and behind, and below another, nineteen feet and a half deep; forming a most extraordinary Archivault over head;—which very likely gave the idea to the construction afterwards of *Fitzhamon's* great Portico, and high, and lofty Archivault, at *Tewkesbury*:* though this at Hereford was very low, being not above twelve feet high.—The Pillars against the walls, were some of them of single stones;—and in their form manifested a close imitation of the style of Architecture, that prevailed on the declension of the Roman Empire;—whilst the windows, on the outside, bore a manifest resemblance to those at *Shoreham*, and at *St. Albans*.†

Having mentioned, and referred to so many specimens of the first, and very early *Saxon* style of constructing Religious Buildings; it is now time to turn, with more particular attention, to the peculiar improvements of Ecclesiastical Architecture, made in the reigns of *Alfred*, and *Edgar*.

King *Alfred*, one of the greatest of men, after a long struggle, in which he endured the deepest depressions with patience, and surmounted almost invincible obstacles, having restored peace, and prosperity, to his afflicted country, which had for so many years been plundered, and desolated, by the marauding Danes,—found most of the *Religious Houses* burnt, and destroyed;—the religious persons themselves, that were on the first old Establishment, in general murdered;—and others, both afraid, and unwilling, to enter into such sort of sequestered life; instead of being eager to embrace it, as at the first.—Hence ingenuity languished; the efforts of acquired skill, that had begun to take place, were obliterated; and universal ignorance prevailed in the land;

* Described and represented in this Volume, p. 138, and Pl. XX.

† There is a plan, and an elevation, shewing what this remain was, in Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 452, Pl. XIV.—See also Stukeley's Itin. Cur. Vol. I. p. 68. And the Monumenta Vetusta, Vol. I. Pl. XLIX.

instead of such cultivation of arts, and of dawning science, as had at first distinguished these abodes.—To remedy this evil, he availed himself of the benefit of his former travels; and of his acquaintance with learned men abroad; as well as of that improvement of mind, which himself had so diligently laboured to obtain, in his days of adversity.—He brought over from France, and Italy, (with promises of encouragement,) men of the most distinguished abilities in learning; and of experience* in curious arts.—And it is only to be lamented, that as some of the most considerable of these *were Monks*, following those rigid rules which had been introduced abroad, they became even the very means of introducing, and establishing, in the English Church, the most superstitious part of *monastick* discipline, whilst they revived learning, and Science.

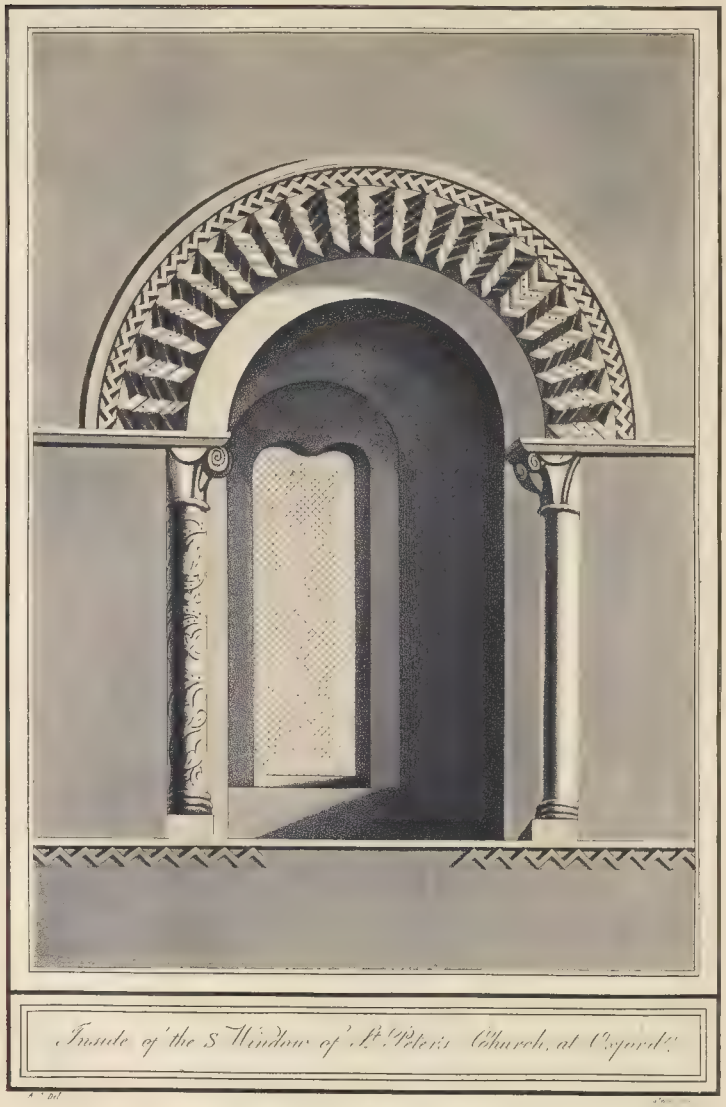
Amongst these were *Neoth*, an able scholastic Divine, (who was afterwards known by the name of *St. Neot*);—*Grimbald*, an eloquent Preacher, and able Architect;—*Asser*, a Grammarian, and Rhetorician;—*John*, a Musician, Arithmetician, and Logician;—and another *John*, a Geometrician and Astronomer.

These laboured to revive science;—and in a more particular manner at Oxford.—And *Grimbald* above all the rest.—But the new regulations he introduced (most probably in consequence of his *monastick* prejudices) gave such offence, that the old Scholars of Oxford unanimously refused to comply with his new institutions;—and after the most earnest endeavours, on *Alfred*'s part, to reconcile the difference, it still continued to such a degree, that at last *Grimbald* retired, with disgust, to Winchester.†

Whilst he continued however at Oxford, *Grimbald*, exercising his skill in Architecture, had both built a Church *of stone*, about A. D. 886; and had placed, in a Vault underneath it, a stone Sepulchre, wherein he intended his body should be deposited.—And, when he removed to *Winchester*, he caused this Tomb to be removed with him, a circumstance which clearly shews what

* Asserius Vita Elfridi, p. 18.

† See the Old Annals of Winchester, as cited by Camden, p. 287, Vol. I. Gough's edition.



Inside of the S. Window of St. Peters Church at Oxford

sort of prejudices, and ideas, were beginning to preponderate in his mind.

The Old Annals of *Winchester* assert, that the whole Church of St. Peter's, was built from the ground, by *Grimbald*, of stone, polished in the most costly manner.—But it has been too generally supposed, that no part of that Church, except the Crypt, now remains.—This however we shall, on a careful examination of the structure itself, find to have been an errour:—and that, on the contrary, there is every reason to believe, that very nearly the whole of it remains entire, saving that there have been some modern windows inserted:—and that the fact, with regard to the present Church now at *Oxford*, is just as it was at *Orford* in Suffolk;—namely, that what is now *merely the Chancel*, was indeed the whole of the original Church; and still retains very nearly its primitive appearance.

The Crypt, or vault underneath, is represented, in two plates, in the Archæologia,* where are inserted both a plan, and a view of the inside; and a delineation of some of the grotesque Saxon Capitals.

But in the Chancel above, also, we discover a style of Architecture hitherto much unnoticed; which, though it be indeed far more finished, and refined, than that in the Crypt beneath, is yet very much unlike any thing that we can, in any instance, ascertain to be *Norman*.

It plainly manifests a degree of elegance, beyond the prior *Saxon* Architecture;—and a closer imitation of *Roman* designs; united nevertheless with the *Saxon* peculiarities, that were before Alfred's time in fashion;—and is just what we might expect, from the improved taste and skill of *Grimbald*, or of *Alfred* himself, submitting to the prevailing prejudices of the age.

Pl. XXXIX. represents the inside of the South Window of this Building,—where the nice studied *variation* of the capitals of the side pillars, and even of their shafts, is particularly marked:—and also the rich projection of the indented ornament of the

* Vol. I. p. 151. There is also a view of the appearance of the whole Church, with the additional modern parts.

Arch, so different from the common zigzag of the Normans.—The smallness also of the window itself, and especially of the part for admitting light, shews a *Saxon* peculiarity, that can neither be compared with the windows of William the Conqueror's time, nor with the lancet windows of Stephen; nor with those of any succeeding age; any more than with the rudeness of the windows *prior* to the time of *Alfred*.—And the manner in which the pillars stand *within* the limits of the Arch, is also peculiarly *Saxon*.

The same sort of marks of distinction appear also on the outside of the window; which is represented very precisely, Pl. XL. Fig. 1.

And near the top of this wall, high over the window, on the outside, is a very remarkable kind of band, or freeze, running along the whole length of the Chancel, that seems to be *Saxon*.

It is an ornament somewhat like the *Corbel-table;* and has different devices supporting every bracket, or corbel;—as horses, (well known to be used as *Saxon* devices);—unicorns;—distorted heads;—and preposterous figures.—But it ought to be remarked, that the whole of this antient freeze is now surmounted with an open battlement of rose-work, which is plainly of a much later age;—as there is also a window of a much later age inserted on the same side of the wall, nearer to the body of the Church.

The stone vaulting, however, of the Chancel within, appears obviously to be as antient as the old *Saxon* south window. It is neither composed of pointed arches, nor in any part of its construction similar to the vaulting of the *Normans*. It is low, and semicircular, and has great diagonal groined arches, intersecting each other in the middle of the vaulting over-head, and supported by Pillars of *varied* construction.

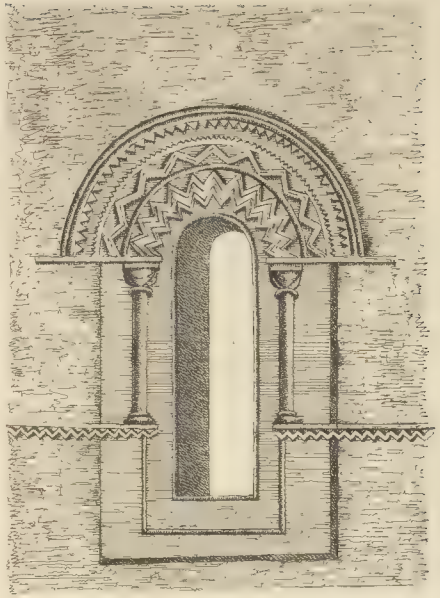
Amongst these, is found one, Fig. 2, Pl. XL. most remarkable for the odd effect, which the appearance of the *double* return of the scroll of the Capital produces.—It seems to be a closer imitation of an *Ionick* column, than any found in *Norman* times;—and yet, consistently with *Saxon* ideas, a strange deviation from the proportions, and pattern of that order.

F. 2



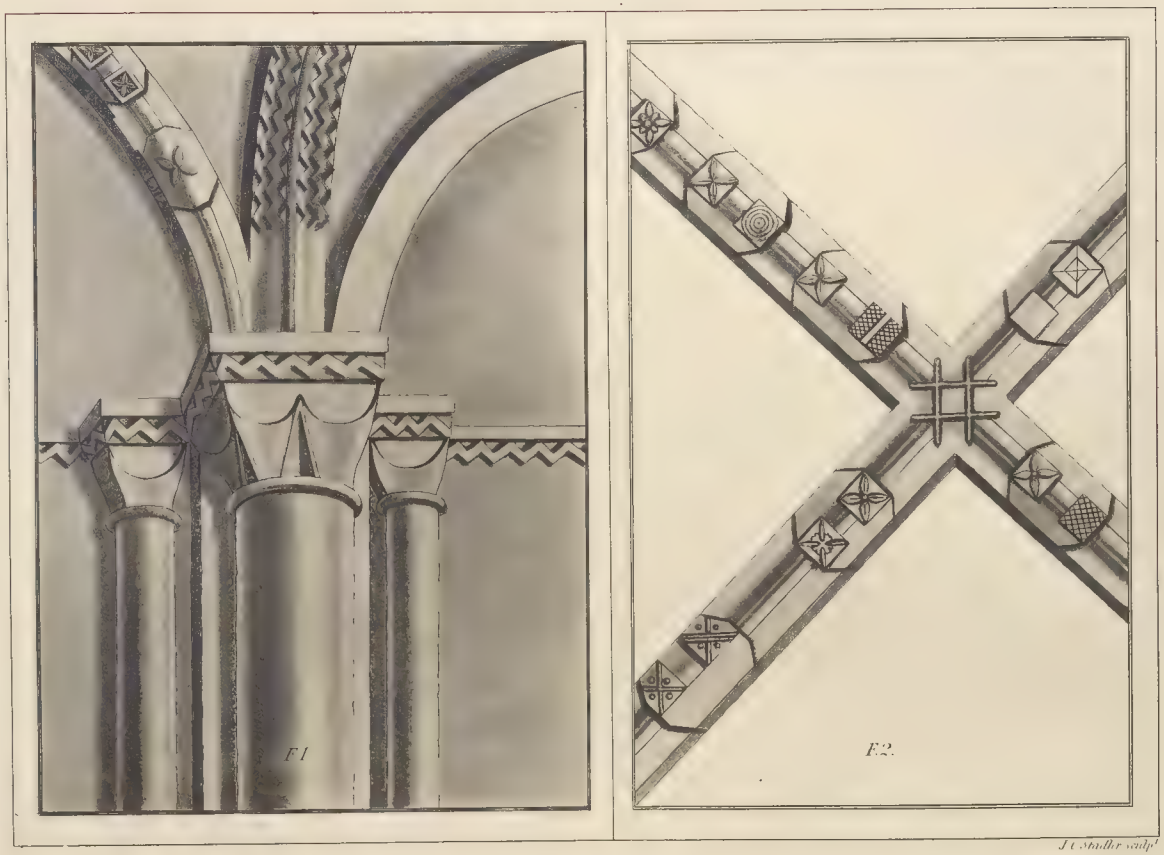


F. 3



F. 1

*Outside of the South Window of the Church of St. Peters at Oxford*




*Pillars supporting the Vaulting of the Chancel of St Peter's at Oxford, and Ornaments of its intersecting Arches.*

Another Pillar, with the whole cluster of columns adjacent, supporting the arches of the roof, and particularly one of the diagonal intersecting groined arches, is shewn, Fig. 1, Pl. XLI. where the latter is seen on the left-hand, with the peculiar ornaments somewhat like shields upon it.

And here again we perceive devices peculiarly *Saxon*.—For these ornaments are by no means *heater* shields; or indeed any regular shields at all, bearing coats of arms, like any thing *Norman*; —but are merely just such as they are represented Pl. XLI. Fig. 2; —where the groining, and parts near to the intersection of these great diagonal arches, or ribs, in the very middle of the vaulting over head, is shewn on a larger scale.—And even in the few contained in this small portion, the *studied variety* of the design is most conspicuous.

It needs only to be added, concerning this curious structure; that on its wall, on the left side of the south window, are found some of those little pillars, or rather round pilasters, and *intersecting arches*, which have been mentioned as existing in the Porch at *Cleve*, and in several other *Saxon* Buildings, before they were introduced into so common use in the time of Henry the First.

Having described the remains of this Church of *Alfred's*, it may be somewhat curious, before we proceed further, to compare the style of its Architecture, with that of a still more antient Remain, the *Crypt of a Saxon Chapel*,* that was discovered in *Oxford Castle*; where there is the utmost reason to believe *King Alfred* actually

* This Crypt was discovered about the years 1794, or 1795:—and by the favour of *the Earl Harcourt*, I received a very exact drawing, and plan of it, from that very able and ingenious Architect, Mr. Harris of Oxford, who afterwards communicated to me the fullest information, both concerning it, and concerning the many very curious remains in Oxford Castle.—From these materials I composed an account of the *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, containing 30 folio pages, and five Plates, which was published in 1796, as a prelude to the *Munimenta Antiqua*; and in which the distinction between the original *Saxon*, and the subsequent great *Norman* Castle, is traced, and shewn as clearly as possible; together with some very curious circumstances relating to the history of the Castle:—but as nearly the whole of those traces are now almost entirely destroyed by the erection of the present vast Goal, and Penitentiary Cells, that account will not now be inserted in the subsequent Volume of *the Munimenta*; but only be barely referred to. —And therefore the view of the old *Saxon Crypt*, as also that of the *Norman Well Room*,

resided occasionally; but which, in its most antient part, unquestionably existed *prior* to his time.

This antient *Saxon Crypt* was at the distance of about seventy feet from the original *Saxon Keep Tower*, and was of the form so usually found in Saxon Churches, *semicircular at the east end*:—but it was no more than twenty feet long, even reaching to the extremity of that end; and twenty feet wide;—and was supported by four Pillars, which appear to be decidedly *Saxon*, of an age prior to that of *Grimbald;* and deserve well to be compared with those in Grimbald's Crypt, at St. Peter's Church, as shewn in the Archæologia.*

They have that neatness of work, found in *Saxon* Buildings about the year 700:—and a part of the ornaments of the Capitals consist of heads, with such *Saxon crowns* upon them, as are found represented upon some *Saxon coins*.

The diameter of the shaft of each Column, is one foot, eleven inches; or in one or two of the Pillars near two feet; whilst the height is only two feet seven inches.—The height of each Capital is however one foot three inches:—and notwithstanding these strange disproportions, and that the Pillar, exclusive of the plinth, and strange sort of abacus, or die, (or even architrave, as it

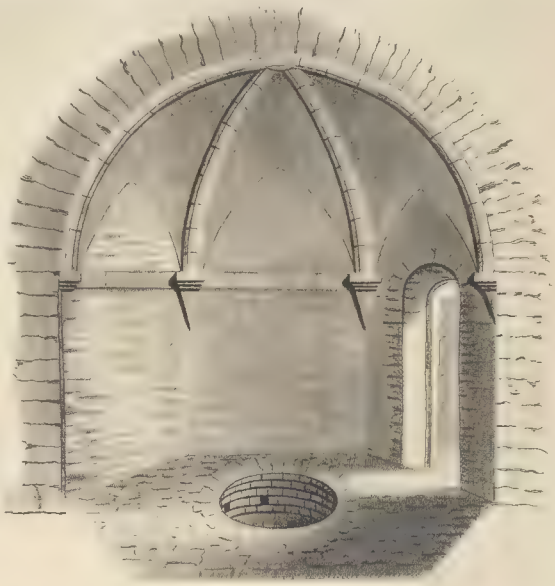
by way of contrast, which was under the great *Norman* Keep, upon the Mount of that Castle, is here inserted, for the sake of illustrating *Saxon* Architecture.

This *Saxon* Crypt is now in reality utterly destroyed:—for it was found necessary, in order to carry on the foundations of the extensive new buildings of Oxford Goal, both to *break down* this curious little vault; and also to disturb the whole of the foundations of St. George's Church, which in Norman times had been built over it, in lieu of the original little Saxon Chapel;—but Mr. Harris, in order to preserve somewhat of so interesting a Remain, first made the drawing (here engraved) before any part was taken down; and then replaced the four Pillars, in a modern Cellar, as near the very spot as was at all possible; and in the same relative situation; only this little Cellar, by means of the foundations of an adjoining *new* round Tower, has now the wall, at the east end, built *convex inwards;* instead of being as the eastern wall of the original Crypt was, *concave;* each Pillar, however, stands now removed only about one foot and an half from its pristine *Saxon* situation.—But the present vaulting, over head, is new.

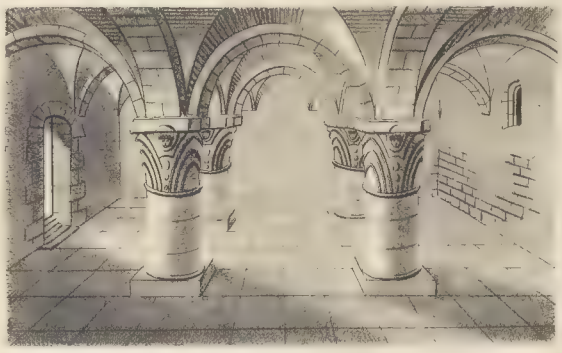
In the *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, (p. 18), a plan of the whole, as it was originally; and of the antient *Saxon* Keep Tower; and of the relative situation of both, may be seen accurately delineated by Mr. Harris.

* Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 151, Tab. 1.

F 1



F 2.



Well Room. & Crypt, in Oxford Castle

may in this instance be called), is only three feet, ten inches, yet the whole has even a pleasing effect to the eye.

The entire height from the ground, to the springing of each Arch, as it was in the original Crypt, (adding the thickness of the plynth, at bottom, and of the abacus, or die, at the top), was only about five feet; the Arch itself rose only two feet, six inches, and the rib of the Arch but six inches higher; —so that the height from the floor, even to the summit of each rough Arch of the stone vaulting, in the original Crypt, was no more than eight feet.

The ribs of the Arches, and the whole of the Pillars, were wrought neatly in free-stone:—and the groins were turned with a mixture of rough stone, and very hard burnt bricks, or rather tiles, nine inches square, and two inches thick; which manifestly shew a *Saxon* construction.—There were also many such bricks, which could not possibly be *Norman*, in the side walls of the original Crypt, as well as others of still more strange, and different dimensions, corresponding only with such as have been found, either in *British*, or in other of the most antient *Saxon* Buildings.

The whole of the Crypt, as it appeared in its original state, before the original vaulting was destroyed; and before the Pillars were removed, is shewn in Pl. XLII. No. 2.

And in the same Plate, No. 1, is a representation of the curious old Dungeon, or Well-room, under the great *Norman* Keep of this Castle, constructed several ages after the Building of this *Saxon Crypt;* and which may, on this occasion, well serve to contrast *Norman*, with *Saxon* Architecture.*

This horrible, though curious, little *Norman* Den, was in the centre of the great Keep, on the top of the Castle Mount.—It was excluded both from light, and fresh air,—and was of an hexagonal form, only twelve feet in diameter, and twelve feet high.—It was perfect when I saw it in 1795, and I believe is so still.—Its Arches are certainly semicircular, though, in conse-

* The more particular account of this Well-room, and all that relates to it, may be seen in *The Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, p. 7, 11, 12.—I believe the whole of this little vaulted Den still remains nearly as it was originally.

quence of their intersecting each other, in the centre, at the top, they at first, to an hasty observer, put on the appearance of being pointed.—They are very substantially built; and the ribs of each Arch, and the quoins at each angle, are wrought in free-stone, as is also the part about the door way.—In the midst of this little Vault, is a Well, four feet in diameter, and fifty-four feet in depth from the floor of the Room, which having been cleared out, about ten or twelve years ago, there was found a very fine spring of water, most remarkably cold.

The whole is a most curious Remain:—and *the Arches*, in this Well Room, deserve the more particularly to be contrasted with the *Arches* in the Crypt;—because, though this *Norman Vault* is so much smaller than the *Saxon Crypt*, there needs but the cast of an eye, to distinguish the apparently more magnificent style of the *Norman* Architecture, from the *Saxon;* any more than there does to distinguish the *early Saxon* style, from that of *Alfred's* days.

After such an introduction of an improved kind of *Saxon* Architecture, in *Oxford*, in the reign of *Alfred*, by *Grimbald*, as we have found in the instance of St. Peter's Church, it might reasonably be expected that we should, at *Oxford*, discover some other fine *subsequent* specimens; and so indeed we soon do, in the antient Cathedral of *Christ Church*.

Both Dugdale,* and Browne Willis, seem to date the foundation of this Building, from its first Prior of Regulars, *Guimund*, or *Guymund*, whom Roger Bishop, of Salisbury, placed there, A. D. 1111, in the time of Henry the First.—But as the usual style of Architecture of Henry the First (so well known, and so positively ascertained, at *Norwich*, and at *Ely*, and in other places) is so extremely different from this at Oxford;—so much less ornamented;—so much more massive, and heavy;—and of such very different proportions:—and as Dugdale himself informs us, from unquestionable authority, that a Monastery, first of Nuns, and then of Secular Clergy, existed here *long before*, we may very justly be led to conclude, that a great part of the Building

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 173.—And Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 282.

of the Church, was of that *prior age*;—and to such indeed the peculiarity of its Architecture does properly belong.

We read, that in the time of *Egelred*, or *Ethelred* the Second, when the Danes were massacred in England, many of them fled into this Monastery of St. *Frideswide's*, and were burnt there, about A. D. 1002.—And that soon after this horrid event, the King, repenting of what had been done, rebuilt the Monastery, restored its lands, and added more.

From this period, therefore, we may most fairly date the beginning of this venerable Structure of the present Cathedral of Christ Church;—whatever might be the prior original Building; constructed either by *Frideswide* herself, or at least soon after her death, A. D. 735.

On the outside of the small Towers, at the end of the north Transept, and also at the west end, are found those *unequal* ornamental Arches, and Pillars, or rather round Pilasters, which appear on so many *Saxon* Structures.*—The great door, by which the Church is entered, as well as that of the Chapter House, is truly *Saxon*;—and, *within*, its Architecture deserves the utmost attention.

All the Capitals of the Pillars of the Nave are *varied* one from another, and yet are elegant, in a degree that deserves to have them placed above either the preceding rude devices of *Offa's* days, and of the early *Saxon* Kings; or the more clumsy and more disproportioned *Norman* Capitals of the age of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, or Henry the First;—with all, or any, of which, it is almost impossible to confound them.—And there can be very little doubt, but that the other many Pillars of the Nave, in that part that was extended towards the west, and which was pulled down to make room for the building of the College, were equally *varied*, and well designed.†

* These are partly shewn in a north view of the Church, in the Monasticon, p. 174; where appears also the great pointed window, that was inserted between these Towers, about the time of Henry the Sixth.

† Nearly half of the Nave has been taken down, to make way for the great Quadrangle of the College.—Browne Willis makes the part pulled down to have been about fifty feet, Vol. I. p. 282.

The proportions also of the shafts, of most of the Pillars, in this venerable Structure, are better than those of the Pillars that we have found constructed in any of the preceding ages.

This will appear to the eye more fully, on inspecting the annexed exact representation, of the east side of the north Transept, Pl. XLIII.

The space, between the Pillars, has been filled up with curious skreens of *Norman* work, of a much later date. And the old *Saxon* window, over the Arch on the left hand, has been transformed into a more modern *Norman* window, of the age of Henry the Sixth.—But the rest remains just as it was originally: with the *little* beautiful *Saxon* Arches, filling up the inner space of each of the great Arches.

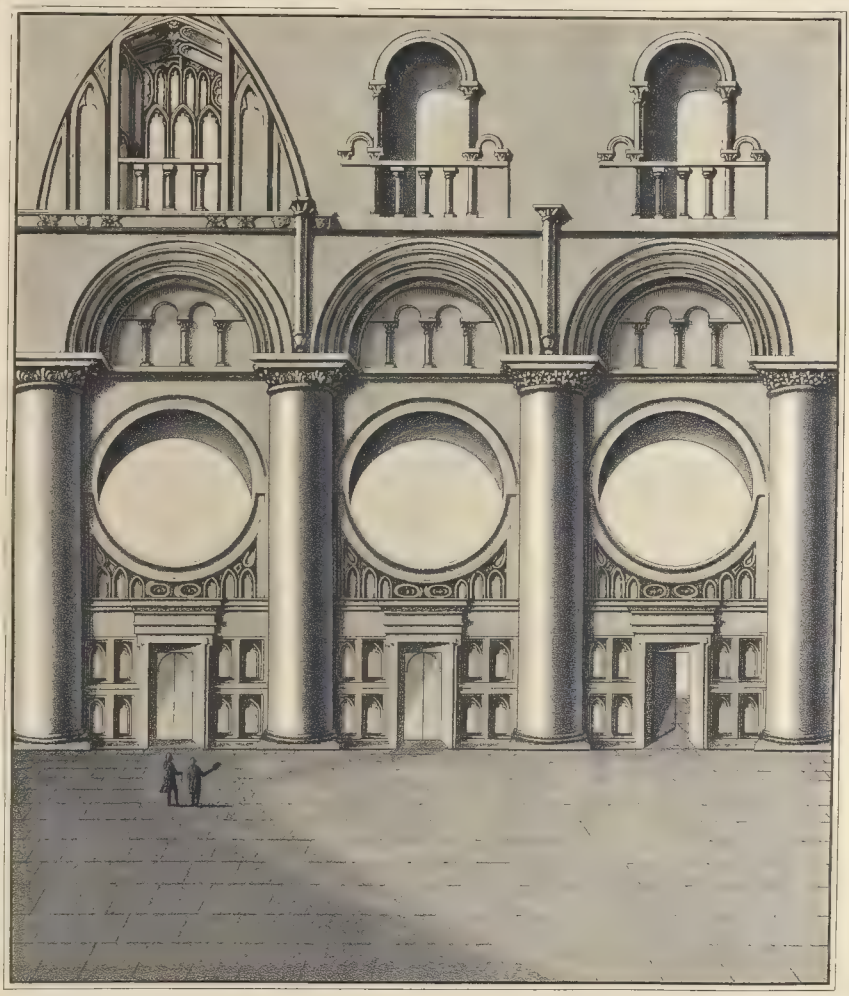
Pl. XLIV. represents a part of the north side of the Choir, as it now is, only omitting the modern Stalls, and the Closets behind them, framed of wood, which sadly block up the great Arches,—and prevent the view into the side Isle.

The little inner Arches above, within the sweep of each great Arch, found so uniformly in this Structure, supplying as it were the place of a transom stone, all remain as they were.—But high above, the old *Saxon* windows are now found all transformed into beautiful *Norman* windows, of Henry the Sixth's time.

In Pl. XLIV. therefore, the whole is represented restored, as nearly as possible, as it was originally;—being made fully to correspond with such parts of the Building as remain unaltered, in the north Transept, and elsewhere.

And surely no one, who well considers the proportions, and elegance of design, of the parts we have been describing, can either confound this style of Architecture, with that of the first *Normans*, (which was rather a *retrogradation* of skill, and design); or avoid perceiving what greatly improved ideas were introduced, in the time of *Alfred;* and were continued to be still more improved, in the reign of *Ethelred*, and even to the time of *Canute*.

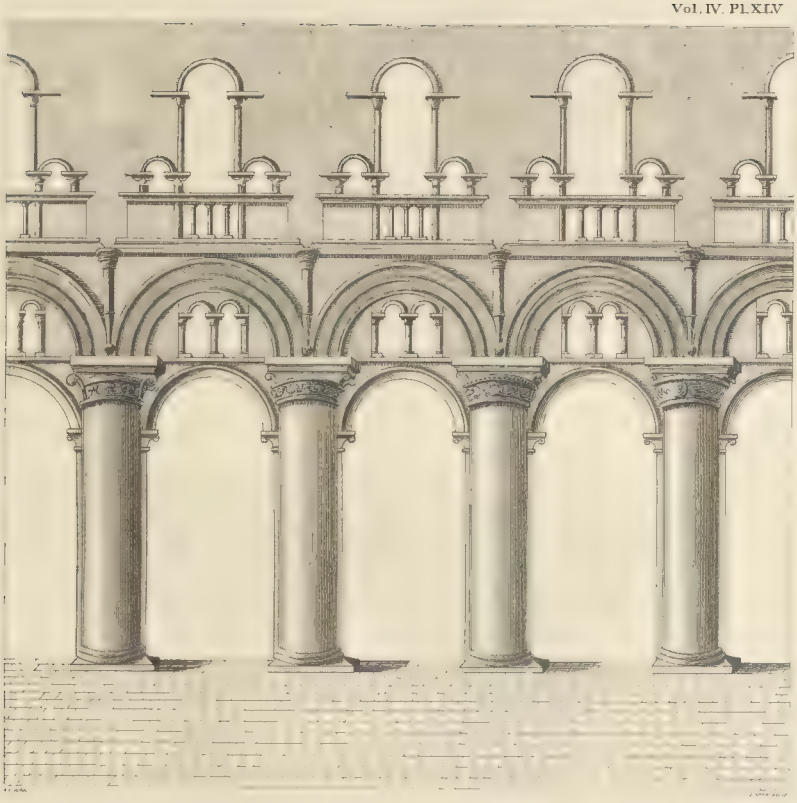
The slight etchings, Pl. XLVI. are sufficient to give a full idea of the Capitals of two of the Pillars in the north Transept.



East Side of the North Transept of the Cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford.



*Part of the North side of the Choir at Christ Church, Oxford; omitting the Closets & Stalls.*



*North side of the Choir of the Cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford in its original state.*

Fig 1

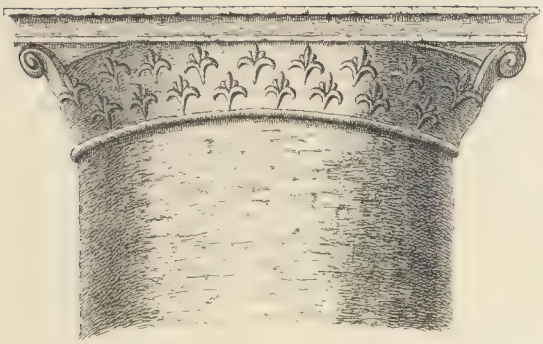


Fig 2



*Saxon Capitals at Christ Church, Oxford.*

Fig. 1



Fig. 2.



*Saxon Capitals at Christ Church, Oxford.*

And those, Pl. XLVII. to give an idea of two of the Pillars of the Choir, on a larger scale.

And in Pl. X. of this Volume, No. 2, are a few more slight sketches, of some others of the varied *Saxon* Capitals of this Church of *Ethelred's;* marked Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5;—and placed in that very plate, with a design to shew the contrast between them, and the earlier *Saxon* Capitals, at *Pershore*, represented in the same Plate, No. 1, and Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5.

The Architects of *Alfred*'s, and of *Grimbald*'s time, unquestionably meant somewhat to imitate, though with a considerable degree of *fancied variation*, (consistently with the prevailing fashion of their age) the works which they had seen at Rome.—And it ought not to escape our notice, that even at Rome itself, in the Capitals of several Pillars, there were begun to be introduced *great variations*, from the original regular patterns of the Capitals of the five orders, which had been reduced to their best standard, about the time of the *Antonines*.

Of this introduction of *variety*, and departure from all rule, there are sufficient proofs, in the specimens of Capitals given us by *Piranesi*.*

These very *variations*, therefore, might probably lead the *Saxon* Artists, and Travellers, to fancy they should even shew their skill, by studying to make still greater.

The same sort of idea seems to have prevailed in the minds of all Architects almost, in what are called barbarous ages.—For of this there are still more unquestionable proofs, in the surprizing *varieties* of the Capitals of Pillars, in Egypt, and elsewhere, as given us in the curious Plates of *Norden*, and *Pococke*.

In addition to these various *Saxon* Capitals at Christ's Church, there are inserted also, Pl. X. Fig. 6, 7, 8, with sufficient exactness to convey the real idea of their appearance, some of the grotesque heads, which are placed upon the top of the Pillars, in a manner not very unlike those at *Tewkesbury;*—and like them designed to support the bottom of the antient brackets, or consoles, that were bearings for the beams of the original wooden roof.

* Vol. II. and IV.—Pl. XIII. XVII. XXI. XXV.

As the curious Crypt of the age of *Alfred*, under the Church of St. Peter's, at *Oxford*, has been mentioned; and the strange grotesque devices, on its Capitals: so we have another Building; just where we might most reasonably expect to meet with such an one; that appears most unquestionably to have been nearly of the same age; and that is, the Crypt, and lower part of the Choir, of the Cathedral Church at Canterbury.

That judicious investigator of Antiquities, Mr. Gostling, (justly rejecting* the hasty conclusions of the learned Mr. *Battely*, formed merely in his closet; and of others, who, not taking the trouble *to look about them*, at really existing Remains, have laid too much stress upon expressions of *Eadmer*, and of other historians, concerning the *destruction* of Buildings by the Danes, or concerning their being *rebuilt*, at very different periods; as implying, in such instances, *always a total re-edification*), shews, that there is very great reason to conclude, that part of the very antient *Saxon* Structure at Canterbury still remains.—And the whole tenor of the observations, which we have had occasion to make in these sheets, tends to confirm the same idea.

He says, "those who compare the Vault under the Choir at "Canterbury, with Grymbald's Crypt, under the antient Church "of St. Peter in Oxford, will easily see, that the *same* designers "and the *same* workmen could hardly have erected *two* Buildings "more strongly resembling each other, than these: except that "the one at Canterbury is *larger*, and more profusely decorated "with variety of fancied ornaments: *the shafts of many of the* "*Pillars being twisted, or otherwise varied;* and many of the Capitals "just in the same grotesque taste."†

I have myself seen both,‡—and can affirm, that the observation

* Gostling's Walk about Canterbury, p. 78, 82. See also the second edition, p. 80.

† Several of these Capitals are represented in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. I. p. 57, and may be compared with those in Grymbald's Crypt, at St. Peter's, Oxford, which are delineated in the Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 151. They both seem to have been equally designed, as rude emblematical satyrs upon, and reproofs of vice, wickedness, ignorance, and folly.

‡ There is a comparative view of some of these Capitals inserted in Mr. Gostling's book, p. 80, second edition.—But it is rather a curious circumstance; and which

is most just.—And must also add, that the *ornaments, and twisting of the Pillars*, which Mr. Gostling speaks of, accord with the style of other *Saxon* Pillars, of the early ages; such as those which have been mentioned, as existing at *Oxford* Chapel, in Suffolk; and at *Lindisfarne*, in Northumberland.

Mr. Gostling observes, that the Crypt at *Canterbury*, is *larger* than that at *Oxford*.—And so it is indeed, very much.—But, nevertheless, the real fact seems, in both instances, to have been, that the original building of the Church above, (exactly of the dimensions of each, and standing over each), was the whole of each original *Saxon* Church.—And, as *much* of the walls, and even of the upper vaulting, of that at *Oxford*, still remains; so, in like manner, at Canterbury, a part of the first original walls, on the sides of the Choir, still most visibly exists.

The outside of the walls of the Choir, from what is called St. Michael's Chapel, eastward, is adorned* with a range of small Pillars, standing close to the wall like Pilasters, about six inches diameter, and three feet high; some with fantastick shafts, and capitals; some with plain ones. These support little Arches,

has not yet been duly attended to; that these sort of Capitals, composed of ugly, offensive, and distorted figures of monsters, and various animals, are, in general, confined to Crypts, and Vaults.

The reason most probably was, that they were designed to represent, in strong impressive, though rude emblematical language, *in these repositories of the dead*, the enormous ugliness of sin, and vice, and folly; and of evil passions of every kind: all which are the original causes of death.

That the *Saxons* designed Capitals of a much more pleasant, and beautiful kind, in the upper part of their Buildings, appears on the outside walls of the upper part of the Remains of *Odo's* work, at Canterbury itself.—And in the Capitals, in the upper part of *St. Peter's* Church, at Oxford:—and in the Capitals of *Christ Church* Cathedral, at Oxford.

And in these upper parts of their Buildings, where any of the distorted figures are at all introduced; they, even there, seem generally to have been intended to remind the spectators, of that degenerate state of vice, and folly, from which the preaching of the Gospel, in these very Buildings, was designed to deliver those, who would attend to it.

Such appear to have been the plain ideas, that prevailed in the rough minds of the primitive *Saxons*, before their attention was drawn to the *images* of Saints:—and whilst illiterate people (who could not read), would understand such sort of rude allusions, better than they could have understood any writing, or inscriptions.

* Gostling, p. 78.

which intersect each other: and this girdle (if such an expression may be allowed) is continued round a Staircase Tower; round the eastern Cross Isle, and round the Chapel of St. Anselm, as far as the more modern Building called Becket's Chapel.

We have taken notice of some Remains of the same sort of small intersecting Arches, on a part of the wall of Grymbald's Church at Oxford.

Mr. Gostling adds further proofs of the real existence of the old original *Saxon* Walls of the Church, at Canterbury, to this hour.—For he says,* that there are, in them, in different parts, "a number "of Arches now walled up, which could never be designed for "discharging the weight over windows so disposed as those we "see at present, plainly appearing to have been broken out at "some other time than when the walls themselves were built."

And, in another place, he mentions+ a very fair circular window-frame of stone, existing on the outside of the wall, over the door from the Cloyster into the Martyrdom, of which nothing is to be seen on the inside:—and which can now only be seen when the Cloister-leads are repairing.

The fact therefore, with regard to the history of the building of this Metropolitan Church, seems to have been, that previous to the arrival of *Augustine* in Britain, A. D. 597, there was a Church built on this very spot, at Canterbury, of some kind or other, for the use of such of the Roman soldiers, and Britons, as were Christians;‡—a Structure probably of the same kind with that of *St. Martin*, and with that at *Dover Castle*, both of which have been mentioned in the preceding Volumes.

And this Structure seems to have been utterly ruined by the repeated ravages of the Danes.

After which, Archbishop *Odo*,§ A. D. 938, began a thorough re-edification. And that what he reared was *of stone*, and a sort of lasting Edifice, appears from the account given us, that when the Danes again, in 1011, endeavoured to destroy it, finding the walls *so strong*, they piled wooden vessels up to the roof, to

* P. 81. + P. 75. ‡ See also Gostling, p. 85. § P. 87.

convey the flames to *it;* and to effect, in some shape or other at least, that terrible destruction, which was their great object, where-ever they came.

This Edifice, afterwards, when *Canute* had obtained peaceable possession of England, was repaired by Archbishop *Egelnoth*, about A. D. 1030; assisted by the royal munificence of that great Christian Monarch, who moreover presented to the Church his crown of gold.

Nearly two hundred years after *Odo*'s time, Archbishop *Lanfranc* is generally supposed to have pulled the whole down to the foundations; and to have reared a great part of the present Structure.—But there is every reason, from the appearance of the walls themselves, and from the shortness of the time in which he is said to have finished his whole work, (which was no more than seven years,) to believe that he left *Odo*'s walls, as far as they extended, in great part standing; which are those, that we still behold, with their curious *band* of little Saxon Arches, and small Pillars, or round Pilasters, on the outside; and with the massy Pillars, supporting the Vault of the Crypt within.

After having given some account of these Buildings, as *leading* specimens of the improved style of Architecture, in the age of *Alfred;* we now draw near to the consideration of an age, when the prevalence of superstition, in succeeding days; and particularly in those of *Edward the Confessor;* and the direful state of violence, and uproar, occasioned by the intrigues of Earl *Goodwin*, and other great lordly oppressors, and their crafty designs, caused *a sort of retrogradation* in art; and occasioned a more *hasty*, and negligent style of Building.

Of this we seem to have, amongst others, three remarkable instances;—one at *Southwell* in Nottinghamshire;—one at *Rochester* in Kent;—and the other at *Waltham* in Essex.

Dr. Stukely thought* the Cathedral still remaining at *Southwell*, was in great part the very Church built by *Paulinus*, the Northumbrian Apostle, A. D. 630.—But the Architecture of the

* See Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 43.

greatest part does surely by no means agree completely with *such* a conjecture.

The general history of the first building of the Church, allowed on all hands, is, that a Structure of some kind or other was reared here, by *Paulinus*, Archbishop of York, in the time of *Edwin*, King of Northumberland,* about the year 630;—that King *Edgar*, (the great Patron of the Monks), was so much a benefactor, as to be deemed *its Founder*;†—and that a constant tradition has prevailed, in the place itself, that the old part of the Fabric, towards the west end, was built in the reign of *one of the Harolds*.‡—Here therefore we may justly look for *Harold's style of Architecture*.

*Paulinus*, after he had built a Church at *Southwell*, having been obliged to leave his diocese of York, in consequence of the death of King *Edwin*, A. D. 633, and of the irruption of the *Pagan Saxons*, was appointed, by the Pope, Bishop of Rochester; where he continued till his death, A. D. 644 §

And, as it is well known, that a Church had been begun to be built at *Rochester*, nearly about the year 600,‖ we might indeed easily be led (from the similarity there is between the most antient parts of the two Buildings) to adopt Dr. Stukely's ideas; and to conclude both *Southwell*, and *Rochester*, to have been built under the direction of *Paulinus*, and to have been of that very early age.

For indeed there is a great similarity, as may be seen Pl. XLVIII. and Pl. XLIX.

But as there are certain peculiarities, in the Architecture of *Rochester* Cathedral; which are so unlike any in the early age of *Paulinus*, that they have even induced some Antiquaries to conclude,

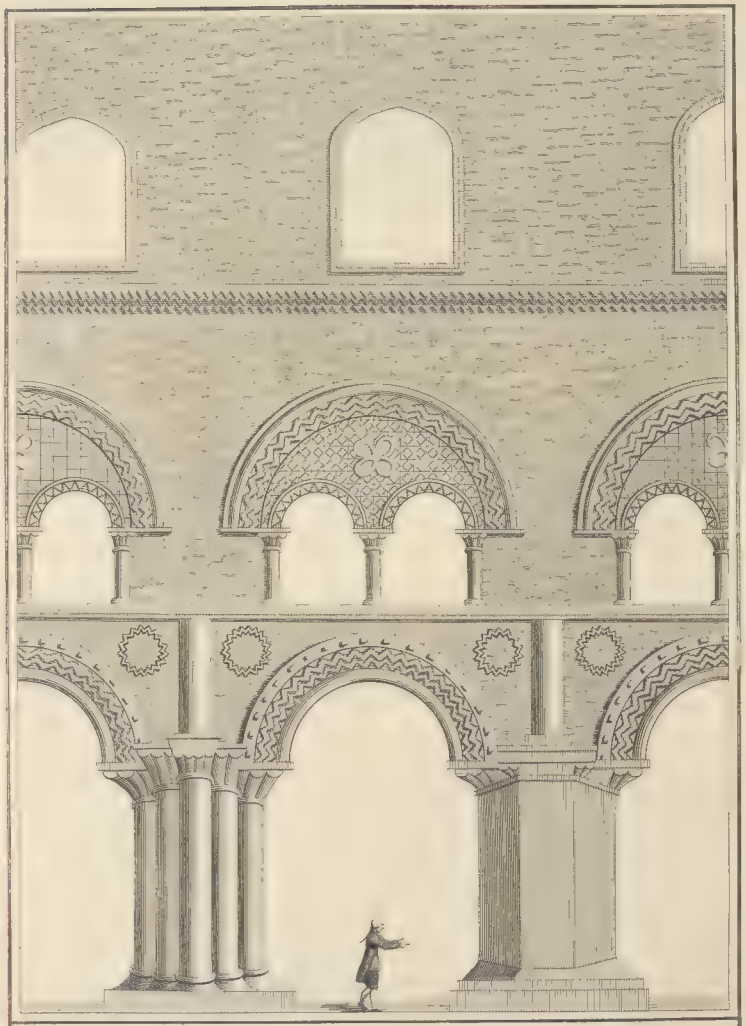
* See Rastall's History of Southwell, p. 19, 180.—To avoid inserting the numerous references to *Bede*, and others, it is sufficient to cite the pages, in *Mr. Rastall's* very curious, and accurate History of the Church of *Southwell;* where the whole are collected with great care;—and with whose very judicious conclusions I perfectly agree, for the greater part;—though the variety of observations I have been enabled to make, on different Buildings, (when compared together), compel me to differ from him, a little, in some few instances.

† Rastall's History, p. 181. ‡ P. 36, 43. § P. 21.

‖ See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 27; and the very curious little History of Rochester, published at Rochester, A. D. 1772, p. 57.



*Part of the Great Nave of the Church of Southwell in Nottinghamshire &c.*



*Part of the Great Nave in Rochester Cathedral*

(erroneously, as it appears to me,) that the most antient part of that Building was altogether constructed* by Bishop *Gundulph*, after the Conquest;—and as, on the other hand, there are particularities at *Southwell*, that undoubtedly do much agree with the Architecture of the *Harolds*;—whilst in neither, are there any of those *very little* antient *Saxon* Arches, in the upper parts of the walls, corresponding with such as we have found at *Pershore*, at *Ewenny*, and at *Tewkesbury*;†—and which (where-ever they are found) are always the most truly *characteristick marks* of the earliest *Saxon* times; we must conclude the parts of both the Buildings, at *Southwell*, and at *Rochester*, which are so alike, to have been of a later age than that of *Paulinus*, A. D. 630 or 640, and rather of the time of the *Harolds*, and of *Edward the Confessor*.

An investigation of the particularities whereof both Structures are composed; and a comparison of them with Buildings which are unquestionably known to have been constructed, in the days of either of the *Harolds*, before the Conquest; and with Buildings decidedly known to have been the works of Bishop *Gundulph*, after the Conquest; will perhaps enable us to assign to each part its true date; and will, perhaps, also enable us to allow, that in some small parts of both Cathedrals, there do still remain, *vestiges* of the original Buildings of *Paulinus*; though not in that general uniformity of the more ostensible parts, in which Dr. Stukeley was led to believe he discerned them;—and in which more ostensible parts, though so perfectly agreeing, is seen a style of Architecture, certainly not compatible with any that ever existed in the years 630 or 640.

Pl. XLVIII. shews a part of the Nave of the Church of *Southwell*.

Pl. XLIX. shews a similar part of the Nave of the Church of *Rochester*, near the west end.

And Pl. LI. shews a similar part of what was once the Nave of the Church of *Waltham Abbey*, in Essex, built by *Harold*, before he was King; and which still remains, forming now a part of the body of the Parish Church.

* History of Rochester, p. 58.

† See Plates IX. XXIX. XVIII. in this Volume.

The general *similarity* of all these three, we may plainly perceive, consists most particularly in the form of the *middle row of Arches*.—But, in the Pillars, and Arches, at bottom, and in those Arches higher up, are material differences in the style of Architecture.

*Waltham Abbey*, we are assured, was built by *Earl Harold*,* before his assuming the crown, and some sonsiderable time before the Norman Conquest. And the style of Architecture, of his age, which may very well be deemed a continuation of that which prevailed in the time of the first *King Harold*, appears completely in this Structure, and is carefully represented Pl. LI.

Therein, at bottom, are found Pillars discordant in form; and with such clumsy, large, over-hanging, and projecting Capitals, as appear, notwithstanding this heaviness,† scarcely able, in consequence of *their projecting*, to support the Arches above.—Whilst the Arches themselves are adorned, with that sort of billetted moulding, and with that sort of zig-zag indented moulding, ill executed, which is so often seen in Buildings that were reared just before the Conquest, or immediately after it

But at *Southwell*, we find at bottom, as is shewn Pl. XCVIII. Pillars of a far more uniform, and more simple construction;—and in a style, and sort of proportion, much more resembling those of the *very early ages*.

They all are round, as are those at *Gloucester*, and *Tewkesbury*; and are not very unlike, in their proportions, to those at *Ewenny*.—These Pillars therefore, we may fairly conclude to have been of the age of Paulinus, about A. D. 630.—But as to the Arches resting upon them, they seem more modern.—There is a strange peculiarity in them, deservedly taken notice of by Mr. Rastall;‡ which is, that at the vertex of each Arch, is a large, projecting, cylindrical stone, with a round hole in its centre, and an ad-

* See the Charter of Edward the Confessor, dated 1020, in the Monasticon, Vol. II. p. 11; and Camden, Vol. II. p. 41, Gough's ed.

† The strange appearing *projection inwards* of the part of each Capital, that supports the inmost compartments of each Arch, is no defect in the drawing, but is an exact resemblance of the original Structure.

‡ Rastall's History, p. 44.

joining groove, cut from thence, to the circumference; the purpose of which seems to have been, *to support the Arches*, by the adventitious aid of a rod, perpendicularly inserted in these holes, *to hold up* the top.—A device, which could have been occasioned only by some doubts as to the strength of the Arch, and by a sort of retrogradation of art, and skill.

We are therefore, in consequence of all these circumstances, plainly led to conclude, that though the Pillars were indeed of the age of *Paulinus*, about A. D. 630, (when they had probably only corresponding *Saxon* Arches, and a plain wall over them quite up to the roof; with such very little irregular Arches, inserted in rows, as appear at *Ewenny*, and *Pershore*, and *Tewkesbury*; —and with plain narrow *Saxon* windows);—that yet the present great and lower Arches, resting on the Pillars, and the Arches of the middle row, and those at the top, were of a later age; when art was declining from the state it had arrived to in the days of *Alfred*, and of *Canute*.—And that the wall built by *Paulinus*, had been taken down, as far as the great Pillars at bottom, on the occasion of this reparation.

And we are further led to this conclusion, and even to deem this reparation to have been made about the days of one of the *Harolds*, or of *Edward the Confessor*, because (as Mr. Rastall justly observes) the Architecture much accords with the old manuscript* description of *Westminster Abbey*, (as it existed, when rebuilt by *Edward the Confessor*).

The old Saxon Pillars of *Paulinus*, seem to have been preserved, on account of their solidity, to support the new superstructure, just as the old *Saxon* Pillars were left, at *Malvern* Church in Worcestershire;—to support the present Nave.

In the next place, with regard to *Southwell*, it ought not to pass unnoticed, that King *Edgar*, or *Eadgar*, is, in the certificate delivered, concerning this Church, into the Court of Augmentation, even called *its Founder*;† though it does not at all appear, upon record, *what* his benefaction was.

* The substance of this manuscript account has been preserved, and given to us, in Wren's Parentalia, p. 296.

† Rastall's History, p. 131.

As therefore no donation of lands bestowed by him, is mentioned, we may, and indeed we must fairly conclude, that, to deserve the *name of Founder*, he built some considerable part of the Church.—And there actually are considerable parts of the Building, that appear to be precisely of his age.

These are particularly the Towers, at the west end, and in the middle of the Church ;* which may be ascribed to him.

Edgar's was the age *of building Towers*, as ornaments for Churches in general ; and the age of introducing *the use of great Bells* :—a fact that has been surely well enough ascertained by Mr. *Bentham*,+ and which is corroborated by the uniform style of so many *Saxon Towers* in England.

That style unquestionably appears in these Towers at *Southwell*, exclusive of their additional wooden Spires ; and exclusive of the *pointed arched Windows, inserted* in the bottom part of those two, which are at the west front.—And Mr. Rastall very fairly admits,‡ that we may just as well conclude, that Archbishop *Alfric's* valuable present, in 1023, of two large Bells, to the Church of *Southwell*, might be made in consequence of proper *Towers* being found there already built ; as that, in consequence of such present being made, such Towers were built.

I may venture to add, that we may much more reasonably make the *former* conclusion, than the latter ;—because the year 1023 was, on the one hand, not only even *prior* to the time of the *first Harold ;* (when Mr. Rastall supposes these Towers might have been built) ; but was, on the other hand, a period of time when a style of Architecture, under the auspices of King *Canute*, prevailed, of a very different, and more improved kind, than what is found appearing in this Tower ;—of which fact we have a strong instance, in King *Canute's Bell Tower*, at St. Edmond's Bury in Suffolk.

* In this conclusion therefore, as well as in that concerning the *lower* Pillars, I cannot but venture to deviate a little from Mr. Rastall's general conclusion, of the *whole* of this antient part being of the age of *Harold*.

+ See his History of Ely, p. 29, 30 ;—where, however, he very justly admits, that there is good reason to think this noble ornament to Buildings, was *first* introduced by the truly great King Alfred.

‡ Rastall's History of Southwell, p. 42.

On the whole, therefore, I cannot but conclude the fact, with regard to the more antient part of the Fabric at *Southwell*, to have been this:

That *the Pillars* of the lower part, next the ground, in the great Nave, were built originally in the time of *Paulinus*, about A. D. 630.

That the Tower, now in the midst of the Church, and the Towers of the west front, were built by King *Edgar*, about A. D. 960.

And that the great repair of the whole, of what was *then* the Church, to the roof, was made between 1036, and 1066, either by one of the *Harolds*, or by *Edward the Confessor*.

Mr. Rastall has observed,* that there are, in one of the western Towers, at *Southwell*, some *pointed Arches;* which seem to indicate the *first origin* of that species of Architecture.—And there can scarce remain a doubt, in the minds of those who are truly, and accurately inquisitive, but that the intersections of interlaced Arches, (first introduced in *Saxon* times), and which became at length so commonly in use, in the days of Henry the First, did give the first origin to this idea.

But yet, as to the pointed Arches of ornament, now seen on the outside of one of these Towers, at the west end of the Church at *Southwell;* it seems almost obvious, at first glance, on comparing them, with the corresponding, interlacing, semicircular Arches of the other Tower; that they were formed, merely from just such original intersecting, or interlacing *circular* Arches, having the intermediate parts, in far later, and more modern times, chisselled away† from the wall, to which they were all originally, only a sort of bass reliefs:—and that they were by no means formed as *pointed Arches* originally, in any early days.—The alteration was probably made, at some time when the Towers were repaired; and most probably, when the wooden Spires were first placed upon their summits.

* P. 45. And see also a very good representation of these Towers, in his Work.

† Mr. Rastall's curious Plate, p. 45, in reality itself indicates this very plainly.

Now let us, a little more particularly, examine *Rochester* Cathedral.—A Structure most unquestionably first reared during that uncertain period, when the total want of all records leave us under a necessity of having recourse to the *style* of Architecture, for any solid information.

This, in its oldest part, is now generally considered as being entirely of the building of Bishop *Gundulph*:*—but both the style of its Architecture, and the history of its foundation, contradict this too general conclusion.

When so many other *Saxon* Churches, of the earliest ages, are found still remaining, at least as to *a part* of their walls, it would be very surprising indeed, if at *Rochester*, (which See was even the *first* instituted next to Canterbury,+ and which is situated so near to Canterbury), if *there*, of all places, no remains of the Architecture of those *first early times* should be found.

At *Canterbury* itself, we have seen, are obvious remains of Archbishop *Odo's* Building, in 938.—And here, at *Rochester*, if we duly attend to all circumstances, we shall surely find, are some remains even of the Building first begun by the bounty of King *Ethelbert*;‡—and finished by *Paulinus*, about 640.

Camden says,§ "*Ethelbert*, King of Kent, built *a noble Church* here." And that "this decaying by time, *Gundulphus* repaired it "about 1080, and turning out the Priests introduced Monks."

We may be assured, therefore, that this first Church, if it was *so nobly built*, was as likely to have some of its parts remaining, as any of the inferior *Saxon* Churches.—And the mode of expression which *Camden* so cautiously uses, concerning *Gundulph's repairs*, does plainly intimate an idea, even in his mind, that a part of the old Fabric itself was made use of by *Gundulph*; and actually so left remaining.

And indeed it would have been a strange thing, if Camden had not entertained such an idea, when we know that, at least, *two Bishops* were buried very early in most distinguished parts

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 232.
+ Monasticon, p. 30.
‡ Registrum Roffense, p. 3.
§ Camden, Vol. I. p. 214, Gough's ed.

of it;—(*Paulinus** himself in the *Sacristy*;—and *Tobias*,† in *a Portico*, which he had erected);—and that at least a sufficient part of the Church was standing, on Bishop *Gundulph*'s appointment to the See, for him to be enthroned in it.

The great West Door of the Cathedral, if we fairly compare it with the great Portal, and Arches of *Gundulph*'s Castle, (which he is known to have built about the same time that he re-edified Rochester Cathedral‡), will be found to have nothing in reality of *his style* in it, or at all like the Architecture of the Portal of the Castle; but to be precisely in the style of the best door-cases *of the earliest Saxon Churches*.

There is a flat transom stone, as it were supporting the Arch, and adorned with a rude sort of bass relief;§ and the Capitals of its Columns, as well as the whole Arch itself, are cut into grotesque figures of various animals, and flowers.—And on the front of the transom stone of the Arch, is represented a Bishop, preaching the doctrine of the twelve Apostles, whose figures, therefore, appear carved in small relievos beneath; whilst those of angels, and of the four evangelical symbols, are placed around.—And though it be true that there are remains of two Columns, one on each side, which appear now to have the addition, in their upper parts, of two statues, supposed to resemble *Henry the First*, and his Queen *Matilda*, the Royal Patrons of *Gundulph*; yet, as the Columns themselves bear visible marks of having been *altered* from what they were originally, these figures seem rather to have been

* Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. ca. 14. *In Secretario*,—this has often been translated *Sacristy*; but surely it much rather means *Council Room*, or *Chapter-House*.—Although, in a merely *Parochial* Church, it may mean *Sacristy*, or *Vestry*.

† Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. v. ca. 23. The manner in which Bede here makes use of the word *Portico*, confirms very much the observations that have been already made, in this Volume, (p. 163, 164), concerning the *Saxon* meaning of that word.—Bede says of *Tobias*:—"Sepultus vero est in porticu Sancti *Pauli* Apostoli, quam intro Ecclesiam "Sancti *Andreæ* sibi ipse in locum sepulcri fecerat."—*He was buried in the Portico of* St. Paul *the Apostle, which he himself had made* (*or built*) *within the Church of* St. Andrew, *as a place for his own sepulture.*

‡ Text. Roffen. ca. 88, p. 148, Hearne ed.

§ There is an engraving of this Door-way in Mr. Thorpe's Custumale Roffense, p. 155.

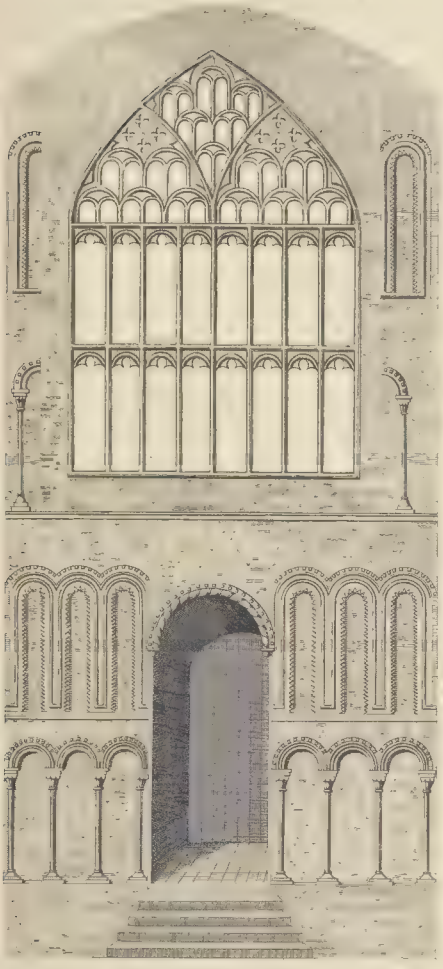
subsequent *additions*, than a part of *the original Portal*; and may very well be allowed to have been added, either by *Gundulph*, or even in later ages, to the original beautiful *Saxon* Door-case, which he found there. Nor was there any great difficulty in doing this; for how very easily any one of the original Pillars might be removed, and changed, appears from the outer one of all, on the right hand side, being *now* actually quite taken away, whilst its rich Capital alone is left suspended; and whilst the corresponding Pillar, on the left-hand side, remains entire.

On the inside of the west front wall, over this Door, also, (in which a great pointed window has been *inserted*, about the time of Henry the Sixth), are found remains of Arches, on each side, and at bottom, which appear much rather to have been of *an early Saxon* age, than of the age of *Gundulph*;—and to have formed (some of them at least) those sort of small *Saxon* windows, which were in use, in that first period.

These are exactly represented Pl. L.

The width of the Nave is, just as here given, twenty-seven feet, five inches:—the inside of the Door-way is of the *disproportion* here shewn, but is eight feet, two inches, in width;—and, as is very remarkable, does not stand in the middle of the front wall, but has ten feet, three inches, on one side, and only nine feet on the other.—Nothing can appear more truly *Saxon* than the moulding over-head.—And the Arches on each side of the wall, whose bases are level with the top of the steps, at (a, b), have a *Saxon* irregularity; as well as those, so obviously *Saxon*, in the row above, (c, d).—These rows were evidently repeated, in a similar manner, in the upper part of the original wall, at (e, f), and (g, h); where there cannot be a doubt but that some of them were *the only original windows* in this wall.—They have, however, manifestly been cut away, to make room for the present great west window, inserted in Norman times. And the manner in which this was done, cutting the Arches (g), and (h), irregularly, in order to place it exactly in the middle, is singularly curious.

Here therefore we have a wall remaining, which has every appearance of being of the age of *Paulinus*;—and is, in its work-






A. C. Ashton. J. Barlow sculp.

*Representation of the Inside of the Wall at the West end of the Cathedral at Rochester shewing its antient Saxon Arches, and the mode of inserting the Great Window.*

Published as the Act directs 1st Dec.r 1807

manship, as utterly unlike to the Arches on the sides of the Nave, as it is to any works, or Arches, of *Gundulph's*, either in his Castle, or Treasury, or elsewhere.

And, as the great West Door of Rochester Cathedral, both on the outside, and inside, bears such evident marks of *Saxon* original, so in like manner does the part of the old Conventual Building, which now remains in ruins, and is said to have been the antient front of the Chapter-house.

In the observations annexed to Mr. *Thorpe's** *Custumale Roffense*, they are supposed to be the work of Bishop *Ernulph*, a Successor of *Gundulph's*.—But as that ingenious writer frankly acknowledges such conclusion to be mere guess;—so indeed these Arches, in their design, and ornaments, are as totally unlike *Ernulph's* known works at *Canterbury*, as they are unlike those which are unquestionably *Gundulph's*, at *Rochester*, or elsewhere.

They are affirmed† to have had, a few years ago, a *Saxon* inscription remaining upon them.—And (however that matter may have been) they certainly are adorned with a profusion of *designedly varied* grotesque ornaments, exactly in the oldest Saxon style, in small compartments; almost every stone being carved with some different resemblance.—Some persons have fancied certain of these to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac: and Mr. *Thorpe* was willing to believe that those on one side of an Arch, exactly resembled those on the other side of the same Arch; and has so represented them‡ in his engraving.—But neither the one nor the other appeared to me to be exactly the case.

In some part of the *Chapter-house*, from the words of *Venerable Bede*,§ we have every reason to believe, *Paulinus* himself was buried, A. D. 644.

And as that circumstance plainly leads to a conclusion, that a

* P. 154.

† See the History of Rochester, p. 97; where is a beautiful little representation of this fine fragment of antiquity.—There is one also, upon a larger scale, in Mr. Thorpe's account annexed to the Custumale Roffense, Pl. XXVII. p. 161.

‡ Pl. XXXVIII. p. 161, in his Additions to the Custumale Roffense.

§ Bedæ Historia, lib. iii. ca. 14. *Sepultusque est in Secretario beati Apostoli Andreæ, quod Rex Aedilberct a fundamentis in eadem* Hrofi *civitate construxit.*

Structure of this kind, of no small note, existed here in the earliest *Saxon* period; so we still have in *these* walls, and in *these* Arches of the Chapter-house, as well as in the great West Door-way of the Cathedral, most visible remains, concurring, in every point, with the true style of *early Saxon Architecture* of the most ingenious kind.

But these Arches, it may be said, by some hasty observers, are built of what is called *Caen stone*.—The fact, merely from the *reddish colour* of the stones, does not appear to be absolutely a plain one. And I think I may venture to conclude, on the closest examination, that they are not *Caen stone*.—Allowing the stone, however, to be such; yet this would at most only tend to shew, (what has already been remarked, on another occasion), that the *Saxons*, in consequence of their continual intercourse with Normandy, imported *Caen stone*, long before the time of the Norman Conquest.

It has been with great judgment remarked, by the very curious Author of a most intelligent little work,* that whereas the antient Records give positive accounts of the Church having been *burnt;* and of the See (in the time of Archbishop *Theodore*) having been reduced to so wretched, and desolate a state, that its Bishop could not reside; yet we have no account of the Church being absolutely *rebuilt*, till the time of *Gundulph:* and therefore it is surely at least *probable*, that during the interval, the original walls remained; and that it was somewhat repaired, so as to have some part fit for the performance of divine service.

*Offa*, King of Mercia, and *Sigered*, King of Kent, and *Ethelbert*, King of Wessex, were great benefactors to this Church, between the year 760 and 780:† it would be strange, therefore, if some repairs were not added in their days.

But a more remarkable circumstance is; that *Ethelred the Second*, having besieged its Bishop in the City of *Rochester;* and having extorted an hundred pounds from him; (which was equivalent to much more than fifteen hundred pounds in these days); and having

* History and Antiquities of Rochester, p. 112.

† Monasticon, p. 27.

deprived the Church of some of its antient demesnes ;* afterwards repented bitterly ; and in consequence of such repentance, in the year 998, by a Royal Charter, made full restitution.—And on a beam of the roof, the fourth from the west end, in the old western part of the Nave, is to be seen marked to this hour, on both sides, the date 1014, which seems to indicate some great repair in that very age, made probably in consequence of bounties received from the penitent *Ethelred.*

Nor can it be deemed any sort of objection, that this date is in *Arabic* numerals ; because the Arabic numerals were introduced so early as 970, or at least in 990,+ by *Gerbert*, a Monk, who was afterwards made Pope, and took the name of *Sylvester the Second.*‡

Here, therefore, we have the plainest concurrence of facts, that could well be expected, to point out some great additions to, and repairs of the Building ; in an age very near approaching to that of *Harold ;*—whilst the Architecture itself of the great Nave, appears to be so very much in the style which just about that time prevailed.

It would be resisting the strongest evidence, therefore, not to conclude the great Nave to have been built nearly about the time of *Ethelred the Second ;* and that *Gundulph's* great work, which was called a *rebuilding* of the Church, was rather a new Building of the *eastern part*, and of the Choir ;—which was partly pulled down again, or at least much altered, to form the present Choir, built by *William de Hoe,* in the time of Henry the Third.

* Regist. Roff. p. 191.

+ Henault, Vol. I. p. 126, places the first introduction of *Arabic numerals* about 990 ;—and further informs us, that this *Gerbert* was the first Inventor of *balance Clocks*, which continued in use till 1650, when pendulums were added as a further improvement.

‡ Du Pin Hist. Eccles. cent. 10, says he had been Preceptor to Robert the First, King of France, and to Otho the Third, Emperor of Germany ; and was the first of the Christian Clergy who dared to search for some revival of science, even amongst the Saracens, who had been the destroyers of it.—And he adds, *this Phœnix, rising out of ashes, deserved the attention of all the world.*—Whoever reads the curious letter of *Aldhelm*, concerning the difficulty of learning *Arithmetic*, *before* the invention of these *Arabian numerals*, will perceive the whole force of this observation. See Montucla Hist. Mathemat. Tom. I. p. 339.—And Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 6 and 7.

And this conclusion, it must be observed, agrees exactly with what is said of *Gundulph's* removing the body of *Paulinus*, from the old Church, into the new one,* A. D. 1084 ;—for it is highly probable, that the old *Saxon* Church consisted of little more than the present Nave: and that, therefore, the translation was merely from the old original Choir, (which was thenceforth to form only a part of the *Nave*) into a silver shrine, near the Altar of *Gundulph's* new Choir.

It is confirmed also, by the circumstance of *Gundulph's* Tower,†

* Registrum Roffense, p. 120. And see Mr. Thorpe's account of this translation; in the Custumale Roffense, p. 153.

† Of this Tower, and of Gundulph's works, more will be said, in the succeeding pages.—I will here only just add, from a veneration for truth, and justice, that there is a very ungenerous misrepresentation of *Gundulph's* conduct, in *Lambard's* Perambulation of Kent; and an harsh judgment; which I honestly think ought to be reproved; as I cannot but deem Bishop *Gundulph* to have been one of those spirits of energy, who, with all his faults, by the help and blessing of the Almighty, endeavoured, in the midst of darkness, to strike out light; even whilst, through the errour of the times, he was perhaps unguardedly promoting superstition.—If his example had been followed, by those *Monks*, whom he too zealously encouraged; from a mistaken confidence in the effects of such sort of rules, and institutions; their establishment, as pious active men, (such as he wished them to be), might have continued;—and they would never have been driven out of the world.—The truth is, that many of them became vicious drones, instead of religious imitators of his exertions.

*Lambard's* uncharitable words, reviling the endeavours of *Gundulph*, in the most depressing terms,—are, "he never rested building, and begging, tricking, and garnishing, "till he had advanced this (Monastery at *Rochester*), his creature, to the just wealth, "beauty, and estimation, of a right popish Priory."—Perambulation of Kent, p. 378. quarto ed. p. 300.

Some notice has been taken, in the preceding pages, (p. 26, 30), of the improvements made in *gardening*, and *cultivation*, by the first *religious Recluses*, and even by *the Monks*.—And such appear to have been made, in some degree, in the Monastery at *Rochester*; for in several Charters (in the *Regist. Roff.*) mention is made of *the Vineyard* belonging to the Monks, wherein grew great quantities of grapes; and which is also, in much later days, said, by *Worlidge*, to have produced excellent wines.—Bishop *Hamon*, (*Haymo de Heath*‡) presented some of the wine and grapes of his own growth, at *Halling*, to *Edward the Second*, when at Bockinfold; and it is an odd concurring circumstance, that in some old leases of the Bishoprick, mention has been found made, of considerable quantities of *blackberries* being delivered to the Bishop of Rochester,§ by sundry of his Tenants, for the purpose *of colouring the wine* growing in his vineyard.—It both gives us some idea

‡ Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 326.
§ History and Antiquities of Rochester, p. 118.

or Treasury, being built near this Choir part; and by the style of the Architecture of that Tower, being so different from that of the other Towers at the west end of the Church.

It is further confirmed also, by the appearance of some parts of the Crypt:*—and there is the strongest reason to apprehend, that part of the *upper* walls, erected by *Gundulph*, were left standing, when the more modern Choir was constructed.+

The thickness (little less than six feet) of those which separate the Side Ailes from the Choir, indicate exactly *Gundulph's* massy style of building.

These walls are still quite solid throughout, on each side the

of what sort the wine was, and also deserves well to be compared with that antient usage of *making wines*, in this country, the remembrance whereof is preserved, by means of some records of the reign of *Henry the Third*:—amongst which are two precepts; the one (Claus. An. 34 Hen. III.) to the Keepers of the King's Wines at Winchester, and the other (Claus. An. 36 Hen. III.) to the Keepers of the King's Wines at York, to deliver out, to one *Robert*, (*de Monte Pessulano*), such wines, and as much as he pleased, *to make for the King's use, against the feast of Christmas, (Claret) such drink, as he used to make in preceding years.*—The first Record says, *ad potus regis pretiosos delicatos inde faciendos.*—The second says, *ad claretum inde faciend.—Ad opus regis—sicut annis preteritis facere consuevit.* And both may be seen at length in the late Lord Orford's Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. I. p. 11.—Perhaps it may not be undeserving notice, that even to the beginning of the last century, almost all red wine was, in this country, called *Claret.*

*Honey*, and *Mead*, constituted a part of the mixture of the Royal Norman *Claret*, and for several ages, *Claret* was considered as belonging to the *Materia Medica*;—and formed a part of the old English Apothecaries' store of medicines, preserved in white glazed earthen pitchers, with labelled inscriptions burnt in large blue letters in the ware; several of which are still preserved.—And in Wales, where old customs have longer remained than with us, I myself remember to have seen, at *Swansea*, an old Apothecary's shop, the shelves of which were entirely filled with rows of such old pitchers; some in the form of a very large pomegranate standing on a thick stem, and with a short spout; and of which, one or two were thus labelled, *Claret.*

Several other Monasteries, and Abbeys, had remarkable *Vineyards*, as well as *Rochester;*—particularly that at St. Edmund's Bury;—that at Ely;—that at Peterborough;—and even that at Darley Abbey, in Derbyshire:—and indeed most of the original Vineyards mentioned, are found to have belonged to Abbeys.—It is a curious circumstance, elucidating the *prices* of the age, that in the time of *Henry the Third*, a *Dolium*, or cask of the best wine, sold for forty shillings, and sometimes even for twenty.

* See Mr. Thorpe's account, p. 154, whose very interesting observations, appear to me, in reality, to confirm my ideas; though my conclusion is so different from his.

+ See also p. 168.

Choir, as far as the eastern Transept; and as far up, as the upper windows.—And the Arches in *alto relievo*, and Pillars, or Pilasters of marble, placed against these walls, appear plainly to have been *mere ornamental additions*, to adorn it; added by *William de Hoe;* who, surely, in the days of *Henry the Third*, (when Westminster Abbey was built); would not have raised a mere blank, solid wall, on each side of his Choir.

The observation which every curious person must make, of there being no open Arches, to render the appearance of these walls light; or to form any communication with the Side Ailes; no not even in the upper part, above the stalls; must confirm this idea.

With regard to the great Nave, therefore, all that *Gundulph* seems to have done, if he did *any* thing there, was to raise the roof somewhat higher; still preserving, in the construction of it, the more antient beam, with the inscription, that has been mentioned.

And if he did even this; and really raised the roof; yet here also, an addition, and repair, seems to have been made, in *after ages;* as will be obvious to any one, who remarks the *precise form* of the Arches of the uppermost windows, and the very *irregular* manner in which they are placed, with respect to the Arches beneath.

As to the ornaments, in little square compartments, on the fronts of the middle tier of Arches, they resemble much rather the fancied varied designs of very early *Saxon* sculpture, which we have described in the preceding part of these sheets; than the ornaments of *Norman* times.* But yet, as they have not the strange hieroglyphic figures, which are generally found interspersed in the *Saxon* ornaments; it may perhaps be allowable to conclude, that these ornaments, together with the double Arches, which now fill up the great low Arches of *Ethelred's* time, in the middle tier, might be added, after the great fire, in 1177 or

* These varieties of the compartments, at Rochester Cathedral, are very well represented in Pl. XXIV. of Mr. Thorpe's Custumale Roffense, p. 154. But the Arches themselves are more accurately shewn in the annexed Pl. XLIX.

1179; from the effects of which, the great beam with the more antient date, might be saved, and be replaced where we now find it.

Mr. Thorpe apprehended, that the side walls, and the roof of the Nave, were both raised by the Bishops *Silvester*, and *Helyas*,* after that fire. But even the allowing *this* to have been a fact, would by no means invalidate the force of the preceding general conclusions.

From the form of the Arches of the upper windows, whose tracery is here omitted, it should seem, that these were at least altered, or completely finished, only about the time of *Henry the Sixth;* when the great window at the west end was inserted;—but the irregular manner in which they are placed, with respect to the Arches beneath, is very remarkable.

As to *Gundulph's* Choir, it seems not to have reached further than the eastern Transept: for all beyond is much lighter work, clearly of *William de Hoe's* age: and at the north end of that Transept, on the outside, may plainly be seen still remaining, the form of a very fine window, of the sort that was first introduced in the time of King *Stephen*.

To return to the consideration of the Nave, part of which is represented Pl. XLIX. we have here, as fully as at *Southwell*, in the lower Arches, and in the middle Arches, a specimen of the style of building, about the age of the *Harolds*, and of *Edward the Confessor*:—and here at *Rochester*, even the *lower* Pillars themselves appear to have been of that age.

In the third instance,—at *Waltham Abbey*,—we have a still more decided, and unquestionable specimen of *Harold's* Architecture; or rather of that of *Edward the Confessor;* and which has in itself the most characteristick marks of the rude sort of *retrogradation* of art, which took place about this period, in architectural skill.

How superstition, and the most blind depravity, in matters of religion, had gained ground, appeared too obviously a few years before; when, in a great council, held by *Ethelred*, A. D. 1014, at *Habham*, it was solemnly resolved, to practise some extraordinary devotions, in order to prevail upon the Saints, and Angels,

* In his addition to the Custumale Roffense, p. 165.

to fight against the Danes.—And when, accordingly it was decreed, that every person of age, should fast three days on bread and water, and raw herbs, before the feast of St. Michael; and should confess, and go to Church barefoot: and that every Priest, with his whole congregation, should go in solemn procession barefoot: and that the Monks and Nuns should celebrate mass, against *the Pagans*, every canonical hour, lying prostrate on the ground, in which posture they were to sing a psalm.*

Such were become the effects of the extraordinary pains which *Dunstan* had taken, *to reform* religion, by introducing every where *Benedictine Monks*, in the room of the antient *Secular Clergy*, about 950.

The event, after all these prayers, and observances, was such, as might indeed very well be expected;—that in about three years time the *Saxons* were entirely subdued by the *Danes*.

*Canute*, the good effects of whose piety, appeared in making good laws; and in his well known rebuke of the flattery of his courtiers, at Southampton;+ complied indeed with the prevalent ideas of the age, in building Monasteries, and in making a journey to Rome:‡ but was at the same time still more assiduous to encourage men of abilities, and valour;—amongst whom he found some deserving notice, who yet undoubtedly did not imitate his virtues.

Of these, one of the greatest was Earl *Goodwin*, whose valour had been signally useful to *Canute*, in Denmark, against the Swedes;§ at the same time that his attachment to that Monarch, had been effectually manifested, by his accompanying *Canute*, with a considerable body of English troops, upon his return into his own Country.—Hence his ascendency became so great in England, that having still further increased it, by his treachery towards poor Prince Alfred at Guilford,‖ in order to strengthen the hands

* Spelm. Concil. Tom. I. p. 530. Johnson's Canons, A. D. 1014.

+ Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 232. Higden, p. 276.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 152. W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11.

§ W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11. Hen. Hunt. lib. vi.

‖ R. Hoveden. Annal.—and Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. And see an account of this gross treachery, and cruelty, in the preceding pages of this Work, Vol. III. p. 230.

of the first *Harold*, the Son of Canute, he was able, on the death of *Hardicanute*, by his vast interest, and power, to be the principal means of raising *Edward the Confessor* to the Throne;* which he did, on condition that he should marry his Daughter.—And his influence he retained, with the utmost insolence, for above ten years, until his death.

Goodwin's Son, *Harold*, by most insinuating manners, excessive craft, great and successful valour, and by the aid of popularity, obtained an ascendency over *Edward*, equal to that which his Father had.

*Edward's* love of ease induced him to submit to strengthen the power of *Harold;* but at the same time his strong prejudices, in favour of the superstition of the times, induced him to form a wish of converting *Harold* to a better frame of mind; as he could not but discern the difference between the real principles of that domineering favourite, and his own, notwithstanding all *Harold's* artful dissimulation.

With this sort of view, most evidently, (as appears even on the face of his charter),† he had granted to Harold, lands at *Waltham*, and the donation of many other lands, with *Sac* and *Sock*,‡ &c. expressly signifying, in the preamble of a subsequent charter, that "as the human mind sometimes emerges from worldly cares to "serve its Creator, like a shooting grain of wheat that has been for "a time suffocated by thorns; so, to produce a similar effect, he "had granted to *Earl Harold*, a certain portion of land called "*Waltham*, on purpose that he might think of attending to "heavenly things; and not only become a worshiper of God, but "also a zealous founder of a religious establishment; where strict "canonical rules should be observed."

And the Charter then recites, that, in consequence of this grant, *Harold* had built, on that spot, a Monastery, in honour of our Lord, and of an holy cross; and in memory of *Edward*, and his Queen *Editha;* and had endowed it also with still more lands.

* W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 13. † Dugdale's Mon. v. ii. p. 11.

‡ That is, with power of holding courts for *Suit and Service;* and with power of holding pleas, and of imposing mulcts, and forfeitures, upon transgressors.

This Charter, signed by Edward himself, with the odd appellation of *Anglorum Basileus*,—by his Queen,—by Stigand, Archbishop of York,—and by other Bishops, and Abbots;—is dated A. D. 1062. And, therefore, it is evident the Abbey must have been built by *Harold*, a few years before, in consequence of the original donation, which has no date.

Such is the history of the rearing this curious, and most unquestionable Monument, of the style of Architecture during the reign of *Edward the Confessor*.

Pl. LI. is a representation of a part of the north side of the great Nave of the Abbey, now left standing; and which forms the present Parish Church.—The ornaments of the mouldings of the Arches, have some nice particularities, which will draw the attention of the curious; and could not well be represented on so small a scale.—But this general view, is sufficient to convey a characteristick idea of the whole.

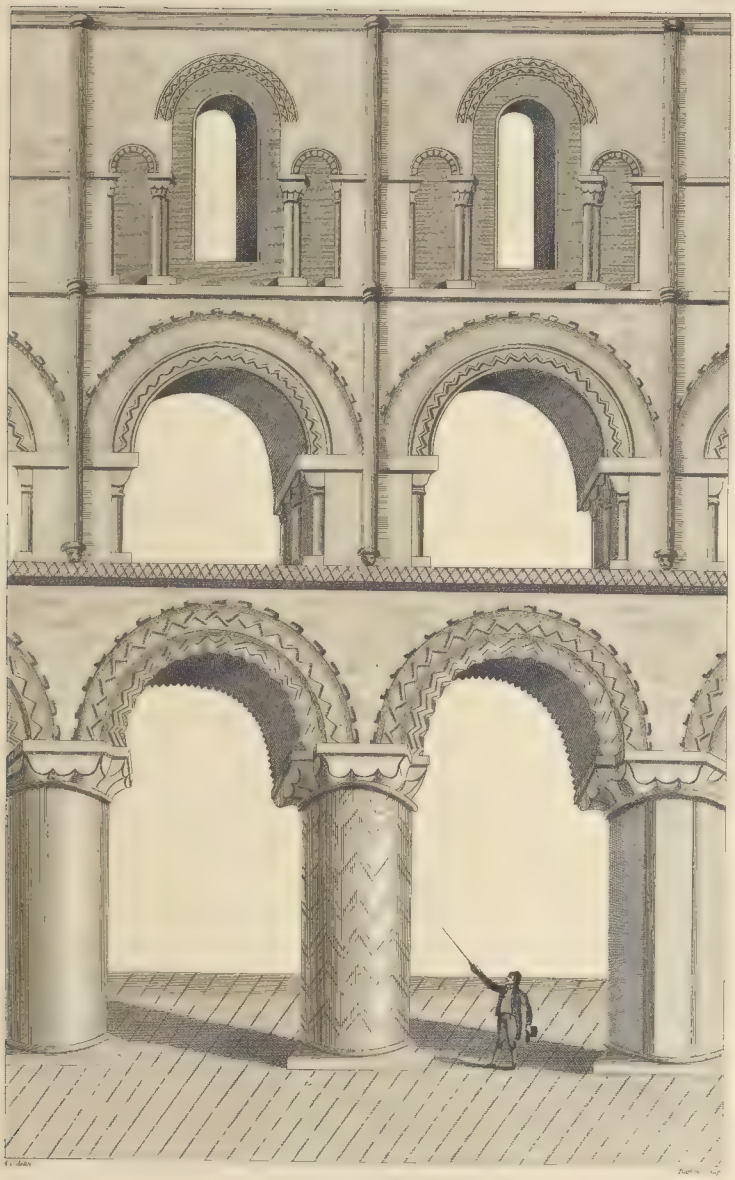
In the uppermost Arches, the indented moulding forms the very edge of each Arch; and is returned again underneath, on the inside, or under part of the Arch, in a way that could not be properly shewn in this view.

In the lowermost great Arches also, there is a return of indented workmanship, under each Arch:—and the indentations of the outermost mouldings, are much slighter, and in less relief, than those of the innermost.

Some of the great Pillars are ornamented with wreathed mouldings; such as were in use in earlier *Saxon* days:—and some with indented mouldings, of which one is shewn in Pl. LI.—But as to these mouldings having ever been *filled with fillets of brass*, (according to Fuller's idea),* there did not appear to me, (either from the grooves of the mouldings themselves, or from any remains of cavities for nails), to have been any sufficient grounds for such a surmise.

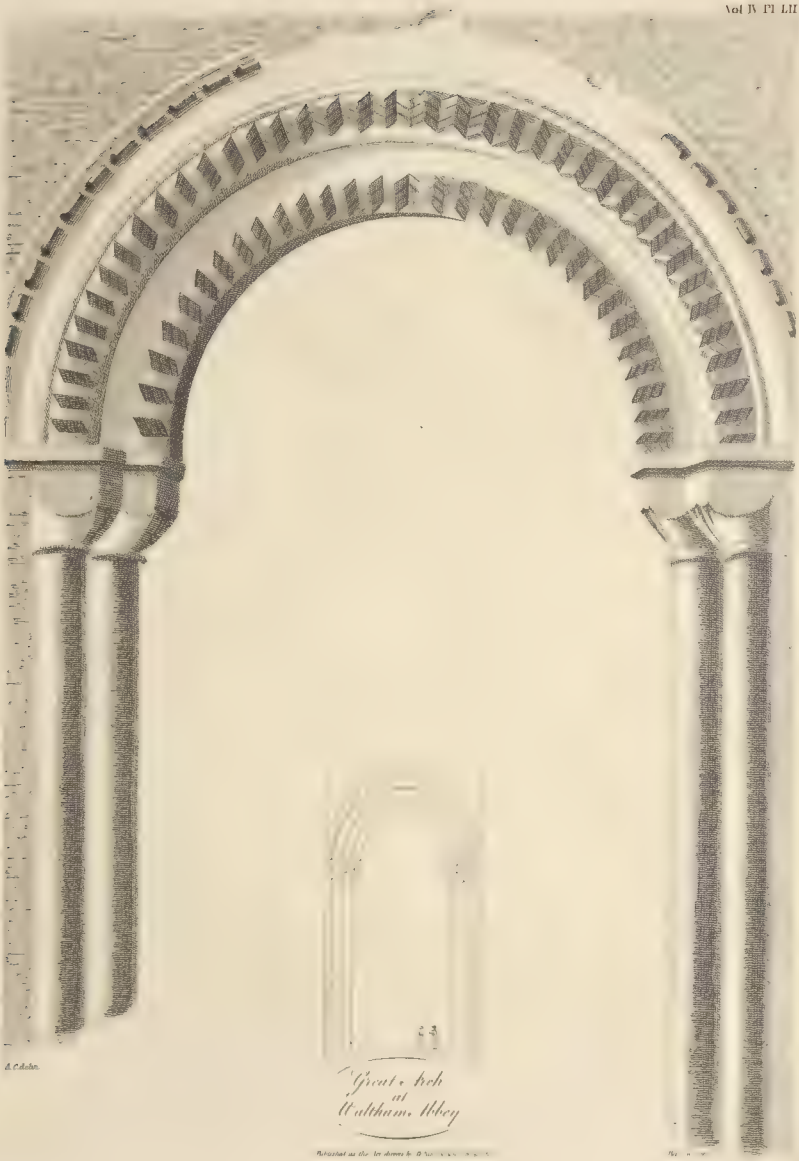
Pl. LII. shews the great Arch, that reaches up to the roof, at the east end of the Church; and which once supported a Tower:—and in both drawings, the figures, standing on the ground,

* At the end of his Church History.—See also Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 193.



Part of the Antient Nave of Waltham Abbey, Essex, the present Church

Published as the Act directs by G. Ward & Jon. Sept. 20 1786



A. C. Edin.

Great Arch
at
Waltham Abbey

Published as the Act directs by [illegible]

Fig 2

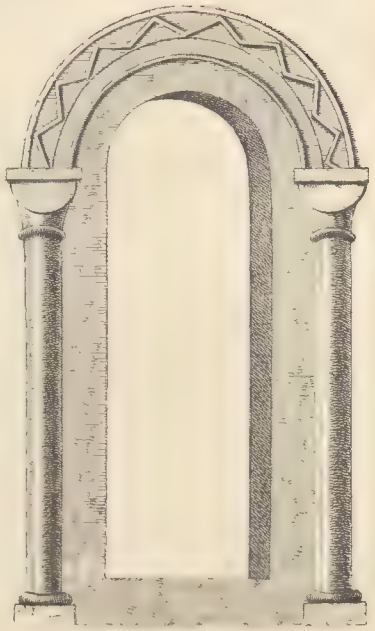


Fig 1



Saxon Arches at Waltham Abbey.

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beneath the Arches, will serve for a pretty exact scale, to measure all the proportions.

There is some further variety of Architecture, in different parts of the Church; as in all *Saxon* Buildings.—And Pl. LIII. Fig. 1, represents some of the Pillars and Arches above, on the other side of the antient Nave, opposite to that which is shewn in Pl. LI.

Whilst Pl. LIII. Fig. 2, represents one of *Harold's* windows of the Side Isle, on the south side.

All these, at the same time that they shew what was the style of *Saxon* Architecture, in *Harold's* time, and in that of *Edward the Confessor*, shew also how nearly that style of Architecture agreed with the *first*, and earliest *Norman*.

In this Abbey, at Waltham, *Harold* was unquestionably buried: his body having been conveyed hither, by the care of his Mother, *Gytha*,* and of a small dejected remainder of the English Nobility, by the permission of the Conqueror; who had been prevailed upon, with many tears, and supplications.—But whether the Tomb which was supposed by *Mr. Fuller*† to be his, was really such, is much to be questioned: as from the circumstance of the cross-fleury, with which it was adorned, it seems doubtful, whether it might not rather have been that of some Ecclesiastical person.

Whether it were so, or no, the following very affecting, plain narration, inserted in a very odd account of this Abbey,‡ contains such an useful *memento* to every human being, that perhaps it ought not to be omitted, on the present occasion.

A stone Sepulchre, supposed to be that of *Harold*, was opened in a Garden belonging to the House built out of the ruins of the Abbey, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The opening is thus described:

* Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 642.

† Fuller's Church History, ad fin.—History of Waltham Abbey, by J. Farmer, p. 27.

‡ An account written by a Mr. Thomas Smith, inserted in Farmer's History of Waltham Abbey, p. 25.

" The Gardener discovered a fair marble stone,—the cover of a " Tomb hewed out in hard stone.—This cover, with some help, " he removed from off the Tomb; which having done there " appeared to the view the anatomy of a man lying in the Tomb, " the bones remaining, bone to his bone, and not one bone " dislocated.—In observation whereof, says the writer, we won- " dered to see the bones still remaining in such due order, and " no dust or other filth besides them to be seen in the Tomb. " We could not conceive it had been an anatomy of bones only, " laid at first in the Tomb; yet if it had been the whole carcass of " a man, what became of his flesh, and entrails? for the Tomb " was clean from all besides the bones.—This when we had all " observed, I told them, that if they did but touch any part " thereof, that all would fall asunder; for I had heard somewhat " formerly of the like accident.—Trial was made, and so it came " to pass.—And I am persuaded, that as the flesh of this anatomy " was to us become invisible, so likewise would the bones have " been, in some longer continuance of time. *O what is man then,* " *which vanisheth thus away, like unto smoak or vapour, and is no more* " *seen?*—Whosoever thou art, that shall read this passage, thou " mayst find cause of humility sufficient."

This curious passage, is here the rather inserted, thus at length, because it may perhaps tend to fling light upon a circumstance not sufficiently adverted to, but which seems to have been noted by the ancients, *the property which seems to be in some kinds of stone and marble, to dissolve the human frame;*—from whence those sort of Sepulchres, amongst the Greeks, and Romans, seem to have derived the very name of *Sarcophagi*, or *devourers of flesh*.

Probably it is a chemical process, somewhat similar to that well known one, of quick lime consuming the whole still more rapidly.

As we have thus seen instances of the style of building, which prevailed about the age of *Edward the Confessor*, in this Church of *Harold's*, at *Waltham;*—and also at *Southwell;*—and even at *Rochester;*—so it well deserves to be remarked, that in the *old St. Paul's*, in that part which was towards the west end, and

which is so beautifully represented, in a fine engraving by *Hollar*:* there seem to have been decidedly remains of the same sort of Architecture.

In the *Parentalia*,† we find, that Sir Christopher Wren was led to conclude, both from records, and observations, that an original Cathedral was first built at *London*, in the very area of the Roman *Prætorian Camp*; which Church was rebuilt, or repaired, in the time of *Constantine*; and was most probably reared after the pattern of a Roman Basilica, (as was the Church of St. Peter, and St. Paul, in the Vatican, at Rome).

That afterwards, in the seventh century, another Church was reared, on the same foundations, by *Mellitus*, Bishop of London, in the time of *Ethelbert*, King of Kent.

That after a great fire, in 1083, there was a thorough repair, and re-edification, by *Mauritius*, Bishop of London; who obtained, of King *William*, the stones of an antient Tower, in the neighbourhood, for the purpose.

These stones, it is obvious, could not be sufficient for any thing more than a considerable repair.—And therefore we may fairly conclude, that a great part of the walls of the old Church certainly remained, capable of being again used.

With regard to these, *Sir Christopher Wren* observed an obvious difference in the masonry.—He also observed, that the original old Church, seemed to have extended no further towards the east, than *where* what he calls the Gothic Choir began;—which latter he concluded to have been added, about the time of *Richard the First*:—and that, with regard to the first old Church, there seemed to have been *a considerable addition towards the west end*; but in what age was not ascertained.

Now *this addition*, from what appears of its style, in *Hollar's* fine print, I cannot but conclude to have been made, *in the time of Edward the Confessor*.

And this idea appears to be much strengthened, by the account

* Inserted in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral, p. 160, from a drawing made in 1658.

† Wren's Parentalia, p. 271.

of the great Benefactors to this Church.—For concerning *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, by whom Dugdale says* St. Paul's was built, whilst *Sebert* reigned under him in this tract of country, we are informed, that he gave to it the Manour of *Gillingham* in Essex. And after this no real *Royal benefactors* are recorded, till King *Athelstan;* King *Edgar;* and King *Edward the Confessor;* and all these gave liberally.—In their times, therefore, and especially in that of *Edward the Confessor*, (if he gave so liberally) we may fairly conclude, were the greatest additions, and repairs;—and we may, therefore, well be induced to believe, that the Building, at the west end, (so very much in the style of *Waltham*, and *Southwell*), was indeed of that age:—though, being so near the time of the subsequent repair of the Church, by *Mauritius*, under King *William*, it has been considered, in general, as a part of that work.

And it well deserves notice here, that Sir Christopher *Wren* observed the very same sort *of irregularity*, in point of Architecture, in these foundations, at *St. Pauls*, with that which I have mentioned as being worthy of attention, in the Pillars at *St. Albans*. —His words are,† "the Builders valued not exactness: some "inter-columns were one inch and an half too large; others as "much, or more, too little. Nor were they true in their levels. "They made great Pillars, without any graceful manner; and "thick walls without judgement."

Of the same style of building exactly may we conceive Westminster Abbey to have been, as reared by *Edward the Confessor:* in attending the long ceremony of the dedication of which, before its walls were fitly dry, there is much reason to believe he caught that illness, which occasioned his death.

On the authority of an antient manuscript, mentioned by *Camden*, it is described, by him, in a manner that much authorises these conclusions: though the words of that antient manuscript are so very differently translated, by *Camden's* different Editors,‡ as to occasion some degree of obscurity.

* Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 3, 4, 5. † Parentalia, p. 273.

‡ See Holland's Camden, p. 429. Gibson's Camden, p. 318. Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 7.

It is plainly described, however, as a Church "having on both "sides a double Arch (*or rather two rows of Arches*) of stones, of square "work firmly cemented, the joints answering one another."

And Holinshed says,* on the authority of Simon *Dunelsm*, *it was a paterne for others to be built after*. Which expression plainly points out a most marked uniformity, between this Structure, and others of the same age.

King *Edward* having devoted the tenth of all his Royal domains, and possessions, towards the carrying on of this work, from about the year 1045;—having endowed the Church with many lands, and great privileges;†—having appointed it the repository of the Royal vestments, and regalia, (a great part of which were his gift);—having declared it the designed place of his burial;—and having bestowed upon it a very numerous collection of what were deemed precious relics;—to add to the honour and splendour of its *Dedication*, in the year 1066, convoked a general assembly of the Nobles, and Clergy, to be present on the occasion.—But before the ceremony of its consecration was finished, he was taken grievously ill;‡ and his indisposition most rapidly increased.—Returning home, he was instantly confined to his bed; and after three days expired.—The very next day, January the fifth, (according to the dangerous, and superstitious practice of the age) he was entombed, in Royal state:—the very same great assembly who had attended him at the consecration,§ so few days before, attending him to his grave.—From whence, on the rebuilding of the Church, by *Henry the Third*, his body was removed to a most magnificent shrine;—and was placed, itself as a relick, amongst the relicks, which *Edward* himself had prepared.

The manner in which all these kinds of revered remains, from the nobly enshrined entire corps, on its high pedestal, to the meanest little separate bone, were usually kept, appears fully from the curious inventory given us by Dugdale,‖ of the little chests, and caskets, of rich wood; of ivory; of copper; and of work-

* Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 195. † Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 60. ‡ Ingulphus.

§ Chron. Saxon. p. 171.—W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 13.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vi.—Hoveden Annal.

‖ Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 235.

manship adorned with covering of silk; together with *pixes* of gold, and silver; and with vessels of glass;—all of which belonged to the old Cathedral of St. Paul.

In what manner the superstitious practice, of paying religious attention to relicks, was first introduced, and crept in by slow degrees, has been remarked in the preceding pages.*—But how very far the *British Clergy* were from considering them, as *objects of worship*, in the manner in which they were revered, (as well as the remains of *Edward*), in later days, appears from a remarkable passage in *Mathew of Westminster*;†—who bears testimony, that when the *Pagan Saxons* committed their dreadful ravages on the Church; *Theonus* the last *British* Bishop of London, concealed the relicks of the Saints, *not with any superstitious view*, but merely to preserve the remembrance of the persons.

And that even *Edward* himself, had less gross apprehensions, on these subjects, than the Clergy of his own times; and more sincerity in his religious intentions; appears from the curious, though legendary tale of his vision,‡ before his death; for therein he is represented, as honestly lamenting *the irregularities* of the Bishops, and Abbots; whilst *Archbishop Stigand*, who stood by, made a jest of his words, and considered him as being in a delirium.

Having thus traced down the progress of *Saxon* Architecture, as far as relates to religious Structures, from the small, and trimly decorated Churches of Archbishop *Theodore's* time, to the massy Piles of the age immediately preceding the Conquest; it remains only just to refer to one or two of those still more magnificent *Norman Piles*, in which *detached* fragments of the *Saxon* age, similar to those we have been describing, are yet to be met with, *confounded, and overwhelmed* with the Architecture of subsequent ages.

And amongst the first of these, it is almost impossible to avoid mentioning the old part of the front of *Lincoln* Cathedral.

In this point I am sorry to differ, a little, from so respectable authority as that of *Mr. Essex;* but it is such a slight sort of

* In this Volume, p. 39.

† Math. Westm. p. 199.

‡ Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 195, from Wm. Malmsb. and Math. Westm.

difference, that I am persuaded, had he been living, he would hardly have allowed it to be a departure from his real sentiments; and would perhaps have soon acceded to the very same conclusions, to which, it will be found, I have been almost unavoidably led.

We both agree, that the middle, lower part, of the west front, is unquestionably the most *antient part* of the whole Building:—but he carries its date no higher than the age of *William Rufus*, A. D. 1088, and thinks it* the remains of the Church built by *Remigius*, the last Bishop of Dorchester, and first Bishop of Lincoln.—The account given by *Dugdale*,† of the first establishment of a Bishop's See here, and of lands purchased by *Remigius* for that purpose, led *Mr. Essex* to this conclusion, and to look no further back.—But as the Architecture is very unlike that plain style, which we find *uniformly* in the Structures of the age of *William Rufus*, or of *Henry the First*, either at *Norwich*, or at *Ely*, or any where else; and is in perfect consonancy with the *old Saxon* style; in the studied *variety, and dissimilarity, of the apparently corresponding parts* of the little Pillars, Pilasters, and ornamental Arches; and as Venerable Bede so positively asserts, that *Paulinus*, in the year 628, built a Church *of stone* of admirable workmanship, *in the City of Lincoln*, whose walls *remained firm in his days*, above an hundred years afterwards, notwithstanding the roof had been destroyed; I cannot but conclude, that some part at least of this very curious front, which had, in *Bede's* time, defied the devastation of the first ruin; defied also the depredations of later ages; and was preserved by *Remigius*, on account of its beauty, whatever additions he might make to it.

Instead, therefore, of considering the front of Lincoln Cathedral, as consisting merely of the Architecture of *two ages:* that of *Remigius*, in the central part; and that of *Hugh de Wells*, in the time of Henry the Third, in the sides, and upper part;‡ I cannot but consider the whole, as containing indeed remains of no less than *three ages*.—The sides, and upper part, (as *Mr. Essex* supposes)

* Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 150.
† Dugdale, Vol. III. p. 257.
‡ Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 154.

of the age of Henry the Third;—but the central part containing, both the original walls, and door-ways, and some of the ornamental Arches, of the early *Saxon* age, in the days of *Paulinus;* as well as the *Norman* reparations, and additions, of *Remigius*, in the reign of *William Rufus*.

The remarkable words of Bede are:* "Prædicabat autem "Paulinus verbum etiam provinciæ *Lindissi*, quæ est prima ad "meridianam Humbræ fluminis ripam, pertingens usque ad mare, "Præfectumque Lindocolinæ civitatis, cui nomen erat *Blaecca*, "primum cum domo sua convertit ad Dominum.—In qua "videlicet civitate, et ecclesiam *operis egregii de lapide* fecit: "cujus tecto vel longa incuria, vel hostili manu dejecto, *parietes* "*hactenus stare videntur*.

"*Paulinus* preached also the word, in the province of Lincoln, "which is the first on the southern bank of the river Humber, "reaching even to the Sea;—and he converted first of all the "Præfect of the City of Lincoln, whose name was *Blaecca*, and "his household, to the Lord. In this very City he also built a "Church *of admirable workmanship of stone:* whose roof, either by "long neglect, or by some hostile hand being destroyed, the "walls *yet are seen to stand firm.*†

* Bedæ Historiæ Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 16.

† This venerable Father of English History, to whom we have had occasion, in this part of our enquiries, so often to refer, always describes plainly, and without disguise, things as they were understood at the time; and therefore, both without concealment, and without offence to those amongst whom he lived, gives us to understand, how *Superstition* prevailed.—Of this there is a very remarkable instance, in the words immediately following those above referred to.—For, continuing his account of *the original walls* of Lincoln Cathedral, which in the midst of its ruins *remained firm*, he adds,—"et "omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum "qui fideliter quærunt ostendi.—*And every year, in the same place, some miracles of "healing are wont to be shewn, for the aid of those who faithfully seek it.*"—*Bede* resided very much in the Monastery of *Jarrow*, near Newcastle, in Northumberland. And in the Vestry of *Jarrow* Church is still preserved the great wooden armed chair, in which he used to sit, and in which most probably he wrote a great part of his History.—The rudeness of the workmanship, and the fashion of it is exceedingly remarkable, and curious.—It is represented in the Antiquarian Repertory, (Vol. I. p. 164),—and it deserves well to be compared with that in which *Eadwin*, the Monk of Canterbury, is represented sitting, and writing, according to the delineation in a very old manuscript on vellum, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, from which is made the engraving in the Monumenta Vetusta.—And it deserves no less to be

And indeed, besides the very great probability that *stone walls*, which had stood so firm unto *Bede's* time, should continue very firm to the days of *Remigius;* and so firm as to be made a part of his Building; just as we have seen the old *Saxon* walls of the first Cathedral at Canterbury, remained firm enough to be made a part of *Lanfranc's* Building, about the same age; besides this great probability, the many *Saxon* Arches found in several parts of Lincoln, and the preservation of the still unquestionably more antient *British Roman Gate*, at that place, might well give us a reasonable expectation, of finding some remains of an old *Saxon* Church here, rather than in almost any other place whatever.*

Another Building, that much deserves to be referred to, on this occasion, is *Rumsey Church, in Hampshire;* where *Edward* the Elder built a Monastery, which was changed, by King *Edgar*, into a Nunnery, under the government of *Merwenna*, the first Abbess.† —Here were buried *Edward the Elder;* his Son *Alfred;* and his Daughter *Eadburga*.—And here, therefore, we might most reasonably expect to meet with fine remains of *Saxon* Architecture:—and such indeed there are, in various parts of the Building: but they are so intermixed now with Architecture of the age of *Henry the First*, as to occasion some degree of confusion, to any unexperienced eye.—Those, however, who have been accustomed to observe the peculiarities, and precise distinctions of the *old Saxon*, will soon discern the difference.

The same may be said of *Peterborough* Cathedral; where are remains not only of what was built, and added, by *Ethelwold*,

compared with the Prior of Southwick's chair in Hampshire;—and with the Dunmow chair;—and the chair in which Queen Mary was crowned at Winchester.—All these are represented in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. IV. p. 181, 226; and do curiously shew the changes of fashion.

* There is a very imperfect representation of this front, by Daniel King, in the Monasticon. And there is another, somewhat better, on a larger scale, by Vivares, published in 1750.—But neither are accurate enough to shew properly the curious distinction, with regard to the *Saxon* Architecture, that may easily be discerned, by the eye, on the spot.—Some of the *semicircular* round Arches, are even made to appear as if they were *pointed*.

† Tanner, 157. Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 135.

Bishop* of Winchester, A. D. 960;—but also of the original Structure erected by *Peada*,+ King of the Mercians, A. D. 654.‡

And in like manner, at *Durham*, there are, in some of the antient round massy Pillars, evident remains even of the original *Saxon* Church.

As to *Croyland*,§ which was first built by King *Ethelbald*, in 716; and rebuilt by King *Edred* in 948; in an insulated fenny spot, about four miles long, and three in breadth, equally celebrated, by monkish historians, for its horrid surrounding bogs, and marshes; and for its ugly frightful dæmons, by whom it was supposed to be haunted;‖ there are unquestionably, amongst its ruins, other *Saxon* remains:—but its celebrated *triangular Bridge*, mentioned so early, as in *Edred's* Charter,¶ would deserve notice, above all the rest;—if that which still exists, could in reality be (as it is esteemed by many to be) the work of *Saxon* times.—This Bridge** forms the communication of three streets, that meet in a point, where three streams also met:—and it is therefore formed of *three segments, or quadrants, of circular Arches, that meet, and join at the top*.—From these Arches, rising so high as to form such a steep ascent, and descent on every side, that only *foot* passengers can go over; and from its being impossible to view *any two* of the Arches, otherwise than in an *oblique* direction, at the same time; the Arches formed by the meeting of these segments of circular Arches, have all the appearances of *pointed Arches:*

* Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 70.

+ Ib. Vol. I. p. 63, 64.—Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 43.

‡ Mr. Gough, in his edition of Camden, Vol. II. p. 185, says the Nave was built some time between the years 1177, and 1199.—But if we consider that then it must have been built in the reign of *Richard the First*, and *after* pointed Arches, and a much finer style of Architecture had been introduced, this is much to be doubted.

§ Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 164. Views are wanted of the few remaining *Saxon* parts of Croyland.—Nothing can be so bad as those in Dugdale's Monasticon.

‖ Camden, Vol. II. p. 223.—Possibly the *Ignes fatui*, of marsh-lands, might encourage, or even give occasion to this idea.

¶ Ingulphus, p. 42. Stukely, Vol. I. p. 32.

** This Bridge is engraved in the *Itinera Curiosa*, Pl. VII. and in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1751, p. 296.—And there is a ground plot of it, in that for April 1763, p. 179.

but after all, *they are not such in reality*, (any more than the Arches in the Well Room at Oxford Castle,* that have been already mentioned).—They much deserve, however, to be considered with attention; whether they have been, as may justly be suspected, rebuilt in *Norman* times; or whether they really be of *Saxon* Architecture; for their *combination* at least forms a specimen, that in either instance might very well give one of the *first* ideas of *the pointed Arch*.—On that foot of the Bridge which faces the London road, a statue of *Ethelbald* is placed, in a sitting posture.

To this spot, rendered in the estimation of many, in the earliest ages, so delightful, by its possession of a Library larger than was to be found elsewhere; by its perpetual verdure; by a little help of newly introduced gardening; and by its protected insular situation;—to this spot *Turketul*, the Son of *Ethelbald*, Brother of King *Edward* the Elder, great Chancellor of *Edred*, about A. D. 950, and the great friend of *Dunstan*, retired;—and here he formed a set of rules, for the future government of the Monastery, which are a special proof of the easy perversion of good intentions; and of the prevailing ideas, and prejudices of that age.—Rules, which manifestly proceeded from a pious, humble disposition of mind; and from a love of order, and peace, and virtue; but which had, in their own nature, a most special tendency,† to make men hypocrites, and blockheads: and do obviously betray even a latent confession, that the offices of religion, such as were to be performed at their monastick devotions, were indeed grievous burdens; instead of being, as all religious worship ought to be, the willing, glad, and awful offerings, of thankful, and sincere hearts, and of the desires of ready minds.

*Turketul*, who had both taken upon him the habit of a Monk, and was made Abbot of Croyland by *Edred*, took a survey of the whole insulated, blessed inclosure, (as it was then deemed), attended by three of the most antient Monks, in a waggon: and

* See in this Volume, p. 202.

† An account of these rules may be seen, in Stevens's Additions to Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 360, from Ingulphus.

being shewed by them the boundaries thereof, caused stone crosses to be set about, as landmarks;—the inscription upon one of which has caused so much dispute amongst modern Antiquaries.*

Whether *Aio*, meant *Father Aio*, (or, *Aio, I say*),—I will not presume to determine.—But, if the Monks were so very old, as they are reported to have been, I will be bold to conclude, that the insulated Garden, of Alders, Willows, and Rushes, at Croyland, (whether it also was, or was not a Vineyard, or whether any grapes actually grew there, or no), was not quite so unhealthy a spot, as we are apt to conceive such a marshy, fenny, boggy situation must have been.—One of the Brothers, when he died, is said to have been 168, or at least 148 years of age;—the other 142 years of age;—and the third 115.†

Mr. *Bentham*,‡ with great judgment, adduces the building of this Monastery of *Croyland*, in Lincolnshire, by King *Ethalbald*, in A. D. 716, as an unquestionable proof of the usual fashion of building sacred Structures, *with stone*, in that age.

"The soil, he says, was marshy, and not well able to support "a fabric *of stone:* in which circumstances a timber Building "might be thought most expedient on account of its lightness, "had such been generally used in that age. However, we find§ "the King caused a vast number of large oaken piles to be driven "into the ground, and more solid earth to be brought in boats "nine miles by water, and laid thereon, to make it the more "sound and commodious for building; and then laid the founda-"tion of the Church *of stone*, which he finished."

We are informed by *Ingulphus*, that there were, in *Saxon* times, an unusual number of well-wrought jewels of gold, and silver, in this Monastery at Croyland.‖—And the ability of the Saxons,

* See Archæologia, Vol. III. p. 96.—Vol. V. p. 102.

† See the extracts from Ingulphus, in Stevens's Additions to Dugdale, p. 361. And it deserves to be remembered, that Mr. Pennant affirms, there was, in the comfortless Islands of the Hebrides, a man who lived to the age of 180.—See his Voyage, p. 214.

‡ History of the Conventual Church of Ely, p. 25.

§ Ingulphi Hist. Croyland, p. 4.—Chronicon Mailros,—Simeon Dunelm,—and Hoveden ad annum 741.

‖ Ingulphi Hist. p. 8, 11, 22, 27.

and even their extraordinary excellence, above other people, in those days, in such kind of works, has been already mentioned.*

The several specimens of *Saxon, Ecclesiastical Structures*, that have now been referred to, are sufficient to elucidate the present subject; and to shew clearly the precise distinction of the Architecture of one age from that of another.—Many, very many more might be enumerated;—but the enumeration here would be tedious:—they must be passed by therefore, and left for the contemplation of those, who, perhaps, by the perusal of these very sheets, may be led to a more deep attention to such objects; and may, by curious additional dissertations, help to fling still more light upon this interesting subject.

Enough, perhaps, has now been remarked, to clear the way:—and it is only needful to observe, as a *new*, and though obvious, yet hitherto unnoticed circumstance, that *Saxon Ecclesiastical Architecture*, may most justly be considered, as having had *three very different stages*, and periods of its existence:

namely—1. *The early Saxon*;—or dawning Saxon.

2. *The full Saxon*;—or perfect Saxon.

3. *The declining Saxon*;—or last Saxon; liable to be confounded with the Norman.

And the *criteria*, by which Buildings, belonging to these several periods, may be distinguished, are very remarkable.

The first, and earliest Saxon Architecture, in Churches, draws our attention by the *multitude* of the minute, and *designedly varied* ornaments, of the several parts.—A characteristick specimen of which, may be seen in *Barfreston* Church, in Kent.

The second kind, appears more bold, and in a more noble style, with *less numerous* ornaments:—but still with much *variety* in the adornments—of which there are most striking instances, in the Cathedral of *Christ Church*, in Oxford;—and in *Canute*'s great Gate at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk.†

* See in this Volume, p. 65. And see also Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 47, 68.

† Of this there is a representation, in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. III. p. 1.

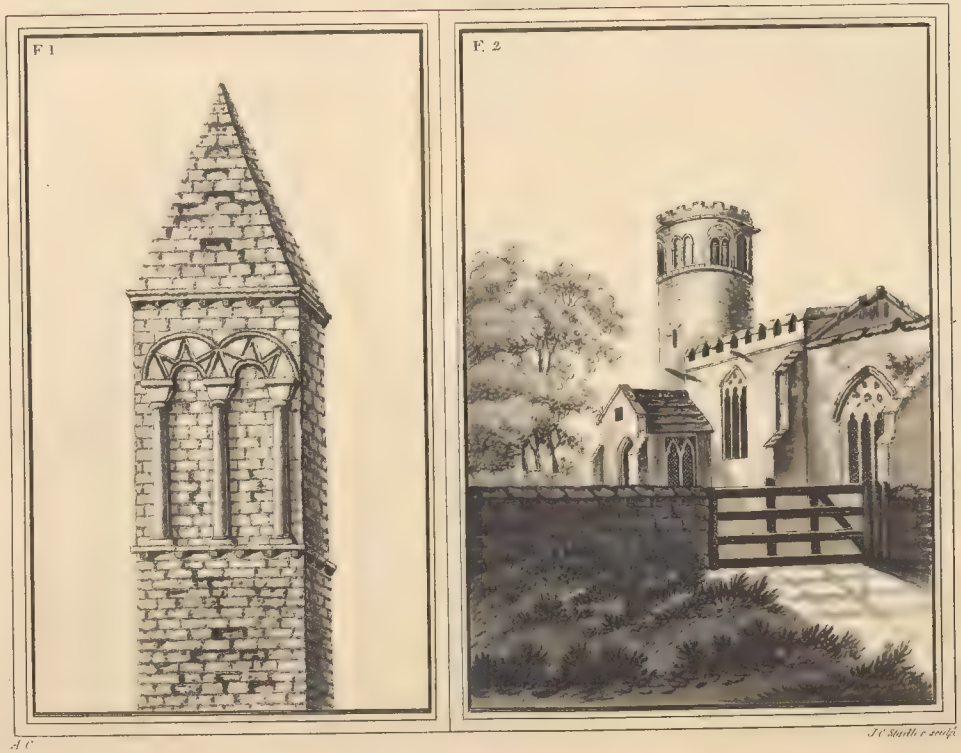
And the third, and last kind, is manifested, both by its clumsy, stately magnificence, on a greater scale, and in greater proportions;—and by its having cast off so much of *varied ornament*, that it is difficult to be distinguished from the *first plain Norman;* saving that the *first Norman* had still larger proportions.—And the specimens at *Southwell*, and *Waltham*, are sufficient to elucidate this fact.

The first species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from the conversion of Egbert, King of Kent, about A. D. 598; and from the first building of Archbishop *Theodore*'s Churches; to the time of King Alfred, about A. D. 872.

The second species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from the days of *Alfred*, through those of *King Canute;* and till the time of the first *Harold*, about 1036.

And the last species of *Saxon* Architecture, continued from that time, to the Conquest.

During all these days, a little increasing degree of magnificence, appeared in Sacred Structures;—a little pomp, and shew, in lordly Castles;—but whilst tyranny, superstition, and ignorance reigned triumphant, as little comfort as might well be, (except as it were by stealth), was afforded either to gloomy Recluses; (though they had more than the rest of the world):—less to lordly possessors of Castles; eaten up by their rude train of vassals, and dependants:—and still less, to the wretched inhabitants of such hovels, as formed, almost the only *private dwellings* of those days.—Let subsequent ages reflect, and be thankful.




Saxon Tower at Cleeve

Saxham Church

# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER III.

#### CONCERNING PILLAR TOWERS.

Let us now just turn our attention to some most singularly strange, and odd Structures, that during the periods to which we have been attending, arose in some of those parts of Ireland, that were first converted to Christianity:—and in some of the northern parts of Great Britain.

The Structures I refer to, are called *Pillar Towers*.—Resembling in reality *mere Pillars*, much more than *Towers*;—and being indeed never joined to Buildings, either Churches or other, but standing quite separate, except in one or two instances, where *very modern* erections have formed a junction.

The knowledge of their original use, and destination, has long been buried in the utmost obscurity,—and various have been the conjectures formed, concerning them.—But a serious attention to history;—and a fair comparison of them, with accounts in the early parts of Ecclesiastical History, may clear the matter up.

They have sometimes been deemed *Penitential Towers*; wherein persons were to perform hard penances.

They have sometimes been thought mere *Stations*, each for the placing of a *centinel*, with an horn, or trumpet, to watch against marauding invaders, who were in those tracts to be hourly expected, even to assail, most of all, at the times of divine worship.

And they have sometimes been thought *Bidding Towers*,—for a proper officer to ascend, at regular times, *to bid to prayers*, or to summon the congregation, by *loud crying*, before the use of bells; in a manner similar to the usual summons from the *Minarets*, in Mahometan countries.

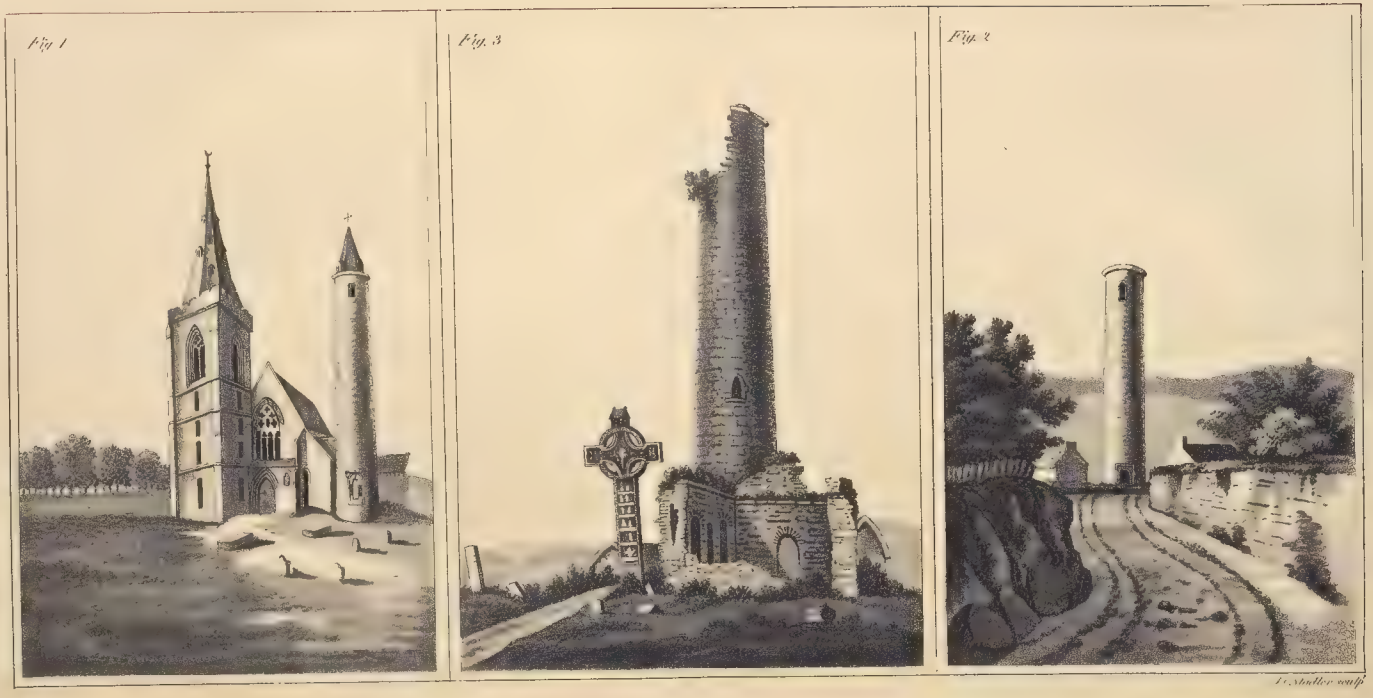
Perhaps the truth may be, that at different periods, they occasionally answered all three purposes.

But there is a more interesting, and more rational account that may be given of their origin, when we have first, carefully described the peculiarities of their Architecture;—and have just mentioned that they are found in these western parts of the world, almost solely in *Ireland*, and in *Scotland*;—and even there, in such counties as were once, even more than others, full of rapine, bloodshed, violence, and superstition:—whilst, perhaps, the best reason that can be assigned for their being found at all, in *Scotland*, where there are but a few of them, is, that they were built, either in consequence of the migration of some *Irish* into *Scotland*;—or else as a consequence of the preaching of *Columba*, who himself taught amongst *the Picts*;—or even of *St. Patrick*, who was by birth a Scotchman; and whose acquaintance with the use of such Buildings we shall find may be accounted for.*

They are always round;—and built of stone.—Their diameter, at bottom, is generally about fifteen feet; or from forty-two, to forty-eight feet in circumference.—And within, the diameter is seldom more than eight feet.—But they are from seventy, to above an hundred feet in height.†—The door of entrance, is generally from eight to twelve, or even fifteen feet from the ground; without either steps, or stairs, or any means of ascending up to it, except by an occasional ladder, that might, for security, be drawn up after him, by any one ascending.—All beneath this door is sometimes of solid stone work: but from hence upwards, within side, the whole is hollow, having, in a few instances, stone abutments in the walls, all round, to rest timbers upon, for

* See before in this Volume, p. 24, 25.—See also Mosheim's Eccl. His. Vol. II. p. 9.—*St. Patrick* lived about A. D. 432.—*Columba*, about A. D. 565.

† See a curious account in the Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 306, 307.




Pillar Towers

several floors, or stages:—and every story had a little narrow loop-hole for light, or else a window.—Whilst in the uppermost story of all these, there were four larger windows, manifestly for the sake both of looking out, and of being seen on every side.—Some, however, of the Towers, in whatever manner their floors might be supported, had no such stone abutments.*

In their external form, these Towers gradually diminish, from the bottom to the top; and they are each one generally covered with a stone conical roof.

There are two of these Towers well known in Scotland.—One at *Brechin*, in *Angus-shire:* and one at *Abernethy*, in *Perth-shire*.

That at Brechin, represented Pl. LV. Fig. 1, is eighty feet in height from the ground, and has *now* an octagonal spire, about twenty-three feet high; which makes the whole to be about one hundred and three feet, or a little more to the summit. But this *spire* can hardly be considered in any other light, than as being a very modern addition.—The inner diameter of the Tower, within a few feet of the bottom, is only eight feet; and the thickness of the wall near four feet; so that the whole diameter is not more than about fifteen, or sixteen feet; and the circumference about forty-eight feet.—At the top, the inner diameter is only seven feet, eight inches; the walls nearly three feet thick, and the circumference about thirty-eight feet, eight inches.†—There are four windows at the top of the Tower, facing the four Cardinal points:—and near the bottom, is a door facing the south, which, by a Building *of far more recent date*, now communicates with the Church;—besides this, there are two Arches on the outer wall *carved in relief*, one within another, and two small figures, also *in relief*, are added to them, standing between their mouldings.—

* See Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 80.

† There are four accounts of this Tower. One by Mr. Pennant, in the Second Part of his Tour in Scotland, p. 161, 162, Pl. XVIII.—One by Mr. Grose, in his Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 261, 262.—And a third by Mr. Gough, in the Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 84, and in his edition of Camden, Vol. III. p. 407.—And the original one by Gordon, in his Itinerary, p. 165.—But there is some difference in their several measures; and also in the representation of the Arches, and Bass-reliefs.—The above account, however, nearly reconciles them all, and represents the Arches as they really are, merely in relief upon the wall, and not forming a door.

These two figures are understood to represent the Mother of Our Lord, and St. John; and between the mouldings, at the top of the Arches, is a representation of the Crucifixion.—The Tower has at least about sixty courses of stone; is well built, of good masonry; insomuch that it has been often observed to vibrate with the wind:—and it is ascended within, merely by ladders,—from story to story.

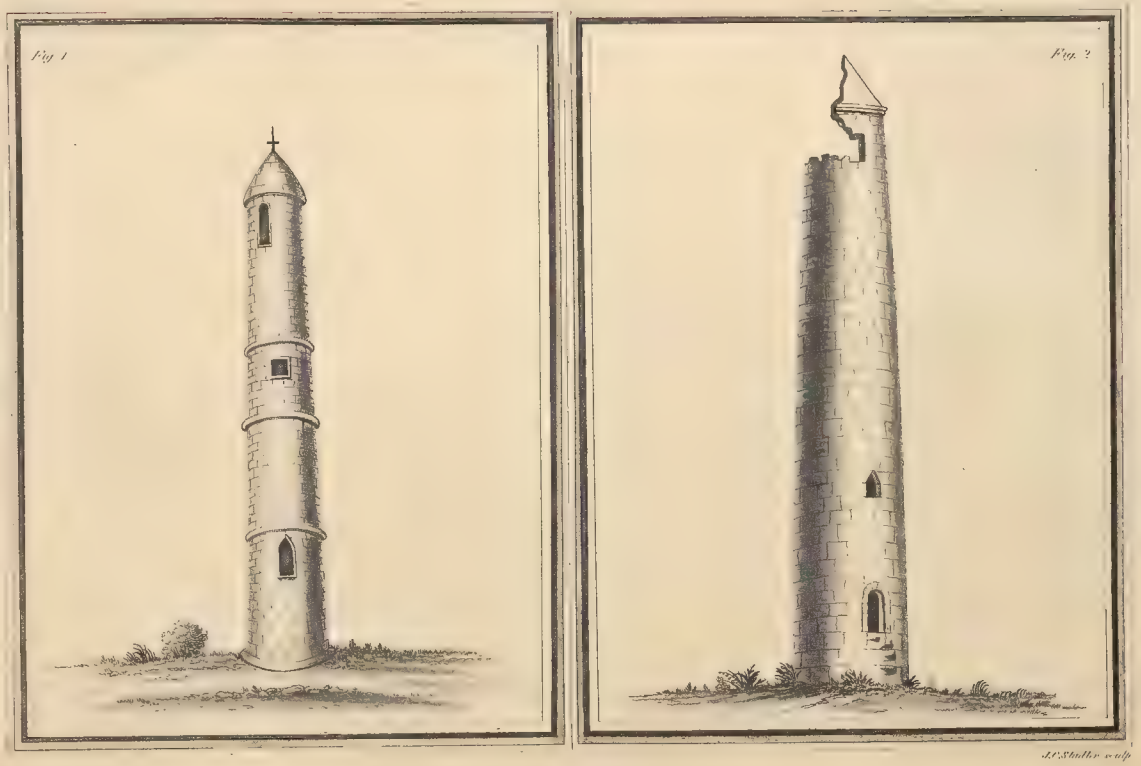
The Tower at *Abernethy*, represented Pl. LV. Fig. 2, was also ascended by ladders, placed between platforms, now all destroyed;—or might originally even have been ascended by means of one ladder, drawn up from floor to floor;—but the floorings must have been of slight construction, as Gordon says, in his time, the whole inside looked like a draw-well.—Its height is between seventy-two, and seventy-five feet;—the inner diameter eight feet, two inches;—the thickness of the wall at bottom three feet, four inches, or somewhat more; and at the top, two feet seven.—The circumference near the ground is about forty-seven feet.

The door of this Tower faces the north, and is above eight feet from the ground:—and, like the former, this Tower has four windows at the top; each five feet, nine inches in height; and two feet, two inches in breadth; each also having two small Pillars. There appear about sixty-four regular courses of stone, in the structure; but probably there were more formerly, as there is reason to conclude that the ground has been raised up nearer to the door than it was originally.*

In Ireland, there are even a very considerable number of these Pillar Towers.—Many have been carefully surveyed, and examined;—many more are named;—and from various circumstances, there can be little doubt, but that some have still escaped notice. And for the discovery of the most original specimens of these kind of Structures, any where, in this western part of the world, we must undoubtedly turn our attention to *Ireland*.

At *Ardmore*, in the county of Waterford, is one above an

* Gordon's Itinerary, p. 164, Pl. LXII. Fig. 1.—Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Pt. II. p. 183.—Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 251, 253.—And Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 381.—The little differences in whose accounts, are here endeavoured to be reconciled.




Pillar Towers

hundred feet high; gradually lessening towards the top; though only forty-five feet in outward circumference at bottom; or fifteen feet in diameter.—It is represented Pl. LVI. Fig. 1, and appears divided, even on the outside, by projecting bands,* into four unequal beltings, or stories, with one window to each, except in the upper story, where there are four.—These uppermost windows have circular Arches: but the door beneath, which is fifteen feet from the ground, appears to have *a pointed Arch*:—a circumstance that may possibly be either the consequence of a repair, or an instance of the existence of a pointed Arch *before* its coming into common use:—though I am much rather inclined to think, that this appearance of a *pointed Arch*, is occasioned merely by two tall, curved stones, being placed *leaning one against the other*, like those in the window at *Brunless Castle*.†—As I have not seen the Building itself, I cannot decide; but this conclusion seems the more just, because such appears to be actually the case in a window of the Pillar Tower at *Monaster Boyce*.‡—The roof of *Ardmore* Tower is *conical*, formed of stones, well cut, and closely joined.

There was one of these Towers near the Cathedral of *Cork*.§

And another, near the Church at *Brigonne*:‖—but these have long been destroyed.

There is said to be one now standing at *Cloyne*, ninety-two feet high, and ten feet in diameter,—with the door about thirteen feet from the ground,—facing the west entrance of the Church.¶

And another at *Kinnith*;** with a little variation in point of Architecture; it being hexagonal at bottom, and having each side ten feet, four inches, to the height of the first story: but it is then round, about fourteen feet in diameter in the whole, and seven or eight feet within.—It is seventy feet in height, and consists of six stories, each about eleven feet, nine inches high, so that a short ladder would reach from each to each.—And it stands

* See Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 305.—And Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480.
† See in this Work, Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. II. and III.
‡ See Grose's View of it in the Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 33.
§ Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 305.—And see Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 564.
‖ Smith's Cork, Vol. II. p. 407.
¶ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480.
** Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 305.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480.

one hundred and twenty-four feet from the west end of the Church.—An antient manuscript says it was built A. D. 1015.

There are two in the county of *Down*.*—One at *Drumboe*, twenty-four feet distant from the north-west door of the ruined Church; having its door of entrance on the east side, six feet from the ground.—It is about fifteen feet in diameter, on the outside; but only nine within, its walls being three feet and an half thick. And so much has been broken down, that it is now only thirty-five feet high.

The other is at *Down Patrick;* forty feet from the old Cathedral; and sixty feet high;—having its diameter within, only eight feet; and its walls three feet thick.—This Tower, however, differs from most other Pillar Towers, in having its door *near the ground*:†—but this circumstance is most probably to be accounted for, from some adventitious rise of the soil around:—for if we add twelve or fifteen feet, the frequent height of these kind of doors, from the bottom, to the present height of the Pillar, it will make its original height seventy-two, or seventy-five feet, which accords much more with the usual height of these sort of Structures.

There is also, in the Island of *Devenish*, near *Enniskillin*, in the county of Fermanagh, a round Tower, seventy-six feet high; and forty-one feet in circumference (that is only about thirteen feet and an half in its external diameter; and, as its walls are three feet thick, only seven feet and an half diameter within). It is all built of hewn stone; each stone only *about a foot square*, so that it might be carried up by the hand:—and as far as can be discerned, is built almost without any cement.—It has at the top, as usual, four windows opposite to the four cardinal points.—And at the bottom, a door nine feet from the ground.‡—This Tower is represented, Fig. 1, Pl. LVII.

We find a Tower, much of the same sort, near the Abbey of

* Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 306. † Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480.

‡ Archdall, p. 259, 260.—And see a view of it in Mr. Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 23. And another in Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 603, Pl. XLVII. Fig. 12.



Fig. 10

Fig. 4 Fig. 5 Fig. 6 Fig. 7 Fig. 8 Fig. 9

Fig. 11

# Pillar Towers.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig 3

T. Stadt. sculp.

*Kildare*, in Ireland,* only much higher, being no less than one hundred and thirty-two feet in height; though only about fourteen feet in its whole diameter, and eight within. It is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 5,—where several of these Buildings are shewn together, in order to be placed somewhat in a *comparative* point of view.—It has four original windows at the top, fronting the four cardinal points; but the battlements have been added in a modern repair.

Another is found at *Donoghmore*,† in the county of Meath, which is represented Fig. 4, Pl. LVII.

And still another, (as usual about fifteen feet in its whole diameter), is met with at *St. Canice's* Church,‡ in the county of Kilkenny; represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 6.

And there is said, in like manner, to be another at *Fertagh*.§

A singularly curious one is also at *Sword's Church*, in the county of Dublin;‖ shewn Pl. LVII. Fig. 7.—The Church, now in ruins, and the Steeple adjoining, are much more modern; but to the old Abbey, tradition says, *St. Columba* gave his Missal, which he had transcribed himself.

And in the same county, at *Clondalkin*,¶ is that represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 8;—eighty-four feet in height, and fifteen feet in diameter, from outside to outside; with a door at a considerable height from the ground.—And which, according to tradition, was built, about the years 860, or 870.

Another such Tower exists, at *Cashel*, in the county of Tipperary,** in Ireland;—which is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 2.—This is said to have a communication with a Church of a later date, by a subterraneous passage; but some strong circumstances with regard to the building of a Chapel by *Cormac*, may induce

* This representation is taken from that given by Mr. Grose, Vol. I. p. 25.—And see also in Boate's History of Ireland, p. 212, Fig. 11.—Ware, I. p. 127, 128.

† See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II p. 15.

‡ Ib. Vol. I. p. 33. § Archdall, 250.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 481.

‖ Ib. Vol. I. p. 11.—And in Boate's History of Ireland, p. 213, Fig. 13.

¶ Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 16.—See also Boate's History of Ireland, p. 212, Fig. 12.

** Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 85. Vol. I. p. 72.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 522.

us to conclude, that this Tower was built, about A. D. 908, or 910.—And it has always been deemed the oldest Building on the rock, being constructed of free-stone; whereas the other Buildings are of lime-stone, of which the rock itself consists.

In the same Pl. LVII. Fig. 3, is a representation of the Pillar Tower at *Seven Churches*,* in the county of *Wicklow*, in Ireland.—This is one hundred and ten feet in height; and fifty-two feet round, at bottom; or about seventeen feet, four inches in diameter, with walls four feet thick; so that the diameter *within* cannot be more than about nine feet; and must probably be less in the uppermost part.

It is an observation of established authority, in Ireland; that where-ever we find one of these round Towers, we may be assured some Ecclesiastical foundation existed there *antecedent* to the arrival of the English.—And at *Castle-Dermont*,† in the county of Kildare, (where constant tradition has affirmed one *St. Diermit* had a Monastick Cell, about the year 500, and where *Cormac Mac Cuillenam*, a celebrated Chieftain, had received his education, and was also buried about A. D. 938), is a very curious round Tower, of the kind we have been describing; and of a style of Architecture totally different from that of the Church near which it stands.—This Tower is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 9, from Mr. Grose's design of it.

There is another round Tower at *Kilcullen*,‡ in the county of Kildare: it is, however, now only forty feet high.—It is forty-four feet in circumference, and therefore not quite fifteen feet in diameter:—and the walls being three feet, six inches in thickness, its Chambers could be only about eight feet in diameter;—whilst the door of entrance was nearly about the same distance

* See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 96, 97.—It ought here to be noticed that the shading of these Pillars is suffered in this Plate to be on different sides, through an unwillingness to depart from the fidelity of the original designs.

† See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 43. The ruined wall that comes before it in this view, prevents its appearing so lofty in proportion to its diameter as it really is.—But I would not venture to depart from the fidelity of the representation.

‡ See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 27, 28.

from the ground.—A Monastery is, by tradition, affirmed to have been founded here by *Mactalius*, a disciple of *St. Patrick*, so early as A. D. 548.—And a Church, which stood here, was plundered by the Ostmen, so early as A. D. 936.—At this Church also, as a proof of its high antiquity, a very curious Door-way, similar exactly to the antient *Saxon* Door-ways, is found.*

And still another *Pillar Tower*, is found at *Turlogh*,† in the county of *Mayo*, in Ireland, of dimensions a little more convenient.—It being nine feet diameter on the inside.—But it is seventy feet high, and the door nineteen feet from the ground. It is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 10.

There are remains also of a Tower at *Timahoe*, in *Queen's County*;‡ which once had seven stories, and *rests* for floors.—Being fifty-three feet in circumference, its diameter is only about seventeen or eighteen feet:—and its walls being four feet, four inches thick, its chambers could not be more than about nine feet in diameter.—The door is fourteen feet from the ground.

There were two in the county of *Kerry*.—One opposite to the west end of the Cathedral of *Ardfert*;§ near an hundred and twenty feet high; built mostly of a dark kind of marble; which fell to the ground in the year 1771.

And the other is near the ruins of the Cathedral at *Rattoo*.‖

At *Monaster Boice*, (or *Boyce*),¶ in the county of Louth, is also a most remarkable Structure of this sort. It is one hundred and ten feet high, diminishing like a Tuscan Pillar from its base, which is eighteen feet in its utmost diameter, and about fifty-one feet in the measure of its circumference.

For the sake of comparing it with the others, it is represented Pl. LVI. Fig. 2, from Mr. Wright's view of it, who took it to be a *Danish* Structure.—But herein, as it appears to me, he was mistaken:—for so far from the *Danes* having reared this Structure,

* This is also represented by Mr. Grose, in his Introduction to Vol. II. Pl. III.

† Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 43. ‡ Ib. Vol. II. p. 11.

§ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480, 492; and Smith's Kerry, p. 203.

‖ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 492.

¶ See Wright's Louthiana, Book III. Pl. XIV. p. 18; and Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 481, 603.—*St. Boetius*, or *Boice*, died A. D. 521.

(who certainly have never been found to have built any such thing in their own country), they even are recorded to have plundered this very Church in A. D. 968, when there is every reason to believe, that not only *a Church*, but this very Pillar Tower must have been in existence; as almost uniformly these Towers are built of different materials, and ever appear to have been *prior* to the Churches near which they stand.—Its walls are three feet, six inches thick; so that its diameter within is at most eleven feet, in the widest part.—Its door is now six feet from the ground;—but probably was more formerly.—It has six stories; with projecting stones, to support the floors.—And it is built with a slaty stone, evidently from the neighbouring hills.—But it deserves notice that the door is of *free-stone*.—For fidelity sake, as I have never been upon the spot myself, I add Pl. LV. Fig. 3, as exactly as possible, a copy of Mr. Grose's view of the Building, which seems to have been more accurately taken than Mr. Wright's, and where the window appears evidently constructed *merely of two stones, set leaning one against the other*, like that at *Brunless Castle*, in Wales.*—A circumstance that may perhaps best of all account for any appearance of *pointed Arches*, in some other of these *Pillar Towers*:—and may lead us to suspect, that the pointed Door-way, in the Pillar Tower at *Ardmore*, and also that at *Kilmacduach*, were formed in the same manner.

For at *Kilmacduach*, in *Galway*, is found one of these antient round *Pillar Towers*, so well constructed, that although, by some accident, it now leans seventeen feet and an half† from its perpendicular, (which is four feet and an half more than the Tower of *Pisa* leans), yet it still remains firm.—It is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 11. The window at the top deserves notice;—and the door is many feet from the ground.

And last of all, as one of the most curious circumstances of all, it ought to be mentioned, that at *Mahera*,‡ in the county of *Down*,

* See Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. III. p. 32, Pl. II. and III.

† See Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 583, Pl. XLVII. Fig. 11; from whence this representation is copied, by way of illustration of what has been here remarked.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480.—And Campbell's Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 394, 407.

formerly stood an high Tower, which about forty or fifty years ago was overturned by a violent storm, so as to lay almost at length on the ground, like an huge gun; so wonderfully hard, and binding, was the cement, and so good the workmanship.

Such are the *Pillar Towers* in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, that have been either delineated, or fully described.—And such an uniformity of Structure is conspicuous in all of them, that they even seem as if they had been built by the same hand.—They are all nearly about the same height;—the diameters both within and without are nearly the same;—they have nearly the same thickness of wall;—the door of each also, is found at a distance from the ground, except where the ground has been raised;—and there are never found any means of ascending to the top, but by a ladder from floor to floor;—four windows are also always found in the upper story, facing the cardinal points, and hardly any elsewhere;—they have the same external appearance very nearly;—and their Architecture, and materials, in general are unlike the Architecture, and materials, of the Churches near whose remains they stand; and unlike the materials of other Buildings in the country.

Several others have been named,* as being similar to these, in different parts of *Ireland;* but as they have not been particularly described I omit them.—But surely their being so very common in *Ireland*, and their being elsewhere to be met with only in *Scotland*, leads to a fair suspicion that, (whatever their designed use was), their existence in Scotland, was the consequence of the preaching of some *Irish Missionaries*.

A long trumpet, of iron, was indeed dug up, from the bottom of one of these Towers.—And several such are said to have been found in Ireland, *near* these Buildings.†—We may therefore perhaps conclude, that they were, at least *occasionally*, used as stations, for the purpose of a person's proclaiming either summons, or alarm.

But some passages in antient Irish Manuscripts, referred to by *Mr. Smith*, in his Account of Four Irish Counties, shews plainly

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 481. † Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 82.

that they also had another use.—And what has, in the preceding pages, been said of *Monkish Prisons*, together with what we know clearly of the effects of superstition, in barbarous countries, may very well lead us to believe, that they indeed had also such other use, in rude countries, and in rude ages, where rude methods were the most obvious of all others to reform, if possible, a rude people.—And they might also be designed even for the *voluntary* retirement, and self-mortification of well-meaning devout hermits.

One of these manuscripts says, that these Towers were used for *imprisoning penitents*.—And consistently with this idea, supposing the imprisonment to be voluntary, another old manuscript account of the life of *Dunchad O Braoin*, says, that he betook himself to such a prison, wherein he died A. D. 987.*

Whilst constant tradition has affirmed, that another anchorite lived, on the top of one of these Pillars, in the Churchyard of *Drumlaban*, in the county of Cavan.†

In King's County also, it is to be remarked, amongst the ruins of the Churches at *Clonmacnois*, are two Towers, that still retain peculiar *names*,‡ as having belonged to two certain persons, (who may most rationally be believed to have been *anchorites* that once dwelt in them.—The one is to this day called *O'Rourke's Tower*; —and is sixty-two feet high, and fifty-six in circumference; which makes its utmost diameter to be about eighteen feet, eight inches; and (allowing the walls to be three feet and an half thick) its diameter within about twelve feet.

And the other is still called *M'Carthy's* Tower;—and is seven feet in diameter within; having the walls three feet thick, and being fifty-six feet high including its conical roof.

To which it deserves to be added, that the very *Irish name*, by which these sort of Towers have for ages frequently been distinguished, *Cloch-ancoire*, is said to mean the *stone of the anchorite*.§

* Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 307.

† Harris I. 135.

‡ Harris II. 165.—Archdall, 392

§ See Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, with Harris's Additions, p. 135, where many of the most curious and important observations relating to these Towers are with great judgment and fidelity collected together.

The retirement, or self-imprisonment of *Dunchad O Braoin*, together with other circumstances, shews that these Towers were (some of them at least) built so late as between A. D. 900, and A. D. 1000.

The History of *Symeon Stylites*, from which such sort of imprisonment, and sequestration, as that of *Dunchad O Braoin* seems to have first derived its origin, is given us by *Euagrius Scholasticus*, who wrote about A. D. 600; and is a curious proof both of the superstitious ideas which had gained ground, in the East, in those days; and of the strange beginning of monkish austerities in the reign of *Theodosius*, about A. D. 380; not more than two hundred years before the time of Euagrius.—A sad proof how good and fervent intentions may be perverted, by a misguided judgment; even if we put the best construction possible, both on the conduct of *Symeon*, and on the words of *Euagrius*.

"In those days," says Euagrius,* "there was of great fame "and renowne *one Symeon*, a godly man, and much spoken of: "he was the first that taught to dwell in a Pillar; and made "therein his lodging, scarce two cubits wide, (which dimensions, "if we take the sacred cubit for our measure, make his apartment "to have been only three feet, or a little more, in diameter).

"This *Symeon*, being in the flesh, imitated in life the trade of "the angelical powers; withdrew himself from worldly affairs; "forced Nature, which of herself leaneth downwards, and followed "after loftie things; being placed as it were in the midst between "heaven and earth. He sought conference with God; he "praised Him, together with the angels; he lifted the prayers "of men up from the earth unto heaven, and offered them to "God.†—He brought the goodness of God from heaven to earth, "and made the world partaker thereof.

"This man wrote a Letter to the Emperor *Theodosius*, rebuking

* See Hanmer's translation of Eusebius, &c. &c. p. 418, 419, ed. 1584, whose words, for many reasons, I choose on this occasion to use, rather than any translation of my own.

† All this surely was even blasphemy, against *Jesus Christ Our Lord*, who alone has such power, and divine office.

" him for that he had made a law, that the Jews inhabiting " Antioch should enjoy again such Synagogues as the Christians " had taken from them.

" Ten years (on the beginning of his austerities) *Symeon* lived " in a very narrow room;—seven in a somewhat straiter Pillar; "—and thirty years in a Pillar of forty cubits."

" This Pillar, *Euagrius* says,* stood *before the front* of a Church, built after the manner of a cross, on an hill, called *Mandria*, at some distance from Antioch: " *in which, saith he, the earthly and* " *corporeal angel led* an heavenly life."

And, then he adds,† that a star of a wonderful bigness, was seen by him, with many countrymen assembled together, " run- " ning and wandering hither and thither throughout the chinks, " and cleft latices; twinkling in the eyes of the beholders: " neither that once, twice, or thrice; but oftener; and the same " oftentimes fading and vanishing away; afterwards immediately " appearing again.—And there are which report (says Euagrius again) " that they saw the very shape of his person, hovering " here and there; with a long beard; and an hat (*or covering*) on " his head after his wonted manner."

This whole detail, (whilst it is a most curious early specimen of *Legendary Tales*, and of craftiness);—should prevent our marvelling that such examples, within a century or two after the age of *Euagrius*, took place, and were followed in *Ireland*.

Surely it cannot be a matter of surprise if *there*, where gross superstition of all kinds, (gross even in the days of Paganism), appears to have had raging dominion; and where therefore superstitions grafted upon Christianity were the more easily introduced; if *there*, similar Towers, and similar austerities, to those of the first Christian anchorites in the East, were to be found.

The words of *Euagrius*,‡ that " *Symeon was the first that taught to* " *dwell in a Pillar*, plainly implied that *others*, afterwards, did the

* P. 420. † P. 420.

‡ Euagrius Scholasticus, Hanmer's Trans. p. 418.

same.—And accordingly we find, the tale of another *Symeon*, in the time of the Emperor *Justin*, and of *Chosroes*, King of Persia, about A. D. 530; who also dwelt in a Pillar; and was induced to do so, by a Master, or Teacher, who had dwelt in like manner himself.*

The tale is even more legendary than the former,—and says, that he entered into this course of life, even before he had changed his teeth.

"Being of tender years, says Euagrius, playing, leaping, and "skipping, to and fro, about the tops of hills and greenes, as the "manner is of children, he lighted by chance upon a *Lybard*, "took his girdle and tied him about the neck, led the beast, which "had now put off his fierce nature, by the girdle, as if it had "been a bridle, and brought him home to his Monastery.—His "Master, *who led his life in a Pillar*, seeing this, enquired of him "what he had in his girdle: the boy answered it was *a cat*.— "His Master gathering hereby that he would hereafter prove a "worthy man, trained him up to lead his life *in a Pillar*.—In "which Pillar, together with another also standing upon the top "of an hill, he lived three score and eight years; replenished "with all graces from above."

We find also an account of an hermit, named *Daniel*, who dwelt in a Pillar, at *Anaplum*, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.†—We are told also of numbers, who in imitation of the first *Symeon*, erected Pillars, and took their station in them:‡ and they are mentioned in Ecclesiastical Records, even as low as the eleventh century.§

Some traces of the custom remain, in the East, even down to these days; although confined now *there*, as other rude antient customs have been *here*, in latter ages, to dangerous, wild, and most sequestered situations.

On the sides of the brook *Cedron*, in the Holy Land, on its way to the *Dead Sea*, is a Monastery, called that of *St. Sabba*, built on a

* Euagrius Scholasticus, Hanmer's Trans. p. 511.
† Theodori Collectanea, lib. i.
‡ Ware's Antiquities, and Harris, p. 131.
§ Mosheim says, even to the twelfth century, Vol. II. p. 50.

clift of an hill, surrounded with a stone wall, eight feet thick, and twenty-six feet high; and in circumference above a mile.—And on the outside of its walls, on the west, at the distance of more than fifty yards, is a square Tower, (of much larger dimensions indeed than the more antient round ones which we have been describing, but answering somewhat the same purposes), for its door of entrance is at a great height from the ground: the ascent being by means of fourteen stone steps, placed at some distance (not less than twelve feet) from it: and from these steps is access, only by means of a drawbridge, pulled up against the door of the Tower.—Here live two, or three hermits, in an austere manner; eating only *once* every other day; whilst those in the Convent eat once every day:—and drinking only water.—And their employment is prayers, and meditation on sacred books.—But if either marauding Arabs, or strangers approach, then, by means of a long wire, and a little bell, these hermits give notice to those within the Convent.

Here, therefore, we find, even to this day, is a sort of *Hermit's Watch Tower;* answering the double purpose, of austere retirement, and of cautious guard.*

And from their eating *once* only every other day; and from their being thus shut up, and secluded; it is very plain they were subject either to *penance*, or at least to rules, and severities, beyond what was required of those who dwelt within the Convent.

The Pillar in which the first *Symeon Stylites* dwelt, and which stood before the front of the Church of *Mandria*, seems to have been built in a sort of imitation of the Pillars of *Trajan*,—*Antoninus*,—*Arcadius*,—and *Constantine*.

And as those, we well know, had very narrow loop holes, on the sides, all the way up, for the sake of giving light, and air to an internal staircase; so we may very well believe, that this at *Mandria*, also, had the same.—And especially as we are expressly told, by Petrus Galesinius, that *Symeon* the *Stylite*, lived in an *hollow Pillar*.†

* See Archæologia, Vol. IX. p. 269 to p. 273.

† See Ware's Antiquities, with Harris's Additions, p. 131.

Hence it might easily come to pass, some years afterwards, that by means of a person going up the internal staircase, by which *Symeon Stylites* himself had used to ascend, there might be produced the effect, to persons at some distance, of an appearance of *a star*, shining by fits, and intervals, in different parts of the Pillar, through its little narrow loops:—and even, to an acute eye, looking in through the loops, the appearance of a person hovering here, and there, who very probably might have, in the days of *Euagrius*, as *Symeon Stylites* had before, a long beard, and an hat, or covering, on his head;—and might be some deceiving Monk, imposing on stupid, and ignorant beholders.

As the Pillar of the first *Symeon Stylites* seems to have been originally somewhat of an imitation of the Pillars of *Trajan*,—*Antoninus*,—*Arcadius*, and *Constantine*; so those of the *Irish*, and *Scots*, may well be supposed to have been rude imitations of this of *Symeon*, introduced into Ireland by some devout *Irish Monk*, wh had travelled to *Jerusalem*, and into *Syria*.

The first *Saxon* converts, in England, derived their *first* knowledge of Christianity *from Rome*; together with such corruptions and superstitions as had *then* been introduced by the *Western*, and *Latin Church*:—but the *Irish* seem to have derived their *first* knowledge of Christianity, partly from the *Britons*, and partly from *Palestine*, and *Syria*, and from the *Asiatic Churches*; with such corruptions as had been introduced in the *Eastern*, and *Greek* Church.—Hence the *Irish* are known to have followed the *Eastern* Churches, and not the *Roman*, in the great disputed point concerning the *celebration of Easter*.*—And it appears indeed from the written lives of several of the *Irish Saints*, that they early visited *Asia*;† whilst it is also well known that, in the fifth century, even *Sedulius*, an Irish Poet, travelled thither, for the sake of learning.

We are even told of Stones, having been dug up in Ireland, with *Hebraic Inscriptions*;‡—which plainly seem to be indications

* Bedæ His. Eccles. lib. iii. ca. 35.—And *Usher*.—Primord, p. 931.

† Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, and Harris, p. 133. ‡ Ibid.

of the persons to whom they belonged having had more intercourse than common with the Asiatic Churches.

Hence, therefore, it may the more easily have come to pass, that the construction of *Pillars*, or *Pillar Towers*, for the residence of *Hermits*,* the introduction of which corruption of religion, and

* The dwelling on *Pillar Towers*, or *Pillars*, was so intirely a superstition of the *Asiatic*, and *Eastern Churches*, that when an effort was made at *Treves*, in Germany, to introduce it there, and one *Wulfilacius* had, for that purpose, even erected one of these *Pillars*,† and proposed living upon the top thereof, the neighbouring Bishops ordered it to be pulled down.—'Tis not at all impossible, but that he might be one of the very persons, who had better success in Ireland.

So effectually had the reverence for the *Hermitical* mode of life been introduced into *Ireland*, in various shapes; and so prevalent was the habit of such sequestration become, that the names of several *Irish Hermits* are even preserved upon record, that lived between the years 732 and 1235:—amongst whom we find *Dunchad O Braoin*, who had been *Abbot of Clonmacnois*, and who betook himself to an hermit's life, and shut himself up *in Arcti Inclusorii Ergastulo*, in *a Prison of narrow inclosure*.—And Sir James Ware also mentions an instance of the custom having continued down even to his own days, by a religious devotee living in *a small stone cell*, at *Foure*, in the county of *Westmeath*, and adds an account of the manner of his being attended, and supplied with provisions, whilst the whole neighbouring country venerated him, as *The Holy Man in the Stone*. Ware's and Harris's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 134, 135.

The austere, sequestered, hermits' mode of life, though not with the circumstance of dwelling on a Pillar, was begun much earlier in Egypt, and in Syria, than the days of the first Symeon; but even *there* was generally undertaken, *in the neighbourhood* of Conventual Societies, and of the Places of Religious Assembly, and of Religious Worship.

Some of the most celebrated Monasteries were surrounded by a sort of *Laura*, or distant circle of *solitary Cells*, for these *Hermits*.—When *Gerasimus* founded his Monastery, in the Wilderness of Jordan, about A. D. 450, it was surrounded by a *Laura* of seventy Cells, for such *hermits*.—(Suicer. Thesaur. Ecclesiast. Tom. II. p. 205, 218.—Thomassin Discipline de l'Eglise, Tom. I. p. 1501, 1502.

*Gerasimus* is described as a candid, pious, studious man.—And when we are told of the pains that certain of the *Pillar hermits* took, to exhort, and instruct, at times, the surrounding people, it would be a want of candour, not to suppose that some of them at least, might employ their leisure, and abstraction from the world, in studying the Holy Scriptures; in contemplation; and prayer; and in the pursuit, and improvement of such science, as was at that time to be obtained.—It cannot be forgotten, that the celebrated, and learned *Aldhelm* acquired his first rudiments of knowledge, of one *Maildulphus*, who lived an hermit's life, near *Ingelburne*, about the year 650 (See in this Volume, p. 80, 81).

† See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 50.—And Gregor. Turonens. Histor. Francor. lib. viii. ca. 15.

devotion, was first introduced in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, and in *the East*, should, with other usages of the *Eastern Christians*, have been introduced in *Ireland;* and yet not in *England*.—And that they should also have been introduced, in such parts of *Scotland*, as were visited by zealous *Irish Teachers*.

The good workmanship of the Pillars, and the uniformity of their construction, so unlike any other Buildings in *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, evidently seems to indicate, that they were built much about the same time, and by the very same workmen:—probably by workmen brought by those identical Religious Persons, *the Hermits*, from the East; if not even built by *the Hermits* themselves; who were the means of introducing this strange mode of life.

And this, in truth, may account, both for this peculiar mode of building so soon ceasing in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, after these Towers were once built; and for the circumstance of no other kind of Buildings, of *so good masonry*, existing either in *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, of the same age.

It has already been mentioned, as an observation made, both in the *Parentalia*, and by our skilful Architect Mr. Essex,* with regard to the *Saxons*, and *Normans;* that it was customary even in *England*, to send for masons *from abroad*, to build Churches, or Monasteries; who went, *in companies*, from one place to another:—Persons well skilled in the art of working in stone, or master masons:—and indeed Bede, and other antient *Saxon* Writers, seldom mention the building of a Church, or Monastery, but they say that *foreigners were sent for* to build them.—Hence, (notwithstanding the ingenuity of any *Saxon* Recluses themselves, either in contriving ingenious ornamental devices, or in drawing designs for doors, or windows), the art of building, in such nice manner, and with such *good masonry*, almost directly ceased, in the different respective places, even in England, on the departure of these *companies* of artists;† and much more might it do so, in *Ireland*, or in *Scotland*.

* Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 93, 102, 103.

† It has also been remarked by Mr. Essex, (Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 94, 98), that these foreign artists used stones *of a moderate size*, as the Britons, (whose art had long

It would perhaps be giving too unwarrantable a scope to conjecture, to suppose that *each Irish hermit* learnt the art abroad, in the East; and by slow degrees *built his own Pillar*:—though it is a well known fact,* that the Recluses of the earliest ages, made a point of *working with their hands*, in some industrious occupation, when they were not employed in reading, or prayer:—and though such a supposition will, even more rationally than any other, account for *Symeon Stylites's gradual rise* upon his Pillar; who, *Raderus* says,† was mounted first upon a Pillar of six cubits, or nine feet high;—then upon one twelve cubits, or eighteen feet high;—afterwards upon one twenty-two cubits, or thirty-three feet high;—and last of all, upon one of thirty-six, or forty cubits, that is fifty-four, or sixty feet in height; with a Cell at the top of only two cubits, or about three feet in diameter.—And it is very remarkable, that *Theodoret*‡ expressly alledges, that Symeon *added gradually to the height of his Pillar*.

Such gradual rising, would unquestionably give opportunity to the Structure to dry; and to become firm:—and such a Structure, without any thing miraculous in the work, might be built *gradually* even by *one skilful man alone*, by means of a short ladder, and without any scaffolding, or even a ladder on the outside, and with such plain materials, both of stone for the walls, and of wood for floorings, as might be collected without difficulty, and be easily bestowed by the charity of devotees, out of regard for the Recluse.

And as it is very remarkable, that though this Pillar of Symeon's has been so much spoken of, yet we do not read of any great personage, by whose command, or at whose expence, it

been lost) had done before;—stones seldom exceeding seven or eight inches, and often less;—and this both for the convenience of carrying them up with ease, on ladders; and also because quarries of *large stones*, were not easily met with, or to be worked, in countries to which those artists were strangers.—Hence *Caen stone* came to be at last so frequently sent for;—and hence it comes to pass, that other stone, cut into the *same small dimensions*, is often mistaken for *Caen stone*.

* See before, p. 30, in this Volume.

† Viridarii, Pt. III. ca. 4.—And see Harris, p. 131.

‡ See even Mosheim's citation, in his Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 49; and other citations, referred to by him on the occasion.

was reared ;—but are only simply told, of what *Symeon Stylites* did himself ;—so if the Towers in Ireland were built *by the hermits themselves*, it may account both for our not hearing of any *Irish Princes*, by whose command, or at whose expence they were reared ; and also for there not being any *other* well-wrought stone Buildings, at all contemporary with them.

Whatever artists they were reared by, these *Pillar Towers* might possibly be used occasionally *as beacons*, wherein to burn a light, in order to summons the neighbouring country to arms ; or wherein to sound a trumpet for alarm ;—and the idea of such sort of occasional usefulness, might even be an inducement to the *Irish Princes*, to permit their being built upon their territories.—But more skilful workmen than *those Irish Princes* seem in any other instances to have ever afterwards employed, must have been at hand, to rear such Structures :—and such workmen must have been brought thither, by some more powerful motive, than that of rearing *beacons :*—in short, by a motive that could hardly be any thing less, than *zealous Religion*, degenerated into superstition ;—and which, had it existed in the minds of the *Princes* themselves, would undoubtedly have led them to rear contemporary, *equally well built*, *Churches*, as well as these *Towers*.

Two objections to the conclusion, *that these Towers were designed for Religious Recluses, or Hermits*, deserve to be taken notice of.—The one, that of *Mr. Gough :*—the other, that of *Mr. Molineux*, that they were built by the *Danes*.

Mr. Gough says,* " It must require a warm imagination, to " point out the similarity between Symeon's Pillar, and the Irish " Round Tower : the one was solid, the other hollow ; the one " was square, the other circular."

But surely there is little support either for this affirmation, or for this conclusion, if we consider that the true idea of the Pillar having been *hollow, and ascended by ladders within*, has been contradicted, originally, only by the dogmatical affirmation of *Bollandus*,† an hasty writer of the seventeenth century, who neither

* Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. III. p. 482.

† Vitæ Sanctorum.

adduces any proof, nor any authority for such contradiction ;—whilst *Raderus*, whose authority is quite as good, or better, positively says,* that when any persons went up to the *Stylites ;* or when they came down, it was by means of *ladders ;*—and whilst *Petrus Galesinius* expressly affirms, that *Symeon* lived shut up in *an hollow Pillar*, for forty years ; eating flesh only once a week, and at other times bread, roots, and herbs.

As to the Pillar being *square ;*—I could never meet with any one passage, in *Euagrius Scholasticus*, or in the writings of any author before Mr. Gough, that mentions any such circumstance.

And indeed the whole account of *Euagrius*, who lived only about one hundred years afterwards ; and his description of the Church,† *before one of whose Porches it was standing ;* and which he himself saw ; intimates quite the contrary.

He says, " The building of the Church is after the manner of a " cross, notably set forth with Porches, four-square. The Porches " have Pillars annexed to them finely wrought of free-stone, " which lift up the roof on high, and that very artificially. The " entrie that is to the midst of the Temple is wide open, and " very cunningly wrought ; where the aforesaid Pillar of forty " cubits stands."

And then it is that Euagrius adds, that he himself, " with " many countrymen, assembled together, and *compassing* the Pillar, " saw a star of a wonderful bigness, running and wandering " hither and thither, throughout the chinks :—and that this was " commonly seen on the Saint's holiday."

Mr. Gough says,‡ " these Pillars were placed, at *a distance* from " towns, and even *on mountains :*—but the account given of *Symeon's* Pillar, standing directly before the Church Door of *Mandria*, proves somewhat the contrary ; at least in the instance of the first founder of this sort of rigid life.

I must further add, that there are not any sufficient grounds whatever, to give credit to the idle tale, that *Symeon*, and the

* Viridarium Sanctorum, Part III. ca. 4.

† See Euagrius Scholasticus, lib. i. ca. 14.

‡ Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. III. p. 482.

other *Stylites*, or *Pillar Hermits*, mortified themselves by *continual standing*;—or that, in order to acquire this wonderful power, *Symeon* procured himself to be tied to a beam, or upright post, for forty days, as some have pretended.*—For the very facts mentioned by Gibbon, (to whose authorities I refer the reader†), of his having been seen to perform his adorations, and prostrations, with so much bodily activity, a most prodigious number of times, prove the very contrary.

I shall cite his very words.

" Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous " situation without fear, or giddiness, and successively to assume " the different postures of devotion.—He sometimes prayed in an " erect attitude, with his out-stretched arms, in the figure of a " cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his " meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet: and a curious " spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four re- " petitions, at length desisted from the endless account."

The circumstances mentioned also by *Mosheim* himself, on good authorities, are in truth, in like manner inconsistent with such a supposition,—and shew manifestly, that *Symeon* employed himself much in *preaching, and teaching*:—for he says,‡ that *Symeon, by his influence, and authority, introduced the Christian worship into a certain district of the Arabians.*—And that *the inhabitants of Libanus, and Antilibanus, being dreadfully infested with wild beasts, implored his assistance, and counsels; and in consequence of his answer abandoned their superstitious worship, and embraced Christianity.*

And still more forcibly is the fact, of Symeon's *standing motionless*, or in any fixed posture, contradicted, by what Euagrius relates,§ concerning *his coming down from his lodging on the Pillar*, to make answer to the Messenger from the *Religious Men of the Holy Desert*;—who indeed had orders, if he refused to come down, to compel him by force; but who, as soon as he saw him

* Ware's Antiq. p. 131.

† Gibbon's History, Vol. VI. p. 265, 266, octavo edition.

‡ Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 4.

§ Euagrius Scholasticus, lib. i. ca. 13.

*yielding to the exhortation, begin to rise,* in order to come down, was convinced, and allowed him to be an holy man.*

The supposition also of Symeon's standing fixed continually like a statue, or like an Indian Bramin Devotee, is rendered almost impossible, if we do but consider how improbable it was

* The mode of life adopted by *Symeon Stylites*, has been spoken of, with horror, by writers of very different descriptions.—By those, by whom he has been admired;—by certain pious Christians;—he has, with reverential horror, been considered, as one of the most suffering, self denying, abstracted, humble, heavenly beings, of all mankind:—whilst, by certain even candid, ingenuous, good minds, loathing the fetters of unreasonable superstition;—and still more by infidels, deriding all good intentions, he has with contemptuous horror been considered, as most absurdly, and fanatically, flinging away all the comforts of life; and as voluntarily suffering dire imprisonment, and wretchedness, without any benefit either to himself, or to the rest of the world.—But perhaps neither the praise, nor the censure, were rightly bestowed; nor were any of these conclusions just.—Human nature is a most strange compound; and under most uncommon circumstances, finds *resources* in a most astonishing manner.—Retirement, and seclusion, by habit, become not only easy, but pleasant:—and abstract meditation, and contemplation, to a mind that has any energetical powers, soon becomes most delightful.—*Symeon's* situation, on the top of his high Pillar, placed him in a purer air, and free from the noxious filth of Eastern streets.—It afforded him also, for amusement, a more enlarged, and more constant view of all that passed near the Church of *Mandria*, or in its environs.—In an atmosphere so pure, and in such a situation, he could scarce fail of being somewhat of an observant astronomer, and of becoming a delighted spectator of the motions of the heavenly bodies, and of all the phænomena of the atmosphere.—The same cord that brought him up his food, and water, might bring him up such books, and paper writings, as the age afforded.—The very strange, and long-continued, repeatedly lifting up of his arms, and his prostrations, in his devotions, which have been so oddly described, might afford him exercise sufficient for health:—the numerous votaries who came to consult him, and to ask for his prayers; to whom he preached; and with whom he could also certainly audibly converse, might prevent both what the French call *ennui*, and also depression of mind; whether he were a sincere, and good man; or even a crafty impostor; or a mad enthusiast.—In such a mild climate, where people in general, even delighted to sleep exposed on the roofs of their houses, a few garments would keep him warm.—And a sparing vegetable diet, would be the most wholesome.—On the top of his Pillar, he was not liable to be impertinently molested.—And his very long life, induces a suspicion at least, that he lived a tolerably comfortable one.—It was certainly an odd way of obtaining comfort, but it is by no means certain, that he did not obtain it, beyond his fellows beneath.

And as to the perilousness of his situation, it was most probably much less than has been apprehended;—for though, through deception of sight, to those standing on the ground, the top of his Pillar has been reported to have been *only about two feet and an half in diameter*, yet that must have been a mistake:—and from the very words used, in the History, of its gradual construction, it must have been large enough, the whole way

that any persons should mount the Pillar daily, either to feed him, or to keep him in such cleanliness as was even needful for existence.

up, for *a dwelling*, or *abode*;—probably at least seven feet in diameter, within the circular wall at the top.—And in such a situation a person might easily stand, in perfect safety; even though, for the sake of being seen, when preaching, he might mount himself upon an elevated *little column*, or pedestal, of two feet and an half in diameter, (possibly of wood, though somewhat like those on which the Statues of *Trajan*, and of *Antoninus* stood), placed in the midst of his upper flooring; which, after all, might probably be what was meant by the Pillar itself ending at the top in such small dimensions, as *Raderus* describes.

Whoever reads the account of the dreadful persecution, and torments endured by the Christians, in Egypt, and in Palestine, under *Decius*, and in the time of the Emperors *Maximinus*, and *Diocletian*, (as related by the good Eusebius, in his eighth Book, who was an eye-witness of the sufferings of many martyrs, and particularly of his own excellent friend, and instructor Pamphilus),* will not be at a loss to account for the manner, in which recluse dwelling in a wilderness, and with much self-denial, in the most retired, desert spots, and in the most sequestered manner, easily took place; and afterwards became habitual, in the early ages.—Much less will he be surprised, when he considers, how (even after the respite given in the first years of Constantine's reign) many good persons were driven, by the tyranny, and persecution of *Licinius*, to fly sequestered, (to use the words of Eusebius†), *to the fields, the deserts, the woods, and the mountains*;—to avoid being first imprisoned, and having their bodies cut into small pieces and flung into the sea, and the having those who did but look upon them, or shew them kindness in prison, subjected to the same punishment.

And on the other hand, whoever well considers what *Eusebius* says concerning the *attired philosophical habit*,‡ which Christians in those days wore, even as a mark of a contemplative, and serious mode of life, in order to recommend their profession, in the eyes of the wisest among the heathen; who themselves adopted that mode;—and whoever recollects what has been already said, in the preceding pages,§ of their *imitation of the Philosophers*,—will not be at a loss to discern, how *corruptions* crept in; even by the austerities of *Pillar Hermits*, or others.—Whilst, at the same time, whoever duly reflects upon what *Eusebius*, in the very same chapter,‖ honestly acknowledges, concerning the misconduct and selfish dispositions of several who had yet been *Christian Confessors*, (over which he wishes to draw a vail), will not wonder, that at last, in days of more quiet, any corruptions should take place; even to the degree that is mentioned by *Mosheim*, Vol. II. p. 124, 125, 130, 131, 171.

*Paul*, the first hermit, had fled from the persecution under *Decius*, about the year 250, into the desert of *Thebais*, at the age of twenty-two, and there lived to the age of 113.—And it has been justly suggested by *Mosheim*,¶—that as the *hermits' manner of life* first became common amongst Christians in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, as it had, long before the promulgation of the Gospel, been common in *Indies*:—*so in those arid*

* Lib. viii. ca. 29.
† Lib. viii. ca. 29.
‡ See p 46, in this Volume.
§ Lib. viii. ca. 30.
‖ Eusebius Eccl. His. lib. x. ca. 8.
¶ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 275.

The second *Symeon*, and the other *Stilites*, we are informed, like the first, *taught the gazing multitude*,* —*declaimed against heresy*,† —

and burning climates, the glowing atmosphere surrounding those countries, might even be a natural cause of a love of solitude, and repose, and of an indolent and melancholy disposition;—and it may be added, might also the more easily lead to holy contemplation.

It ought not to be forgotten, that even in later ages, and in these western parts of the world, about the seventh century, (according to the apprehensions of Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 171), the very first foundations of the great Reformation itself, were laid, by persons retiring to a sort of hermitical sequestration, in somewhat a similar manner, for quiet, and safety, into the Vallies of Piedmont, namely, the *Valdenses*, and *Vaudois*.

The excessive severities, and rigid austerites of the *Bramins* in India, are well known:—their fixed position for years, and to the end of their days, as statues, in one certain posture;—their self-tormenting of themselves; by hanging on hooks; and with fire.—The mistaken principles, and subtile doctrines, from whence the enduring of these penances proceeded, are also *now* well known.—But whereas the learned *Mosheim* attributes the first introduction of monkish austerities, and retirement, *to the Gnostic Christians, having adopted some principles of that Eastern philosophy*;‡ I must venture to add, that however such adoption of false philosophy, and false principles, might take place in the minds of Recluses *afterwards*, surely we need not go so far to account for the first *introduction* of these sequestered modes of dwelling, amongst Christians, and especially as we can hardly give credit to the supposition, that either *Paul*, or *Anthony*, or *Symeon*, had ever opportunities of acquiring such extensive learning, as should make them acquainted either with *Bramin opinions*, or with *Bramin usages*.—much less can we suppose, that *the enormous body of the monastic order*, (to use the words of *Mosheim* himself, Vol. II. p. 116, 117), *out of whom whole armies might have been raised, without any sensible dimunition*, (so rapid was its growth in a very few centuries,) could contain many members who had any such extensive erudition.

* Spanheim's Eccles. Hist. p. 1154.—Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 49, 50.

† Those that have ever remarked, with what advantage a voice is heard from an high Building, or from the top of a Rock, will not think it strange, that any one of these Pillars should have been sometimes made use of, by its inhabiting hermit, as a *preaching Tower*.

Nor should it be a matter of surprise, or any objection, that such preaching should be either in the open air, or near to a Church; when usages, of preaching in the open air, *near to* a Church, have taken place, even in those Western countries, where *Pillar Towers* were never introduced.—Somewhat such was the preaching of *Bishop Oswald*, about A. D. 983, to his crowded audiences, in the open area of St. Peter's Church, at *Worcester*;§ taking his stand near a stone cross, that was erected, over the remains of Duke *Wiferd*.—Such was originally the custom of preaching at *St. Paul's Cross*, at London; the practice of which, on special occasions, continued even till the Reformation: whilst Stow, in his Survey, professes (p. 357) that the "original, or antiquity of *Paul's Cross* was unknown to him;—such seem to have been the first *Spittle* (or *Spital*) *sermons*;

‡ See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 85, 135, 137, and Vol. II. p. 47, 49, 50.
§ Green's History of Worcester, Vol. I. p. 31.

*pretended to cast out devils,—to heal diseases,—and to foretel future events.*—And the second *Symeon* continued living upon his Pillar sixty-eight years.

With regard to Mr. Molyneux's conclusion,* that the *Irish Pillar Towers were built by the Danes;*—it is no more to be allowed, than that the great *British Barrows* were raised by the *Danes.*—For surely, there needs no stronger proof of the error of this conclusion, than that *the Danes* built no such Structures *in England*, where they made so much longer abode than in *Ireland:*†—nor are there any such Buildings known to exist, in any part of *Denmark* itself.—To which it may be added, that the words of *Cambrensis*, who visited Ireland only twelve years after the English Invasion of that country, evidently (in whatever manner translated) imply, that they were built, after a fashion, and usage, and according to an observance, that had been introduced (some how or other) *amongst the Irish themselves.* His words are,—*Turres Ecclesiasticas quæ, more Patriæ, arctæ sunt, et altæ, nec non rotundæ.*—And *more Patriæ—after the manner or observance of the country,*—must imply an usage, and observance, longer established than merely by an invasion of the *Danes;*—whilst (as Harris in his edition of Ware's Antiquities observes)‡ *Cambrensis*, whose constant inclination was to disparage the *Irish*, would have been glad to have given the credit of such ingenious Structures rather to the *Danes*, than to *them;*—if he could but have found any of the descendants of the *Danes*, (some of whom at that very time were even numbered amongst the Irish Prelates), who could have been able to sanction any such tradition:—a tradition, which, for the

—such was the preaching, in antient times, *in the Green-yard*, now annexed to the Bishop's Palace, near the Cathedral at Norwich;—and indeed such was the preaching in many other places, *near Stone Crosses.*

And it ought not to pass by unnoticed, that a very remarkable *large Cross* is actually found, still remaining, near the Pillar Tower at *Monaster Boyce*, (see Pl. LV. Fig. 3), and that *a cross* is also, carved, on the Pillar Tower at *Brechin*, (see Pl. LV. Fig. 1).

* In his Discourse, at the end of Boat's Natural History, p. 211.

† Ware's Antiquities, Harris's ed. p. 129. ‡ P. 132, 133.

honour of their ancestors, they would not have failed to have supported, had it been in their power.

And now, as the Pillar of the first *Symeon Stylites*, may, consistently with the fairest reasoning, be considered as some distant imitation, (though with different materials), of the Pillars of *Trajan*, and of *Antoninus*, at Rome, or of those at Constantinople;—it may not be amiss, for the sake of placing all that relates to the subject in one comprehensive, comparative point of view, to add the dimensions of those Pillars.

Trajan's Pillar at Rome is, according to some accounts,* one hundred and forty-four;—according to others,+ one hundred and twenty-four feet in height;—and according to Le Bruyn‡ only one hundred and twenty-three feet;—but according to Professor Martyn,§ one hundred and twenty-eight feet in height:—whilst Martin Folkes,‖ who measured every part separately, in 1736, makes the whole height, from the ground to the top of the cimatium of the Capital, 115 feet, $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

This difference in these accounts, however, may be tolerably well reconciled, by the measuring, or not measuring, together with the shaft of the Column, and its great Pedestal, the height of the Capital, and of the Statue, and of its little Base, or separate Pedestal, now placed at the top, which is just about twenty-one feet; and by the difference between Italian, French, and English feet: allowing for which, these apparently incongruous dimensions, agree nearly with the measures given us by *Bartoli*.

*Bartoli*, in his fine representation of this Column, and its Sculptures,¶ makes its whole

| | Feet. | Inches. |
|---|---|---|
| Diameter, at bottom, about 12 feet, 8 min,—that is rather more than $12\frac{1}{8}$ feet — — | 12 | $1\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto at the top — — — | 10 | 6 |
| Its whole diameter within, at the bottom — | 8 | 0 |

* Universal History, Vol. XV. p. 145.
‡ Le Bruyn, Vol. I. p. 153.
‖ Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 118.
+ Misson's Travels, Vol. III. p. 155.
§ Tour through Italy, p. 149.
¶ Printed at Rome, A. D. 1675.

| | Feet. | Inches. |
|---|---|---|
| The thickness of the stone cylindrical wall, 2 feet, 4 min,—that is rather more than $2\frac{1}{16}$ feet — | 2 | $0\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The width of the steps — — — | 2 | 6 |
| The Newel, or solid Pillar in the middle — | 3 | 0 |
| The height of its Shaft — — — | 90 | 6 |
| The height of its Capital — — — | 4 | 0 |
| The height of its Pedestal — — | 23 | 4 |
| The whole height — — — | 117 | 10 |
| The height of the Statue — — | 13 | 0 |
| And the height of the little Pedestal, on which the Statue is placed — — — | 8 | 0 |
| And the square of the great Pedestal, at bottom | 18 | 4 |
| Or with its projecting Base — — | 21 | 0 |

The whole *detail* of the exact dimensions of every part of the height, as given by *Bartoli*, are as follows:

| | Pie. | On. | Mi. | Pie. | On. | Mi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dado — — — | 2 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| Base del Piedestallo — | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | |
| Piedestallo — — | 10 | 3 | 0 | | | |
| Cornice — — | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| Guscio — — — | 2 | 3 | 0 | | | |
| Whole Pedestal — | 28 | 0 | 2 | 28 | 0 | 2 |
| Base cive il plinto col toro — | 5 | 6 | 0 | | | |
| Dall' imo scapo alla cima, compresoui tutto il Collarino, il fuso della Colonna è alto — | 90 | 6 | 0 | | | |
| Capitello — — | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Whole Pillar, with Base and Capital | 100 | 0 | 2 | 100 | 0 | 2 |
| Whole height of Column — — | | | | 128 | 0 | 2 |
| Piedestallo con la Cimasa — | 8 | 6 | 0 | | | |
| Base della Statua — | 8 | 0 | 0 | | | |

| | Pie. | On. | Mi. | Pie. | On. | Mi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Height of little Pedestal, and Base of Statue — — | 16 | 6 | 0 | 16 | 6 | 0 |
| Whole height from the ground to the feet of the Statue — — — | | | | 144 | 6 | 2 |
| Statua di S. Pietro — — — | | | | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Whole height, from the ground, of the Column, and of the little Pedestal, and Statue, all together — — — | | | | 157 | 6 | 2 |

This magnificent Column, Keysler says, is formed of thirty-four vast blocks of marble;—*whereof the Base consists of eight; the Pedestal of one stone; and the *torus* also of one; and the Capital of one: and the shaft, which alone, according to Bartoli, is ninety feet and an half; or, according to Professor Martyn,† ninety-two feet and an half in height; is composed of twenty-three great Cylinders, piled one upon another; from whence it would follow, that each of them must be about twelve feet in diameter, (the lower ones somewhat more, and the upper ones somewhat less) and must each be about four feet thick.—But Martin Folkes, who measured the whole in 1736, says,‡ there are eight stones in the Pedestal, nineteen in the Pillar, and three in the basis of the Statue; and that each of the cylindrical stones is either five, or nearly five feet thick. These great Cylinders have steps, for a staircase, hollowed out of the solid stone; and made winding round a solid Newel, or Pillar, left in the middle; —and of these steps there are one hundred and eighty-four, from the ground to the top of the Column.§

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the stones were

* Keysler's Travels, Vol. II. p. 460.

† The Botanical Professor at Cambridge. See his Tour in Italy, p. 149. Perhaps his measure includes the *torus*.

‡ Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 117.

§ Tradition says, that an Urn, containing the Ashes of Trajan, was formerly placed on the top of this Column.—And it has already been mentioned, in this Volume, p. 39, that a piece of the Sacred Cross, sent by the Empress Helena, from Jerusalem, was by her Son, the Emperor Constantine, inclosed in a Statue of himself, placed on the summit of a Column at Constantinople.

placed one upon another, without any cement;* and now have not even cramps to unite them; the Goths having wrenched them all out: nevertheless the whole Pillar stands as firm as ever; the inner surfaces of the stones having been worked so even, that the joints are scarcely visible. This Pillar was the work of the celebrated Architect, *Apollodorus* of Damascus; whose disregard for *Adrian's* skill cost him his life.

The same curious Investigator of Antient Remains, who has given us such exact delineations of *Trajan's* Pillar, has also delineated that of *Antoninus;* and makes the whole height of the Pillar of *Antoninus*, from the ground, to the summit, one hundred and sixty-eight feet;—the whole height of the Column itself being about one hundred and twenty-six feet, and of its great Pedestal about forty-two feet, and the diameter of its shaft between twelve and fourteen feet; whilst the side of the square Pedestal, at bottom, is twenty-eight feet.

Professor *Martyn*+ makes the shaft of the Pillar alone, to be one hundred and six feet high; which agrees very tolerably with *Bartoli's* measures, if we leave out the Capital, and the Torus, and Base of the Pillar.—Whilst as to Bartoli's measure of one hundred and sixty-eight feet, it will be found, (by any one who measures the elevation he has given, by the same scale as that of the Base), that the one hundred and sixty-eight feet, reach from the ground to the feet of the Statue of St. Paul; including not only the whole Base, and Pedestal of the Column, but the Pedestal also of the Statue.‡

* Vast and ponderous as these stones are, they are still surpassed, by that placed on the top of the Tomb of Theodoric; which has been already mentioned, Vol. I. p. 265; and is above thirty feet in diameter. It is above five feet in thickness; and some observers, measuring probably along the curvature at top, have made its diameter to be thirty-eight feet.

+ Tour through Italy, p. 149.—Misson says, Vol. III. p. 155, that the trunk of the Pillar is one hundred and sixty Roman feet high, which are equivalent to one hundred and fifty-five feet; that it consists of twenty-eight stones, and that the Stairs consist of two hundred and six steps.—This account, however, evidently includes the Pedestal, and is perplexed by the difference of French, and Roman, and English feet.—Keysler says, Vol. II. p. 456, the whole Column is one hundred and eighty feet high, and has one hundred and ninety-two steps; but he evidently takes in the height of the Statue.—In the *Parentalia*, it is said to be one hundred and seventy-two feet and an half in height, and only twelve feet three inches in diameter.

‡ A plummet line inadvertently placed, by the Engraver, may mislead any person, on a transient view, to suppose that the measure reached only to the *top of the Capital.*

The bass-reliefs on this Pillar are by no means so well carved as those on Trajan's; and it should indeed much rather be called the Pillar of *Marcus Aurelius*, than of *Antoninus*.

The height of the *Historical Pillar*, or Pillar of *Arcadius*, at Constantinople, was, according to Le Bruyn,* and Gyllius, one hundred and forty-seven feet.—But it was so environed with Houses, in Le Bruyn's time, that he could not himself examine its Base.—It stood in the *Aurat Basir*, or Woman's Market; and in Sandys's time was not so incumbered with Buildings.—He has given us a tolerable view of it;†—and his words are, "it was "to bee ascended within, far surpassing both *Trajan's*, and that "of *Antonius*, which I have seene in *Rome;* the workman having "so proportioned the figures, that the highest and lowest appeare "of one bignesse."—The same Author also saw the Pillar of *Constantine*, in the same City, and has given us the Greek inscription, which was to be seen near the top of it.‡

Pompey's Pillar, in Egypt, at Alexandria, is, according to Greaves,§ seventy feet in height; according to Le Bruyn,‖ ninety-four feet; and according to Norden,¶ and Pococke,** one hundred and fourteen feet, and its diameter only about nine feet. —But being so slender, it is solid, and has no Staircase within it. —The different measures given by Le Bruyn, and Pococke, may be tolerably reconciled, by adding, or leaving out, the Base, and

* Voyages De Le Bruyn, Tom. I. p. 153. † Sandy's Travels, p. 35.

‡ This fine *Historical Pillar* fell, about the year 1715.—Lady M. W. Montague says expressly, in her Letters, (Vol. I. p. 21), *it dropped down about two years before she visited Constantinople.*—Possibly it had been undermined by the Turks; who had been greatly enraged (as both Grellot, and Le Bruyn, Vol. I. p. 155, tell us), by a young traveller's imprudence; who, having with great difficulty obtained permission to ascend to the summit, not only exposed himself to sight, which he had been strictly cautioned not to do, but openly waved his handkerchief, at the end of his stick.—Le Bruyn saw, and greatly admired this Column, in the year 1677, and says, (Vol. I. p. 153), on the authority of P. Gyllius, that it was higher than that of *Trajan* at Rome, and had one hundred and forty-seven steps.—Pococke says merely, (Vol. II. Part II. p. 132), the Pillar was taken down about thirty years before he was at Constantinople.

§ See his Pyramidographia, Vol. II. p. 514.

‖ Le Bruyn's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 119.

¶ Norden's Travels, Vol. I. p. 9.

** Pococke, Vol. I. p. 8. By an observation of the shadow, he made the Pedestal to be above twelve feet high, exclusive of the foundation stones, or plinths;—the shaft of the Pillar about eighty-eight feet, nine inches high;—and the Capital about nine feet high.

Capital.—But it hardly is a proper object to be referred to, because it is not hollow.

The giving an exact account of the dimensions of *the Monument of London*, will, however, unquestionably be useful on this occasion; because it will enable us to form a more precise idea, of the apparent bulk, of all the *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars*, that we have been describing; and will comparatively lead to a more full investigation of the peculiarity of their Architecture.

The Monument of London, according to the description given of it, in the *Parentalia*;* and from actual measures, which I have myself caused to be taken, in order to supply what has been omitted in the *Parentalia*; is in its dimensions, as follows.

| | Feet. | Inches. |
|---|---|---|
| Diameter of the Shaft, at the bottom — | 15 | 0 |
| ——————— at the top — — | 14 | 4 |
| Its circumference — — — — | 45 | 0 |
| Its whole diameter, *within* — — | 9 | 0 |
| Thickness of its cylindrical wall, at bottom — | 3 | 0 |
| ——————— at the top — | 2 | 8 |
| Width of the steps — — — — | 3 | 0 |
| Breadth of each step, near the wall — | 1 | 3 |
| Depth of each step — — — — | 0 | 6 |
| Number of steps from the ground, 345. | | |
| Diameter of void circular space, left within the Staircase, instead of there being a Newel, or solid Pillar — — — — | 3 | 0 |
| Height of the Shaft of the Pillar, exclusive of its Base — — — — — | 130 | 6 |
| Whole height of the Column, from the pavement | 202 | 0 |
| Height of the Cippus, or Meta, at top — | 32 | 0 |
| Height of the great Pedestal, at bottom — | 40 | 0 |
| Side of the Plinth of the great square Pedestal, at the bottom of the whole — — | 28 | 0 |

And now, finally, the placing before the eye, at once in the following table, the entire diameters;—and the *diameters within*;—and the thickness of the cylindrical walls;—and the respective heights of all these *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars* (as far as they have been ascertained); may perhaps tend to fling still greater additional light upon the subject.

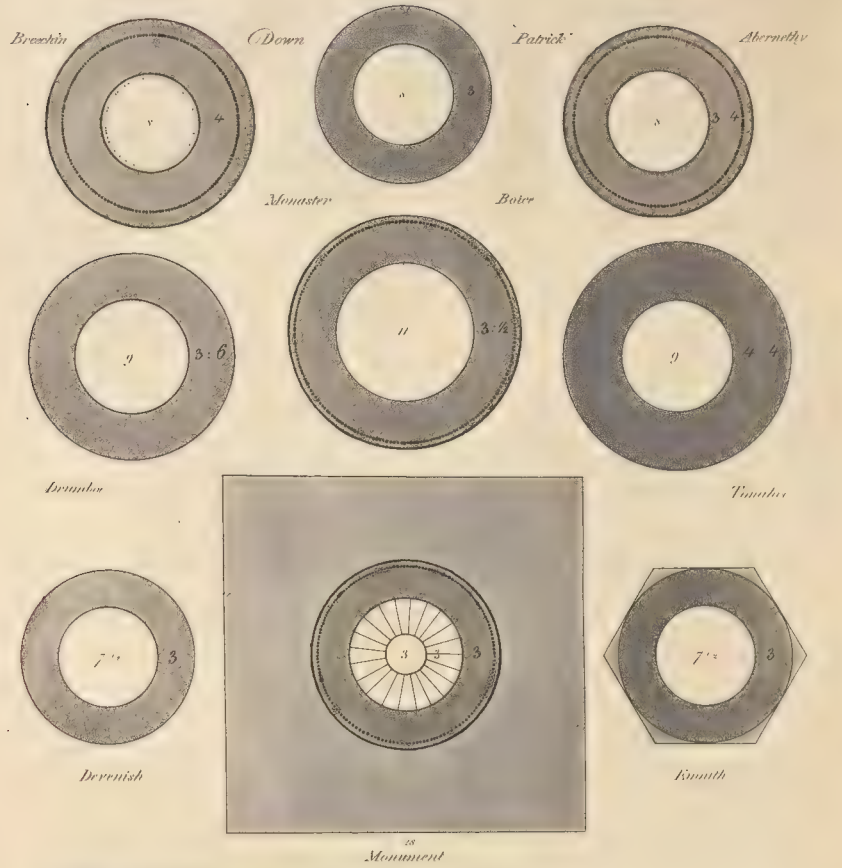
* Parentalia, p. 322.

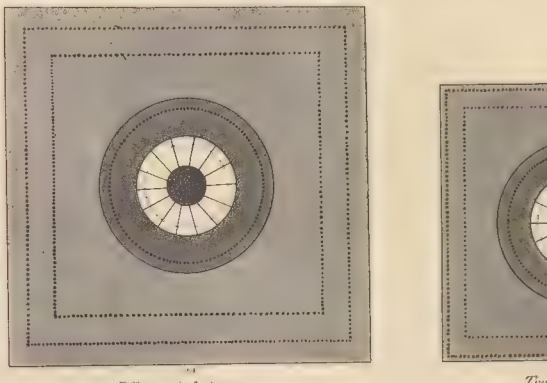
These dimensions are as follows.*

| | Whole diameter at bottom. | | Diameter within. | | Thickness of the circular Wall. | | Present Height. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. |
| Tower at *Brechin*, in Scotland - | 16 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 80 | 0 |
| at *Abernethy*, in Scotland | 14 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 75 | 0 |
| Tower at *Ardmore*, in Ireland - | 15 | 0 | 8 | 0 | - | - | 100 | 0 |
| at *Cloyne* - - | 16 | 0 | 10 | 0 | - | - | 92 | 0 |
| at *Kinnith* - - | 13 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 70 | 0 |
| at *Drumboe*† - - | 16 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 35 | 0 |
| at *Down Patrick* - | 14 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 60 | 0 |
| at *Devenish* - - | 13 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 76 | 0 |
| at *Kildare* - - | 15 | 0 | 8 | 0 | - | - | 132 | 0 |
| at *Donoghmore* - | 15 | 0 | 8 | 0 | - | - | - | - |
| at *St. Canice* - - | 15 | 0 | 8 | 0 | - | - | - | - |
| at *Clondalkin* - - | 15 | 0 | 8 | 0 | - | - | 84 | 0 |
| at *Cashel* - - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| at *Seven Churches* - | 17 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 110 | 0 |
| at *Kilcullen*‡ - - | 15 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 40 | 0 |
| at *Turlogh* - - | 16 | 0 | 9 | 0 | - | - | 70 | 0 |
| at *Timahoe* - - | 17 | 8 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 4 | - | - |
| at *Ardfert* - - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 120 | 0 |
| at *Monaster Boice* - | 18 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 110 | 0 |
| at *Kilmacduach* - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| at *Clonmacnois*, O'Rourke's | 19 | 0 | 12 | 0 | - | - | 62 | 0 |
| at *Clonmacnois*, M'Carthy's | 13 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 56 | 0 |
| Trajan's Pillar, at Rome, is, in the dimensions of its Shaft - | 12 | 1½ | 8 | 0 | 2 | 0¾ | 92 | 6 |
| Antoninus's Pillar is, in the dimensions of its Shaft - | 12 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 106 | 0 |
| Arcadius's Pillar, at Constantinople, must have been about - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 100 | 0 |
| Pompey's Column, in Egypt - | 9 | 0 | - | - | - | - | 88 | 9 |
| The Monument at London, is, in the dimensions of its Shaft - | 15 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 130 | 6 |

* In this table I have given the *diameters within*; and the *thickness of the cylindrical walls*, only in those *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars*, where they have been *actually* measured: —but the *entire diameters* of all, where the inside has been measured, are given; computing the thickness of the walls (where that has not been *actually* measured) as being generally three feet and an half.

† ‡ A part of each of these two Towers, has either been taken down; or has fallen down.




Plans of Pillars & Pillar Towers

E.K. del.t

J.C. Stadler

In Pl. LVIII. for further illustration, are added, Plans of several of these *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars*, drawn upon one and the same scale: and the *nearness* of the proportions, with regard to the *diameters within*, and with regard to the *thickness of the walls*, both in the *Hermits' Pillar Towers*, and in the *Pillars* of *Trajan*, and *Antoninus*, cannot but be striking to every eye, and to the conviction of every mind.

Perhaps the reason why no traces of any mode of ascent, except by a ladder, in any of the Pillar Towers in *Ireland*, are ever found, may have been; not only that they were *designedly* constructed originally without any Staircase, for the sake of rendering the Hermit's abode more secure, and inaccessible by this means; as well as by the height of the door from the ground; but it may also have been, in part, a consequence of want of skill, or of means to obtain stones hewn large enough to build one.*

If the Pillar of *Symeon*, and other *Hermit's* Pillars in *Syria*, and

* I am not aware of there having been any *Pillar*, or any *tall, slender Tower*, built any where in the world, *with small stones, such as might be carried up by hand, on a ladder*, before the time of *Symeon Stylites;* or even before the time, when some of the Pillar Towers in *Ireland* must have existed.

And on this occasion, it is perhaps a justice due to the memory of our great, and celebrated Architect, *Sir Christopher Wren*, to add, that on close examination, and due consideration, his fine Column, *the Monument of London*, appears to surpass all the other Pillars, and Pillar Towers, in the World, in its ingenious construction.—For whilst we admire the magnificence of the Pillars of *Trajan*, and of *Antoninus;* and their immense stones, twelve feet and an half in diameter, and above four feet thick, (which must probably have been conveyed up by artificial mounts; and whose Staircase, hollowed within them, for greater strength has *a solid Newel, or Pillar, left in the midst*); —it ought to be considered, that the Monument of London, whose Shaft is so much higher than either, is not only composed of stones of small scantlings, but has a geometrical Staircase, *without any Newel, or central Pillar*, and apparently as it were hanging in the air;—to which may be added, that the whole Shaft was *fluted*, after it was built;—and yet, notwithstanding the vain fears of some spectators, this Column is probably as firm, and as capable of standing for ages, as either of the others.—Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the Staircase, instead of having uneasy deep steps like those, has an easy ascent, the whole way up; the steps being each only six inches deep; and there being about twenty-one steps in each whirl; whereas, in the Pillars of *Trajan*, and of *Antoninus*, there are (according to *Bartoli*) only fourteen steps in each whirl. See the Parentalia, p. 322, 323.

Surely it required more science, and skill, and more wonderful artificial contrivance, to rear such a Structure, and Staircase, as was this work of *Sir Christopher Wren;* than

if the *Irish Pillar Towers*, were each built, by slow, and gradual degrees, by each Hermit himself; (as was very possibly the case); they must all have been built with *small stones*, such as one man alone might easily carry up upon a ladder:—and with such the *Irish Towers* do indeed appear to have been actually built.—And, in that case, their Architecture not only forms a curious contrast, to the vast *cylindrical blocks*, of which the magnificent Pillars of *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *Arcadius*, were constructed; but this mode of rearing *lofty Edifices*, merely *with small stones*, and by means only of a ladder, might even first give the hint to those *Fraternities of Builders*, who afterwards contrived to rear the magnificent Pillars of so many fine Cathedrals, with their vast *pointed Arches*; —and might be even a means of bringing *the pointed Arch* into use.*

even to hew out of the quarry, and to place in their proper situations, by means of artificial mounts, raised on the occasion, and by the help of rollers, those vast stones, of which the work of *Apollodorus* was constructed; and to hew out of their substance a *Newel Staircase*.

* In the *Parentalia*, (p. 306, 307), amongst the many curious remarks made by *Sir Christopher Wren*, and the interesting circumstances said to have been noticed by him, is the following.—That some Italians, in concert with some *Greek Refugees*, and with some *French*, *Germans*, and *Flemings*, joined into *a fraternity of Architects*, (about the time that the Saracens, and Turks, destroyed the Eastern Empire); and having obtained *Papal Bulls*, stiled themselves *Free-masons*, and for some ages, ranged, from one nation to another, where-ever they could find employment, to build Churches;—that they accommodated their Architecture to such materials as every country readily afforded;—that few stones were ever used by them, but what one man might carry up a ladder;—that they had no need of great engines;—stone upon stone being easily piled up to great heights;—and that they used the sharp-headed Arch, (*the pointed Arch*), which would rise *with little centering*;—required lighter key-stones;—and less butment;—and yet would bear another row of doubled Arches, rising from the key-stone;—or even (as is observed in another place, p. 297) might stand without any key-stone at all.—The substance of this account, I have now thus extracted, and here inserted, because it tends to shew, that this mode of raising *lofty Buildings*, with *small stones*, was derived from *Greek Architects*;—and from *Refugees*, who had been members *of the Eastern Church*:—though I can by no means accede to Sir Christopher Wren's conclusion, that *the pointed Arch* was derived from *the Saracens*:—or even introduced in Syria, or the East, or on the Continent of Europe, before it had been introduced in England: and shall be able, if I live to complete this Work, to bring strong proofs to the contrary; when I come to speak of the first introduction of *the pointed Arch*.

The accurate, and indefatigable Mr. Essex, has ascertained, by means of repeated examination, that the stones used by the Architects, employed by the *Saxons*, and *Normans*, seldom exceeded seven or eight inches in their dimensions. See his very curious account in the Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 94, 95, 98, 103.

—For it was not till the twelfth century, that *Hermits dwelling on Pillars*, was put an end to.*

It is a very curious circumstance, to discern, how Christianity, even in the midst of all its corruptions, has yet tended continually to preserve, extend, and increase the knowledge of useful arts;—and to civilize the most distant parts of the earth.

And though not only *Stylites*, or Pillar Hermits; but St. *Patrick*, and *Congall*, and St. *Columba*, and other of the first rough Preachers of The Holy Gospel, amongst the Irish, the Picts, and the Scots; and also *Winfrid*, (or *Boniface*) and *Lebuin*, our countrymen, who first converted the Germans;—and *Corbinian*, and *Firmin*, Gauls, who converted the Swiss to the Christian faith; may deserve the censures which *Mosheim* has passed upon some parts of their conduct:†—yet it ought ever to be considered, that rude, ignorant, prejudiced, and savage barbarians, could at first be brought to attend to Divine Truth,—and to hear with any effect,—only by means adapted to their state, and capacities:—and that, after all,—by the pious labours, and hard endurance of these zealous men, these savage countries *were actually converted* (though in an imperfect manner) to Christianity;—and *Civilization was with effect begun*;—leading the way, to what we cannot but acknowledge with gratitude, even amidst all the troubles that still prevail in the world, to be a much improved state of things on earth;—and a prelude to the accomplishment of that final Mighty Work, (by whatever means Infinite Wisdom shall think fit to bring it to pass), when *The whole earth shall become full of the Knowledge of THE LORD;* and Universal Good Will shall prevail.

* See Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 50.

† Vol. II. p. 117, 207.

‡ Isaiah, ch. 11, ver. 9.—With regard to the rude preaching, and labours of the *Pillar Hermits;* and also of the early Missionaries, concerning whom we have been speaking; surely we ought not to lose sight of, but even deeply to consider, the very remarkable words of the Great Apostle of the Gentiles.—(Philippians, chap. i. ver. 15, 16, 17, 18).—*Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife: and some also of good will.—The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, but supposing to add affliction to my bonds:—but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel.—What then?—Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached: and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.*

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OF SOME FEW

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AND OF SOME

## PECULIAR PASSAGES;

IN

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# APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

## ANSWERS TO M. P. L. DUTENS.

AN

# APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

## ANSWERS TO M. P. L. DUTENS,

IN REPLY TO

HIS SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH PUBLICATIONS,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

## INVENTION OF THE ARCH,

BY

EDWARD KING, ESQ. F.R.S. F.A.S.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Appendix, and the Introduction to the Fourth Volume of the Munimenta Antiqua, will henceforth be sold separately from the Fourth Volume;—and may afterwards, by any Purchaser, be either bound up together by themselves; or with the Fourth Volume.—For which purpose (and to bring the investigation of the subject the more completely into one point of view,) a distinct Index is added to these two Tracts; which has references also to the pages in the Second Volume, that relate to the Invention of the Arch.

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# APPENDIX.

As the only object, in pursuit of which, I have indulged a spirit of inquiry, and have ventured to communicate my thoughts, and conclusions to the Public, was the sincere investigation of truth: —and as I ever have professed, and still do profess, to avoid the imposing opinions upon any man;—and only wish *to state facts fairly*, leaving every one to form his own judgment;—so now, though I deem myself called upon, in support of the cause of truth, to reply to the somewhat dogmatising observations of M. L. Dutens, in his *second* publication, which he has sent to me, on the subject *of the Invention of the Arch*, yet I shall content myself simply, with clearing from confusion, such things as obviously have been by him confounded together, and deserve to be *distinguished*, one from another;—with answering his gross misrepresentations, concerning my remarks;—and with explaining, a little more fully, what appears to have been misapprehended;—not even retorting the words of Mr. Dutens, which he has thought fit to make use of with regard to me,—*il me remerciera alors de lui avoir donné l'occasion de rectifier son erreur*.—I cannot but assure him, however, at the same time, that as far as I can deduce any conclusions from positive facts, I must not only (instead of returning him thanks) still be led to adhere to my former apprehensions, as expressed in the Introduction to this Volume, concerning *the date of the Invention of the Arch;* but must, since his last publication, be now even more strongly induced to do so than before.—To elucidate my reasons for this; I shall now make my Remarks, on his last Publication, page by page.

M. L. Dutens begins these observations of his, with saying

that the words, גב, גבים, in Hebrew, κοιλοσταθμέω, in Greek,—and *fornix* in Latin,—have always been explained in Dictionaries, and by Translators, by the words, "*voûtes, arches, arcades,*" in French.—But this proves nothing:—for in reality κοιλοσταθμέω signifies merely, in its true import, *I form a cavity*, or *covered place:—fornix*, in Latin, was a word in common use, which, even long after *arches* were really constructed, equally applied to them; and also to flues, which were *covered with flat tiles*, and had nothing like *an arch* in their construction:—and *voûte*, in French, means any place, *covered over-head, by the meeting of inclining sides*, whether really *arched*, or not:—and hence arises Mr. *Dutens* confusion of ideas;—whilst, at the same time, he himself allows, that these words also signify κυρτὸς, *dorsum;*—that is, in plain English, mere *back*, or *covering*.

He then adds, that ἀψὶς,—ψαλὶς,—καμάρα,—θόλος,—signify *apsis*, —*fornix*,—*concameratio*,—*tholus*, in Latin;—and *voûte*,—*arc*,—*arcade*,—*dôme*, in French.—But whilst we cannot but observe, that neither καμάρα, nor *concameratio*, were ever before thought of as describing *an arch*, or properly an *arched covering*, it must be, and ought to be added, that if even the words *apsis*,—and *tholus*, —and *voûte*,—can be supposed, in the ideas of any translators, really to have meant, always, some structure *formed by regular arches*, that yet, after all, this is substituting for truth, and fact, without allowing any opportunity for fair investigation, and inquiry, the mere *ipse dixit* of a *Translator;* whilst we too well know, that Translators do very often err in the choice, and application of words.

It is unquestionably true, that *after* the invention of *the arch*, these words, for want of more copious expressions, and instead of forming *new ones*, were frequently used by *Greek Writers*, to describe *arched* Buildings;—and this easily occasions confusion, in some instances.—But that confusion ought as much as possible to be now avoided;—and especially in instances, where the context, and even the precise description of *the manner* in which the Building was constructed, shew that *no real arch* was intended to be described by the word.

The real purport of a Lexicon, is to give *all* the different senses in which a word is made use of; and as far as possible to shew, by the context, as H. Stephens has done, in what manner it is applied on different occasions.—And it is confounding truth, to suppose, that because the words in question have been sometimes so applied as to denote *really arched* Buildings, that therefore they *always* did denote such.

Very doubtful indeed, must be the authority of French Translators, or indeed of any *mere Translators*, whose attention is generally confined to mere words, instead of being led to investigate the real nature of things; and who cannot be expected to have had leisure, or opportunity, sufficiently to examine existing remains of Architecture.

How should such persons come at the knowledge of *such* facts, as were necessary for the elucidation of a curious and intricate subject of this kind?—And what sort of credit can be given to the mere *ipse dixit* of any one of them, translating only in the best manner he was able, as far as the *imperfection* of language, and his *preconceived* ideas would permit?—Their authority, in this respect, is, in reality, no authority to be depended upon.

Mr. *Dutens* then proceeds (in p. 4) to cite the description of the Royal Treasury of *Orchomène*,—*bati* 1350 *ans avant J. C. par le Roy Minyas*;—as it appeared when seen by *Pausanias*.—But to say nothing of the probability, that the Building seen by Pausanias, the Traveller, near one hundred and fifty years after the beginning of the Christian æra, was a mere re-edification of that which had been built 1350 years A. C,—the very words of the Greek* shew, that Pausanias himself really does not describe what can be concived to have been an *arched dome*:—and even the words of the *French* translation, produced by Mr. Dutens himself, prove

* A precise *close translation of these words* has already been given, in my Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 17, concerning the Arch:—from whence it seems most obvious, that the covering was of the form of the *frustrum* of a cone;—*conical;* only *not continued up to a sharp point*.—The same description as that of *Pausanias*, might very well be given of several most antient Hindoo Structures, still remaining in India, in which there is, nevertheless, nothing like an *arch*, or an *arched dome*.

the same thing;—for "*une espèce de rotonde un peu applatie;*"—*a kind of rotunda, a little flattened,* can never mean *a really arched dome,* if the words, *a little flattened,* have any meaning at all.

He then, in the same page, mentions two *Tombes,* of *Atreus,* and *Agamemnon,* which are *en voûte conique, ou en forme de bonnet*:——But Structures of such forms, can surely never have been *hemispherical domes.*—By way of confirmation, however, of their proving the high antiquity of *Arches,* he adds, on the authority of *M. Thomas Hope,* "*dont les talens et la profonde intelligence dans l'architecture et le dessin sont si bien connus,*" that the Walls of Mycène, and the Tombs, were of the same sort of stone. This to be sure proves, that the strata of the quarry, from whence they were taken, did certainly exist before that City, or the Tombs, or the Treasury, were built; but it does not prove that, either *a rotunda,* (*un peu applatie*) *a little flattened,*—or *un voûte conique,*—(*a vault in form of a cone*), were any thing like *real Arches.*—Yet does Mr. Dutens affirm, (p. 5,) "*On ne peut guères desirer de plus fortes preuves de l'existence des voûtes long-tems avant le siècle d'Auguste.*"

It is strange that he cannot yet perceive, that *a vaulting,* and a really *arched vaulting,* are far from being necessarily the same thing.

P. 5 and 6, contain observations, that require no notice on this occasion.

But in (p. 7,) Mr. Dutens says, that *Sonini* describes *une voûte,* in the Ruins of *Canopus,* in Egypt;—and that *Paul Lucas* describes Bridges with fifteen arches; and some fine Aqueducts in Egypt.—I will add, so also do *Pococke,* and *Norden,* and other Travellers, describe both *Bridges,* and *Aqueducts* in Egypt.—But if Mr. *Dutens* will take the trouble to attend properly to them, he will find, that those Arches, and Aqueducts, are so far from being proofs of the existence of Arches, *before the time of Augustus,* that they are indeed, most of them, the works of the *Saracens;** and several have even *Saracen inscriptions* upon them; to say nothing

* Some of these Causeways, and Bridges, have been already described by me, in the first Volume of the Munimenta, p. 261, 262.

as to the rest, of the Emperor *Adrian,* (at whose command Arches are well known to have been constructed all over the Roman Empire,) having himself actually been in Egypt, and at *Canopus*; and of his having caused many Buildings to be reared in Egypt.

Mr. Dutens (in the same page) then cites *Maillet,* as describing *de longues voûtes* in the famous antient Labyrinth of Egypt.—But here again he suffers the general meaning of the word *voûte* to mislead him.—For from the exact, and particular description of the very mode of construction of the apartments of the Labyrinth, given us by Herodotus, whose words have been exactly cited by me, and closely translated, in Vol. II. p. 240, 241; as well as from the positive affirmation of *Pococke,* that the walls, even of the larger, and better rooms, *were covered with large stones of such a length as to be laid from wall to wall,* it appears, that these *de longues voûtes,* were *vaults* covered with *flat stones.*—Mr. Dutens nevertheless thinks fit to add, in (p. 22, 23,) "*Mr. King allègue le silence de Pocock comme une preuve que le Labyrinthe d'Egypte n'étoit pas soutenu par des voûtes;*"—(whereas Pococke is *not silent;* neither have I ever made any *such allegation* in my Book).—And then, in order to prove the existence of *Arches* in the Labyrinth, he refers to the representations of *Paul Lucas,* which we well know are of very slight authority;—indeed of no authority whatever;—and exults, saying, "*Pocock n'avoit pas vu cet édifice.—Paul Lucas l'avoit visité, et nous en a donné le dessin.—Preuve affirmative contre une négative.*"

*Mr. Dutens* would, perhaps, do well to read, before he writes;—and also to consider a little more closely.*—For those who carefully

* Mr. Dutens says, in his *Avant Propos,* speaking of his undertaking to investigate the subject concerning *Arches;—Je consacrai quelques heures de loisir à ce travail;*—I devoted *a few hours of leisure to this subject;*—but he ought to know, and to be informed, that *a few hours of leisure* devoted to *such* a subject, by a person who had never considered it before, were not *sufficient* for such an investigation, as should give him authority, to decide in so dictatorial a manner, against the result of the long, cautious, and patient enquiry, continued for many years, by one who was most careful in examining *the original text of antient Authors,* and who did not adopt his own conclusions, till compelled by the force of truth, and of indisputable facts;—and who really was inclined to think originally as Mr. Dutens does.

examine *his References* to Travellers, may perhaps find out, that some other of those which he refers to, as *voûtes*, were in fact, mere souterrains covered with *flat stones;* and that not one of his references, are of Buildings *whose dates are sufficiently ascertained*, to prove any thing to the purpose.—Surely nothing can be more unfair than to make use of this argument, (as he does, p. 8), in order to persuade us, that there existed *Arches* in the *Labyrinth*, though *Herodotus* did not see them;—" *et si Hérodote ne parle pas des voûtes qui soutenoient ce bâtiment, il en donne la raison, lorsqu'il dit qu'il ne lui avoit pas été permis de voir la partie inférieure.*"—When we are assured *Herodotus* saw the whole *interiour of the Building above ground;* though he saw not the subterraneous part. And when moreover what he says concerning it, is quite sufficient to discover the error of *Paul Lucas's* representations.

Mr. Dutens very artfully affirms, in the same page,—" *Mr. King dit que Pococke ne parle pas des voûtes du Labyrinthe; cela n'est pas étonnant: Pococke n'avoit pas visité cet édifice.*"—But how Mr. Dutens can venture either to put such words into my mouth, instead of the plain account I gave;—or to affirm that Pococke *never visited* the Labyrinth;—is to me very astonishing; because Pococke himself twice tells us positively the very contrary; and gives an exact description, *in three folio pages*, (Vol. I. p. 61, 62,) of his " *Going over the spot of this famous Building;*" and uses expressly these very words,—" *at length we came to the grand Building itself:*"—of which he then gives a very particular account; describing the *very pillars*, to be such as might support either long stones, or beams of timber; and such as may much rather be understood to have been meant by *Pliny*, in his description, than any thing like *Arches*.—And Pococke, after this, describes some of the rooms, as being still " *covered with large stones of such a length as to be laid from wall to wall;*"—(just, in truth, in the same manner as those that cover the great chamber, in the Great Pyramid).

Mr. Dutens' account (p. 8,)—" *de la Fontaine des Amans avec une belle voûte, et deux sépulcres couverts d'hiéroglyphiques;*"—is too ridiculous to be mentioned seriously, as a proof of the existence

of Arches *before* the time of Augustus.—One would almost think, that *Mr. Dutens* really depended upon a supposed ignorance, and want of judgment in some of his readers; and upon the indolence of others.—Surely he cannot have forgotten, that all over Egypt, antient remains of Sepulchres, Sarcophagi, and of fragments covered with hieroglyphicks, have been continually used, with other materials, and worked up in the walls of subsequent, and of modern Buildings.

Mr. Dutens, (p. 9,) then says,—Strabo speaks "*des célèbres Jardins de Semiramis, à Babylone, élevés sur les remparts de cette ville, et soutenus par des voûtes :*"—and adds, that Diodorus Siculus speaks of them in nearly the same terms.

But to say nothing of Mr. Dutens's mistake, concerning their being *upon the ramparts of Babylon*, (whereas they were nearly in the midst of the City);—nor concerning what I have already mentioned,* as to Dean Prideaux's mistake, when he speaks of these Gardens, as *being sustained by vast Arches, built upon Arches, one above another*;—if Mr. Dutens would have taken the trouble *to read* what I had written,† *before* he undertook to write against me, he might have found, from the *very precise, and exact descriptions*, given both by *Diodorus*, and by *Quintus Curtius*, of the *very manner*, in which these vaultings of the Hanging Gardens were formed, that there neither was, nor *could be*, any such thing, as a *real Arch* in them.

He then (p. 9) further adds, that Diodorus mentions *the Subterraneous Passage*, which Semiramis caused to be made, *under the Euphrates*, and says,—"*Le savant et judicieux Major Rennel, dans son excellent Traité de la Géographie d'Hérodote, compare cet ouvrage au canal projeté sur la Tamise, pour la communication des comtés de Kent et d'Essex, et qui devoit être construit en voûtes.*"—But as, on the one hand, Mr. Dutens might have seen, from an examination of the words of *Diodorus* himself, concerning the *precise manner* in which that Subterraneous Passage under the *Euphrates* was constructed, (which words I have given, with minute precision, in

* Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 249.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.

my former observations*), that there really was *no Arch* in that *Subterraneous vaulted Passage*, any more than *in the Great vaulted Gallery* of the first Pyramid in Egypt; and might also have seen, *how* it was actually formed, and built;—so I must inform him, that I have every reason to be assured, that Major Rennell himself, is now convinced, that there was *no Arch* introduced in the construction of that Passage.

Mr. Dutens then proceeds (p. 9) to insist upon the existence of *Arches, in the Temple of Solomon;*—and this he does, almost solely, on the authority of Lexicographers, and of the words made use of by some translators.—But as, in reality, that can hardly be deemed any authority at all, since the business of Lexicographers, is rather to attend to mere words, and common language, than to the real difference of things, and to the nice variation, and exact distinction of things, which, as arts and science increase, require many new additions to the words of every tongue on the face of the earth, in order to convey precise ideas; and demand a more copious language, than was common in early ages;—and as, in truth, our plain excellent English translation, *does never mention the word ARCH, from one end of the Holy Scriptures to the other*, in any one passage that I can by any possibility find, except in Ezekiel, ch. xl. v. 16;† (where it seems

* Ibid. Vol. II. p. 246, 247.

† The verse is,—Ezekiel, ch. xl. v. 16.—*And there were narrow windows to the little Chambers, and to their posts within the gate round about, and likewise to the Arches: and windows were round about inward: and upon each post were palm trees.*—But it deserves to be remarked, that in the marginal emendations of our English translation, the word *Galleries* is substituted instead of *Arches*:—and that there is not the least authority for supposing *Arches* to be intended here, from the Greek Septuagint translation:—for the word which the Greek Translators use, is Αιλαμ, a word not vernacular to the Greek language;—nothing *at all like it* being to be met with, even in H. Stephens's Thesaurus, except it be in one place, in his Appendix, where he says, p. 310,—Αίλα apud Cyprios pro καλὰ dici, tradit Etymol. &c. which word therefore certainly has no affinity to Αιλαμ. And it is very remarkable, that in the very same verse, this word is, by our English Translators, twice translated *post*.—The Greek Septuagint translation is,—ver. 16.—Καὶ θυρίδες κρυπταὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Θειλμ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰλὰμ ἔσωθεν τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς κυκλόθεν· καὶ ὡσαύτως τοῖς Αἰλὰμ θυρίδες κύκλῳ ἔσωθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰλὰμ φοίνικες ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν.—And though there is a little difference in some of the other words, in the Vatican copy, yet, in like manner, it repeats the word Αιλαμ, three times.

to have been used inadvertently; and where it even renders the passage unintelligible) ;—so I must again say, that if Mr. Dutens, *before* he so eagerly undertook to dictate, would have employed *a little of his leisure to peruse*, what (with great reverence, and caution,) I did venture to write upon the subject,* he would have found, that even from the *full account* given in the Sacred Writings of *the very manner*, in which both the Temple of *Solomon*, and the Houses built by *Solomon*, were constructed, it appears, that there were no *real Arches* whatever, either in the Holy Temple, or in those Buildings.—And that further it appears, from the testimony of *Josephus*, and from many particulars related by *Josephus*, even concerning the Second Temple; that there were not any *Arches* even in *that* Sacred Structure, except it was in the magnificent Gateway, built by *King Herod*.

In (p. 10, 11, and again in p. 15, 16,) *Mr. Dutens* produces a number of very short citations, from the accounts of several *Travellers*, concerning *des voûtes*, found in the ruins of many antient Cities; which he flings like dust in our eyes, to hide the truth ;—not considering, that not one of these citations do properly prove any thing.—For, in the first place, the Buildings he refers to, will, on close examination, be found, either to have had coverings, which though they might be called *vaultings*, were not arches, or *arched vaultings*.—And in the next place where any of them were really *arched;* yet there is no sort of proof of *their* having been constructed *before* the time of *Augustus;* nor any more reason for the concluding them to have been so, than there would be, to conclude *St. Paul's*, and *Westminster Abbey*, to have been as antient as the first Building of London.—The Greek Colonies, in Ionia, and other parts of Asia Minor ;—Magnesia,—Ephesus,—Miletus,—Mylasa,—Troas,—Patara,—and Halicarnassus,—whose Buildings Mr. Dutens refers to, had all of them, as well as Athens itself, various Buildings, constructed, *at different times*, from age to age ;—and could hardly escape from having Structures reared in them by the command of the Emperor *Adrian;* whose reign was almost wholly employed in travelling

* Munimenta, Vol. II. p. 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228.

over the Empire, and in causing, every where, new Structures to be raised.

Mr. *Dutens* again persists, (p. 11) in mentioning the Lantern of Demosthenes, at Athens, as an instance of an *arched vault;*—referring to a representation, by *Stewart*, of—*la section de la coupole de ce monument, la Planche* VIII. fig. 3.—But he might have seen, both from a more careful examination of Mr. Stewart's Plates, and from the facts I alledged in my former reply to him,* that the covering is *a mere hollowed single stone;* and has no such thing as an *architectural Arch*, appertaining to it;—whilst the diameter of the whole Building within is only about five feet.

Mr. *Dutens* then, on the authority of a French Translator of Plutarch, ventures to mention the Temple of Minerva, built by Pericles, at Athens, as having *a Dome*, or *Cupola;* when the original words of *Plutarch*, even as cited by Mr. Dutens himself, do really imply no such thing:—and when the Ruins of the Temple, still remaining, and minutely examined by Mr. *Reveley*, shew that there was nothing like *an Arch* in it, any more than in the Temples at Pæstum;—nor indeed was there an Arch, in any of the Buildings of *Pericles*.

The fair translation of the words of Plutarch, which I transcribe exactly from Mr. Dutens giving of them, *Τὸ δὲ ὀπαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενόχλης ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε*, is surely, when as closely translated as possible,+ neither more nor less than,—that *the opening for the smoke, over (or upon) the Temple, Zenocles the Cholargian formed at top.*—This leaves us entirely without any particular information *how* it was formed.—And when there are no vestiges appearing, in the well-known Remains of the Temple, of any thing like *the necessary supports of a dome*, it is surely great presumption to conclude, that there must have been one.—Almost any thing, however remote from the true meaning, may be

* Introduction to Vol. IV. of the Munimenta, p. 15.

+ Even the Latin translation, which Mr. *Dutens* introduces in a note is—"Fastigio "adyti fenestram addidit Cholargensis Xenocles."—Plutarchus in Vita Periclis, edit. Reisk, p. 619, Tome I.—And how *fenestra* must be concluded to mean either *a dome*, or *a cupola*, I cannot see.

concluded, or inferred from words, by such a lax mode of construction.

Mr. *Dutens* then (p. 12) cites, in a very unfair manner, the authority of *Seneca;*—not giving his express words, but, as it appears to me, misrepresenting them.

He says,—*Sénèque, en sa 90 épître, dit qu'il ne peut croire que Démocrite (qui florissoit 450 ans avant J. Ch.) fut, comme on le disoit, l'inventeur des voûtes,* " *contre le témoignage évident, ajoute-t-il, de tant* " *de monumens de cette espèce qui étoient élevés avant lui.*" *Cela recule* " *l'usage des voûtes en Grèce, plus de cinq siècles avant J. Ch.*

These are the very words of Mr. *Dutens* (p. 12);—but I cannot find them to be consistent with facts.—For, in the first place, *Democritus*, we know, died only 361 years A. C. and therefore, the days of his flourishing could not well be 450 years A. C. —And in the next place, I cannot discover any *such words*, as Mr. *Dutens* cites, in *Seneca's* Ninetieth Epistle, from one end to the other; nor in any of his Epistles whatever.—The only words to be found in *Seneca's* Ninetieth Epistle, are those which I have exactly given *before*.*

" *Democritus, inquit*, says Seneca, (referring, by this word, *inquit*, to Posidonius, whose opinions he was calling in question) *invenisse dicitur fornicem,—ut lapidum curvatura paulatim inclinatorum medio saxo alligaretur.—Hoc dicam falsum esse.—Necesse est enim ante Democritum, et pontes, et portas fuisse, quarum fere summa curvantur.*"

*Democritus is said to have invented the Arch, of such construction, that a curvature of stones, inclining by little and little towards each other, should be bound firm by a stone placed in the midst.—But this I should say was false.—Because of necessity before the time of Democritus, there must have been both bridges, and gates, whereof the tops must have been (or are) generally curved.*—Such, and such only, are the words of Seneca:—and I cannot find that he any where adds, any words to this following purport, " *contre le témoignage évident, de tant de* " *monumens de cette espèce qui étoient élevés avant lui.*"

* In the Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 5.

And as to the real words here cited, they are confuted by positive facts;—and prove no more, to the purpose, than the almost blasphemous beginning* of the same Epistle; or than the fallacious mode of reasoning, which, I must honestly confess, appears to me to run throughout the whole Epistle.

Bridges and Gates, we are assured, from many positive instances, (some of which, both at *Babylon*, and at *Rome*, I have already referred to),† did exist before the time of Democritus, *without Arches*:—and even most exact accounts which have been given to us, by antient Writers, of the *precise mode of their construction* have ascertained the fact.—*Seneca* therefore proves nothing as to the point in question, except that *Posidonius did maintain the tradition.*

This *Posidonius* seems to have been the contemporary of *Cicero*, and both a Philosopher, and extraordinary mechanical Artist.—He is mentioned in the Book *de Natura Deorum*, in these remarkable words:‡—"*Quod si in Scythiam, aut in Britanniam, sphæram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noster effecit Posidonius, cujus singulæ conversiones idem efficiunt in sole, et in luna, et in quinque stellis, errantibus, quod efficitur in cælo singulis diebus et noctibus, quis in illa barbarie dubitet, quin ea sphæra sit perfecta ratione?—Were any one to convey into Scythia, or into Britain, the sphere which our late friend Posidonius made, whose several revolutions performed the same with regard to the sun, and the moon, and the five (planetary) wandering stars, as is performed day and night in the sky, (or heaven), who, even in that state of barbarity, could doubt, but that such a sphere was the work of intelligence?*

In the same Tract, *Cicero* says, *Posidonius* was his Master, and Instructor, together with some others, whom he also names; adding,—"*a quibus instituti sumus*,§—*by whom we were taught (or educated)*;—and he tells us further, *Posidonius* was of such emi-

* Quis dubitare, mi Lucili, potest, quin Deorum immortalium munus sit, quod vivimus: philosophiæ, quod bene vivimus.

† Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 6, 7, 8, 9.—Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 234, 245.

‡ Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. ii. sec. 34.

§ Ibid. lib. i. sec. 3.

nence, that *Pompey* arriving at *Rhodes*, where he lived, desired to hear him; and when, on account of the then illness of *Posidonius*, he could not do so, was yet desirous, if it might be, *even merely to see him*.*

This *Posidonius* believed the tradition concerning the *recentness* of the Invention of the Arch; and concerning its having been *first introduced by Democritus*:—and surely it cannot but be allowable, to suppose, *such a man as this Posidonius*, to have been at least full as capable of judging concerning the authenticity of a tradition, relating to *such* a matter, as *Seneca;* who only assigns so very futile a reason for contradicting it.

Mr. Dutens (p. 12) then again cites the passage from *Plato;* which he had before cited;—and without taking any notice of the answer I had both printed, and sent to him;—although he has in many other instances, (evidently on account of my printed answers) altered his new publication, from the former copy.—I can only therefore say, that my former Reply,† appears still to my mind convincing, and fully sufficient.

The same I must also say, referring to my former remarks,‡ concerning the passage in *Aristotle's* Treatise, *de Mundo*, on which Mr. Dutens lays so much stress; notwithstanding his adding (p. 12, and p. 24) *French lax translations*, to perplex the subject:—and even allowing the Treatise to have been *Aristotle's* genuine production.—For, even taking the lax French translation, concerning the *covering stones*,—*Qui soutiennent tout l'édifice, par la résistance qu'elles opposent de toutes parts*,—to have been a just one; yet even these words are quite as applicable to *the great flat stones, laid across at the top*, to cover the approaching sides of the great Gallery in the first Pyramid, as to the *key stones*§ of any Arches, or even more so;—for such flat stones do indeed *support all the edifice*

* Cicero, Tuscul. Disputationum, lib. ii. sec. 25; and 2 Att. Ep. 1.

† In the Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 18.

‡ Ibid. p. 18.

§ It is a curious well-known fact, and ought not to be passed by unnoticed, on this occasion, that many antient *Roman Arches* have not what can properly be called any decided *key stone* at all.

*above, over the side walls*, and prevent their being crushed together; whereas it is not the *key stone* of an Arch, that, *alone*, either supports the edifice above, or prevents the sides from being crushed together, but merely the form and nature of the Arch, in every part;—and indeed every individual stone, *in an Arch*, supports, by its resistance of pressure, just as much as the *key stone*.—I must add, also, that the word ὀμφαλὸς, used by Aristotle, means simply, *umbilicus*,—or *umbo*,—*a boss of a buckler*,—or *a middle part of a thing*,—or *the top of an hill*.—And is not, by any Lexicographer that I am acquainted with, used to signify a *key stone*.

But even if the passage in Aristotle, could be supposed to prove that he was acquainted with *the Arch*, yet that does not shew that it was known *before* the time of Democritus, as Aristotle died only 322 A. C. and Democritus had died 361 A. C.—and therefore Aristotle might very well have known the nature of an Arch, even if it was the invention of Democritus.

In page (13 and 14), Mr. Dutens again refers to instances of the manner in which the words ἀψὶς,—ψαλὶς,—θόλος,—and θόλοειδὲς,—are used, by various Greek Authors, of different ages.—I cannot, however, perceive any one reference of his, that is at all *decisive*, as to the point in question;—or to which the observations already made by me,* with regard to these words, may not be applied;—or that any of the references prove at all more, than that Rotundos,—*round Rooms*, did exist, covered with *conical roofs*:—a fact which I have ever allowed, and never did deny.—Such was the Tent of Achilles;—such the Tent of Xerxes;—such the covering of the Odeum at Athens;—and I will even allow, that a covering like that of our *Ranelagh*, might possibly exist in the most antient times.—But all this is no proof of the existence of the true *architectural Arch*, before the days of *Democritus*, and *Aristotle*.

And as to what Dio Cassius says, describing the *Pantheon* at Rome, that it was θόλοειδὲς:—as he himself lived *after* the time of *Augustus;* when all these words, in Greek, were unquestionably

* Introduction to the fourth Volume of the Munimenta, p. 18, 19; and in the preceding pages of this little Tract.

used, for want of more precise ones, to describe really *arched* vaultings,—as well as mere *conical* vaultings, it proves nothing but what is consistent with my former remarks.

It is a very curious fact, that *conical* vaultings, and coverings for Buildings, are so much more easily constructed, than *arched* vaultings, and have ever been deemed so very strong, that when Sir Christopher Wren had first built the inner concave Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral of Brick, turned upon a wooden centre, he would not trust that Dome to support any Lantern:* but afterwards, *over this first Cupola*, raised *a Cone* of Brick, to support the Stone Lantern, that crowns the Building, and also to support the outward Dome; which itself is formed only of Timber covered with lead. The Cone of Brick, the antients unquestionably could have built, before the days either of *Archimedes*, or of *Democritus;* —but as to the inner *arched Dome of Brick;* or any *arched Dome of Stone* whatever; I still remain perfectly unacquainted with the existence of any such thing, in any instance, *earlier* than the age in which *Democritus* lived.

The method used by Sir Christopher Wren, to build the inner Dome of St. Paul's, where (as in the Pantheon) the open circle of masonary formed at the top, serves for the purpose of *a key stone*, is so very singular, and was such an uncommon invention, that it ought not to be passed by unnoticed:—he so constructed the very scaffolding, resting on the cornice† beneath, (on which the workmen stood, first to build, and afterwards even to paint,‡ and to adorn the Dome,) as to be itself the centre, on which to turn the Arch, without any standards from the floor beneath.§

And I cannot omit adding, that even Sir Christopher Wren had such apprehensions, concerning the nature of the bearings of an Arch, in forming his Dome, (dreading its property of expanding,

* See Parentalia, p. 291.

† The flat top of this cornice, is what now is called *the Whispering Gallery*.

‡ On this scaffolding it was, that Sir James Thornhill's life was saved, by his servant dashing out a part of a figure, which his master had just painted, and was retiring several paces backward to observe, till one foot was nearly on the utmost edge of the scaffold, and the next step would have precipitated him.

§ See Parentalia, p. 291.

and pressing outward), that he had the precaution, to gird the lower part of the arched Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, quite round, with a vast iron chain.—" For though the great colonade which en-" circles the Dome without, serves for the butment of the Dome, " yet (says the Writer of the *Parentalia*,*) for greater caution, it is " hooped with iron in this manner:—a chanel is cut in the " bandage of Portland Stone, in which is laid a double chain " of iron, strongly linked together at every ten feet, and the " whole chanel filled up with lead."

As to Mr. Dutens's reference, p. 15, and 24, to the Plates of *Jean Hoüel, Peintre du Roi de France*, published in his *Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Lipari, et de Malte,—à Paris, en 4 Vol. in fol.* 1767;—to say nothing of the questionable precision of *picturesque views;* they at most only prove, that *Arches* are indeed seen in those views;—but they prove nothing, as to the *real antiquity* of any of those Arches.

Mr. Dutens then says, p. 15,—that the *Etruscans* knew the use *des Voûtes*;—because in the environs of *Nola*, (a very antient Etruscan Village, near Caserta,) he was assured by persons of credit, there were *voûtes* constructed of travertine stone, well polished, in which were found *Etruscan Vases*.—His words are,—" *Plusieurs personnes de crédit, qui ont voyagé dans cette partie de* " *l'Italie, m'ont assuré avoir été dans quelques-unes de ces voûtes, faites* " *de pierre travertine très-bien polie, dans lesquelles on a trouvé des* " *Vases Etrusques, et des Urnes Sépulcrales.*"

But here, in the first place, he does not appear to have been assured exactly, *how* those Vaults were covered in:—whether with conical coverings;—or with flat coverings;—or with coverings with plain sloping sides, meeting together;—or with *arched* coverings.—And even if he could have been assured that they were covered with *arched* coverings; yet their containing what are called *Etruscan Vases*, does not prove any thing, relating to the point in question.—Because, (to say nothing of possible pretended Italian discoveries of *Etruscan Vases*, no more to be relied upon, as remains of high antiquity, than Paduan Medals, as to originality;—

* P. 291, 292.

or than *Michael Angelo's*, discovered marble arm), I could never find any satisfactory account, of the time *when* the *Etruscan Ware* really *ceased* to be fabricated.—Nor indeed is it credible, now, since such *immense quantities* of it have been discovered in Italy, that it should either have been unknown to the Romans; or never have been used by them, during the long interval between the days of its *first Etruscan fabrication, before the foundation of Rome*, and those modern days, when it is allowed by Sir William Hamilton, and others, to have been found in quite common use, by the modern Country Villagers, in consequence of the vast quantities dug up.—It is much to be suspected, that the common fabrication of it continued, not only long after the days, either of *Democritus*, or of *Archimedes*, but even after the age of *Augustus*.

Mr. Dutens then repeats (in p. 16) his observations concerning the Great Gateway, that is found in the walls of Pæstum;—concerning the Aqueduct, and the Walls of Carthage;—concerning the Cloaca Maxima, at Rome;—and concerning the Aqueduct of *Ancus Marcius*.—But as he has added nothing material to what he had said before, the full answers that I have given, in the Introduction to my fourth Volume of the Munimenta, p. 15, 16, and p. 9, 10, 11, 12, (where I have closely adhered to all the original words of the several Authors) might suffice.—I must, however, just observe, that *Mr. Dutens* appears to me to suffer himself to be too much misled, by his partiality for French Translators:—and that I cannot comprehend, what he means, by saying (p. 16) that the *Syren*, in bass relief, upon the key stone, is evidently *d'ouvrage Etrusque*:—since he might just as well have made such a sort of light observation concerning the style of thousands of other pieces of sculpture, both of the time of Adrian, and which have been wrought long since that Emperor's reign.

I must add also, that as to what he says (p. 18) concerning the discovery made, in the year 1742, of *the Arches* of the *Cloaca Maxima*, under the *Forum Romanum*;—it proves nothing more, than that there were *then* discovered some of *the Arches* built by *Agrippa*; for we have every reason to believe, from the accounts given, that Agrippa did certainly cause the whole of that *great Sewer*

to be covered with Arches, except where it consisted only of passages, hewn through the rocks.

And I must also further add, that with regard to what Mr. Dutens says (p. 18), concerning the representations of the Aqueduct of *Ancus Marcius*, on the Consular Medals of the *Marcian* Family; it were to have been wished, that he had pointed out, *which* he particularly intended to refer to;—for as there were Consuls long after the time of Augustus, and even to the very dissolution of the Roman Empire, such Consular Medals, would only bear representations of the work, *as repaired by Agrippa;* and I am not aware of any others, that represent any Aqueduct with real Arches.

Mr. Dutens proceeds, (p. 19), in the last place, to mention the Tomb of *Scipio Barbatus;* in which he intimates, that he saw the skeleton of that great man.—His words are:—*Je ne dois pas omettre ici le tombeau des Scipions, découvert à Rome en* 1781, *et dans lequel je suis entré l'année suivante. Il est composé d'une longue galerie voûtée. On y voyoit alors plusieurs des hommes célèbres de cette illustre famille; entre autres* Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, *trisaïeul de Scipion l'Africain, dont le squelette étoit très-entier. Il avoit au doigt une bague que le Pape Pie VI. me fit l'honneur de me donner.*

All this, however, does not, to my apprehension, by any means invalidate the strength of the observations I ventured to make, in the Introduction to my fourth Volume, (p. 15), concerning the strong reasons there are to conclude, that the Tomb was constructed by *Scipio Africanus;*—or at least *after* the time of Democritus.

Mr. Dutens (p. 20) mentions *the Fountain of Egeria,* as built *in the Time of Numa.*

That there was *a Fountain of Water* there, in *Numa's* time, is not to be disputed; but surely not *such a Structure* as now stands there.

And as to the *Temple of Venus,*—the *Porta Salara,*—the *Ponte Salaro,*—the *Temple of Hope,*—the *Temple of Vesta,*—the *Ponte Rotto,* &c.—If Mr. Dutens will duly consider the style of those Buildings, and what other Antiquaries have observed concerning

them ; he will find there wants better authority, than their merely being represented in the Plates of *Venuti*, for concluding any one of them, to have been *prior* to the Augustan age.

I come now to answer the regular list of direct, unjust charges, which, at the end of *the Supplement to his republication*, Mr. Dutens has brought against me.

He says (p. 22)—that I make the age of *Democritus* approach too near that of *Archimedes*.—For that Democritus flourished 460 years A. C. and Archimedes died 212 years A. C. ;—which makes 250 years between the one and the other ; and that I make only 150 years difference.—I answer, that Democritus in reality did die only 360 years A. C. aged 109 ;—and that Archimedes was killed in the midst of his mathematical studies, A. C. 208.—Supposing him therefore to have been at that time only 50 years of age ; he must have been 20—in the year 238 A. C. ; and supposing Democritus to have been in full possession of his faculties at the age of 70, he must have been flourishing, according to Mr. Dutens's expression, about the year 409 ; which at most makes only 171 years difference ;—which is a very little more than 150 ; and a difference too trifling to be carped at ;—especially as, in reality, *Democritus* might continue the full use of his faculties much longer ; and *Archimedes* might begin to understand both Mathematicks, and Architecture, sooner than in the twentieth year of his life.

To say, with Mr. Dutens, that Democritus flourished 460 years A. C. is to say he *flourished* when he was not even 10 years old ; which is almost ludicrous.—And after all, in a matter of so high antiquity, as about 2000 years ago ; 130, or 150, or even 250 years, cannot reasonably be deemed *a difference* of any material consideration, as to placing *the date* of the Invention of *the Arch ;* or of any discovery whatever.

Mr. Dutens (p. 22) repeats, with more eagerness, his strange observations concerning Pococke, in these words :

" *M. King, p. 14, allègue le silence de Pocock comme une preuve* " *que le Labyrinthe d'Egypte n'étoit pas soutenu par des voûtes ; mais*

" *Pocock n'avoit pas vu cet édifice. Paul Lucas l'avoit visité, et nous* " *en a donné le dessin.—Preuve affirmative contre une negative.*"

And I must therefore here repeat, that I *did not alledge* THE SILENCE *of Pococke as a proof that the Labyrinth of Egypt was not supported* PAR DES VOUTES, (*or*, WAS NOT SUPPORTED BY ARCHES); but that, on the contrary, as any one may see, who will take the trouble to consult my Book,—(Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 239, 240, 241)—that I did affirm, (both in consequence of the very *identical words*, and description of *Herodotus*, who saw it;—and also in consequence of the very words, and description of *Pococke*, who positively *affirms* he also saw it), that there were no *Arches* in that Building.

So far from Pococke's *having never seen it himself;* his very words are, beginning his narration, (Vol. I. p. 61) *Going over the spot of this famous Building, the first thing I saw was, &c. &c. &c.* —And I must now add, that as to any distinction, between *the Temple of the Labyrinth*, and *the Labyrinth;*—surely Mr. Dutens needs not to be told, that the *Labyrinth itself* was always considered as a *Sacred Structure, and Temple;* and that we read not of any Temple *distinct* from it.—The most that can be said is, that *the Temple* was but a part of the Building.—Pococke even describes the cavities which he discerned in the walls of *the Labyrinth*, where he had reason to believe some of the sacred crocodiles had been deposited;—he says also, the whole Building was " *covered* " *with stone, doubtless laid on the many pillars that were in it.*"—And that the rooms underground, were, " *without doubt, cut out of the* " *rock, as those at Thebes.*

I wish *Mr. Dutens* would have had the goodness, fairly to have read both what I had written, and what others had really written, in their own vernacular language, before he presumed to censure.

It were to be wished also, that he would not rely so much upon the authority of *Paul Lucas*, whose account is but too well known to be of no authority at all.

*Mr. Dutens* is pleased to affirm (p. 23) that what I have said concerning the Gate at *Pæstum*, and concerning the Tomb of

*Scipio*, is begging the question.—I have only to beg any person would carefully peruse the remarks I have made, (in the Munimenta, Vol. II. p. 262, and in the Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 15), to shew how uncandid, and unfounded, this assertion is. —To say nothing of his hasty affirmation that the Gate is *de la même maçonnerie que les Murailles de cette Ville*.—And that the figure of the *Syren*, in bas relief, is *d'ouvrage Etrusque;*—when it would have been much more to the purpose, to have shewn decidedly, if he could, that both were of the same workmanship with the *Temples*.

Mr. Dutens then proceeds (p. 23) to misrepresent entirely, the remarks I had made, concerning the Arch mentioned by Cicero, as erected to the honour of *Fabius*.—His words are,—"*Parlant de* "*l'arc de triomphe élevé à l'honneur de Fabius le Censeur, mort* 360 "*ans avant J. Christ. M. King ajoute: just about the age of Archi-* "*medes; justement vers le tems d'Archimède: or Archimède est mort* "*plus de* 130 *ans après l'élévation de ce monument. Voilà encore un* "*siècle de différence que M. King semble compter pour rien.*"

But whoever will take the trouble fairly to read, what I did actually write (in p. 16 of my Introduction), will find that I did not say any thing like what he has represented.—I merely said, that the victory obtained by *Fabius*, was about 350 years A. C.; —and that the Arch must have been reared *after* that event; and *therefore* long after Democritus, and just about the age of Archimedes.

And I must now add, (whatever little inaccuracy there might be in that expression) in the first place, that *Fabius* could not well have been dead 360 years A. C. if the battle was fought afterwards, only 350 A. C.—And I must repeat, that even if the difference had really been more than 130 years, *between the rearing of the Arch, and the days of Archimedes*, yet, in considering dates at so early a period, as above two thousand years ago, two such dates might fairly be spoken of as *nearly approximating*.—I must, however, also repeat here, what I have said before, that I am willing to conclude the Arch to have been invented originally by *Democritus*, rather than by *Archimedes*:—and in that case, this *Fabian Arch*

certainly must have been erected *after* the first invention by *Democritus*, who died 360 or 361 years A. C, aged 109.—and therefore it is so far from disproving what has been said concerning the *recentness* of the Invention of the Arch; that Cicero's mention of it, is even a strong fact to confirm the truth of all that I have advanced.

Thus far I have reasoned upon *Mr. Dutens'* own grounds, even supposing the Arch to have been built by *Fabius the Censor*, (as he says) 360 years A. C;—but there is one curious circumstance, that Mr. Dutens has not adverted to;—which is, that there is no sufficient proof of *this Arch* having in reality been built by *Fabius the Censor* himself, or even in his days.—For there was another *Fabius* of distinguished note, in the time of Cicero, and his contemporary; Q. *Fabius Sanga*, the then avowed Protector of the *Allobroges*, and to whom they discovered Cataline's conspiracy;—and it does not at all appear, but that this Arch might have been reared by him, or at least in his time, to the honour of his ancestor. —The Arch was at Rome, and in the *Sacred Way;*—and is expressly mentioned again, as being so, by *Cicero*, in his Oration *pro Plancio*,—where he says,—*non illum accuso qui est in summa sacra via, quum ego ad Fabii Fornicem impellor: sed eum qui in meipsum incurrit atque incidit.**—It is well known also, that there were *many statues*† of the *Fabian* family placed in, and about it;—which must have been placed there very much subsequent to the building of the Arch, if it were really built 350 years A. C. for otherwise they must have been placed there, *before the persons they represented were born.*—Even the great *Fabius Maximus*, was Dictator only 217 years A. C.

*Mr. Dutens* then says (p. 23), concerning my observations, as to the words of Pliny, relating to the Aqueduct of the *Aqua Marcia:—il entortille ce passage et l'embrouille;*—I must only refer any one to my plain account of the matter, (in p. 16 of the Introduction), to shew that there is no *twisting, or perplexing of the passage*

* Pro Plancio, sec. 7, Vol. V. Verburgii ed.

† These statues are mentioned in the Notes, Vol. III. p. 1057, of Verburgius's edition of Cicero's Works. In Verrem, Actio Prima, sec. 7.

on my part.—And I must now add, that Pliny (who lived in the time of *Trajan*) might very well describe it as *fornicibus structis perducta*, since its waters were indeed *at that very time* flowing on Arches, constructed either by *Agrippa*, on his making the great repair, in the time of Augustus, or by *Q. Marcius Rex*, 120 years A. C. as Pliny himself intimates.*

*Mr. Dutens* then says (p. 24), that I again *beg the question*, with regard to the Treasury of *Minyas*;—and very unhandsomely exclaims, that the doing so, is my "*grand cheval de bataille.*"

He says, that I beg the question, by imagining "*que cet édifice "pouvoit fort bien avoir été rebâti plusieurs siècles après le tems de "Minyas.*"—But whoever will consult fairly what I have said upon the subject, (in my Introduction, p. 17, 18), will find, that I rest nothing upon any such supposition:—but that, fairly referring to the *original words* of Pausanias, I do say, and I do here again affirm, that he evidently describes, not *an arched dome*, but *a conical covering, ending in a sharp point at top.*

I do also still affirm, that as *Pausanias*, who thus saw it, and thus describes it, lived above 1500 years after the time of *Minyas*, that it most probably *had been rebuilt*.—And whether it had, or had not, the existence of such *a conical cupola*,† proves nothing

* See the words of Pliny at length in my Introduction, p. 16.

† Mr. Dutens might almost as well produce the covering of a *Kaffer Tent*, in Africa, as an instance of an *arched Dome*.—Mr. Barrow thus describes the Tent, or House of a King of the *Kaffers* (Vol. II. p. 115):—"His House, like all the rest in the Town, was "built in a circular form, being about sixteen feet in diameter. The bottom part, to "the height of four feet from the ground, was stone laid in clay, and wooden spars "erected at certain distances. On the east side of the circle, about the fourth part of "the House was open, the other three fourths entirely closed.—A round pointed roof "covered the whole in the form of a tent, well thatched with long reeds, or with the "straws of the holcus.—From the centre to the back part of the House, a circular "apartment is made off, with a narrow entrance into it, where the head of the family "takes his nightly rest; the other members of the family sleep in the fore part, or "between the large and small circles of the House."

This account is the rather here inserted at length, because it shews how *corresponding* primative ideas were on all parts of the earth, from whatever origin (either Arabian, or other) the Kaffers were derived:—for it is impossible for an intelligent mind to avoid combining the idea of such a *Kaffer* Tent, with that of a British circular Hut, or House, as described (in the first Volume of this Work) from unquestionable authority, and from unquestionable Remains.

with regard to the date of *the Invention of the Arch*;—for I ever have allowed, that such Structures both might exist, and did exist, long before the Invention of *the Arch*; as well as the coved covering of the Great Gallery in the first Pyramid of Egypt.—And I must tell *Mr. Dutens* again, that such structures may be *vaultings*, but that they are no proofs of the existence of any *Arch*, or *arched vaultings*.

His observations concerning the passages in *Aristotle*, and *Plato*, I have already answered:—yet I will reply to his last question, with regard to those words, repeated by him with energy, (p. 25); —though that question is perhaps too futile to receive a serious answer.—He demands;—"*Comment un pierre, posée à plat sur "l'ouverture d'une voûte, pouvoit elle servir de clef à l'ouvrage, et en "arreter toutes les parties?*"—*How can a stone placed flat on the opening of a vault, how can it serve as a key to the work, and stop (or support) all the parts?*

And I reply flatly, that his *French words* are a mistranslation; and a misrepresentation, both of the *original words of Aristotle*, and of my explanatory words, (in my Introduction, p. 18),—for there are no words in the original Greek,* that demand to be translated *key to the work*,—or *key stone*;—neither have I ever said, that such stone, so placed, would be *a key to the work*.—But I have said, such stone *lying in, and on the middle parts of the structure*, would preserve the whole *in harmony and strength*, (according to the very words of the original Greek,—*ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ ϒηρσῦσι, καὶ ἐν ϒάξει*; —that is, would preserve the whole, both from any superincumbent weight, and from the sides being by such incumbent weight pressed together.—And I affirm, that we have had proofs of such stones doing so most effectually; both in the Hanging Gardens of Babylon; and in the Bridge under the Euphrates;

* The word used by Aristotle, is ομφαλοῖς; and H. Stephens says, Vol. II. p. 1312, *ὀμφαλὸς dicitur media pars inter duo κέρατα cornua.—ὀμφαλὸς* vocatur etiam umbilicus fornicis, id est lapis continens compagem et coagmentationem sese forficum modo intersecantem.—Sic et in forfice umbilicus nominari potest.—I have already remarked, p. 30—2, that ομφαλὸς is used to mean a *a boss of a buckler*;—*a middle part of a thing*;—or *the top of an hill*.

the precise mode of constructing which works has even been accurately given to us, by the most authentick antient Writers.—We have proofs also of such stones serving for this purpose, in the great coved Gallery of the first Pyramid, at *Gize*, in Egypt, and also in other Pyramids at *Sakara*:—and even of Roman Bricks placed in like manner, doing so, in many antient flues of Roman Hypocausts.

I reply further, that let the words of *Aristotle* import even whatever *Mr. Dutens* pleases, yet as *Aristotle** certainly lived *after* the time of *Democritus*, and I have (throughout the whole of my Introductory Tract) readily admitted that the Arch might indeed be invented by *Democritus*, those words do in no wise prove the invention of the Arch to have been of an earlier date.

*Mr. Dutens* concludes, with saying, (p. 25,) in addition to his words just cited, "*Ne faut-il pas avoir fermé les yeux, de crainte de "voir la vérité, pour avancer une telle proposition?—J'en appelle à "M. King lui même:—il a trop d'esprit et de savoir pour ne pas se "rendre à l'évidence de ce raisonnement, quand il y aura fait un peu "d'attention: il me remerciera alors de lui avoir donné l'occasion de "rectifier son erreur.*"

I conclude, on my part, with saying finally in reply, that my mind is, with the utmost candour, ever open to conviction; and that I utterly abhor the mean subterfuge *of shutting my eyes for fear of perceiving the truth*, in this, or in any case whatever.—But arguments must be much stronger, and better founded on real facts, than those of Mr. Dutens, to induce me to alter my sentiments in this matter.—I am ever ready to yield to reason, and argument;—but it must be to sound reason,—and to fair argument;—and therefore I have no other *thanks to return to Mr. Dutens*, than that he has given an occasion to the investigating this subject more fully.

There is no end of answering a number of positive assertions, concerning the appearance of Arches in the ruins of antient Cities, in this place, or in that, where there is no precise proof *as to the respective dates of those Buildings*, or whether they were

* Aristotle was born 384 A. C, and died 322 A. C.

constructed in the earliest, or only in the latest periods of the existence of such Cities.

I have confined myself to trace, with caution, *positive facts*.—And from the detailed consideration of the Gates, and Arches, in Rome, in the second Volume of the Munimenta (from p. 269 to p. 273); and from what has been added in the Introduction to this fourth, it appears to me, that almost *every Arch in Rome* may be ascertained to have been either of the very age of *Augustus Cæsar:* or constructed in some subsequent period.—It appears also that no Arches are mentioned in our English translation of *Holy Scripture*, except in one Chapter,* and that by mistranslation;—or by *Homer;*—or by *Herodotus;*—and that no Arches existed at Thebes, or elsewhere in Egypt;—or in Babylon;—or at Persepolis;—or even at Athens;—before the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, or at least before that of *Democritus*.

Nevertheless I am not obstinately tenacious of any opinion;—nor do I wish to impose my opinion upon others.—In every instance I simply state facts, and candidly leave every man, *capable of judging*, to judge for himself.

* This has been mentioned (p. 8).—And it is very remarkable, that in our English version, throughout the whole chapter (which is the 40th of Ezekiel) the marginal notes *correct* the reading, and substitute the words *Galleries*, or *Porches*, instead of the word *Arches*.—And the Latin translation, printed at London, by Middleton, A. D. 1585, never names any thing like *an Arch*, but translates the words of the 16th verse,—*ac ipsis etiam pteromatis vestibuli:*—whilst, in the notes by *Tremellius*, and *Junius*, it is added, *Hos autem muros, in pronais et vestibulis Vitruvius appellat pteromata*.—The Vulgate, also, throughout the whole chapter, never once has any words that tend to the intimation of any thing like *an Arch*.—And in this 16th verse, the words are only,—*Et fenestras obliquas in thalamis, et in frontibus eorum, quæ erant intra portam undique per circuitum: similiter autem erant et in vestibulis fenestræ per gyrum intrinsecus, et ante frontes pictura palmarum*.—And throughout the whole chapter, where the Septuagint has the word αἰλίν, or αἰλεὶ, or αἰλὰμ, or αἰλαμμὶν, or αἰλαμμὶ, the Vulgate, as well as the Latin translation just referred to, has uniformly the word *vestibulum*, or *vestibula*.

# POSTSCRIPT.

Since this Appendix was written, and whilst it was in the press, I received from Mr. Dutens *a third Publication*, written by him in our English language, in answer to some very acute remarks, made by some learned person, in the Edinburgh Review, for January 1806.

Who the intelligent Author of those Remarks was, I know not; —neither had I ever seen, or heard of them, till just a day or two before Mr. Dutens sent to me this his third Tract:—but as they are very accurate, and interesting; and throw much new light upon the subject; adding circumstances, different from those which had been adverted to by me; I cannot but refer any reader to them, who is at all curious in these kind of researches, leaving him to judge of the strength of Mr. Dutens's Reply; and without transcribing even a single passage from those Remarks, in confirmation of my own ideas.

But, at the same time, whereas *in a Postscript*, Mr. Dutens says, "I had wrote thus far, when I acquired another strong proof of "the existence of Arches four hundred years before Christ;"— and then proceeds to describe the *Emissario* of the Lake Albano; —I cannot avoid adding, that if he had but taken the trouble to cast an attentive eye upon my Introduction to this fourth Volume of the Munimenta, to which he refers on so many other occasions, he might have seen that (in p. 20) this *Emissario*, or Outlet of the Alban Lake, *had been taken notice of by me already*, with the fullest attention, both as to the account given of it by *Livy*, and *Cicero*; and also as to its construction, and present appearance: and has been shewn to be very far from affording any proof, of the existence of an Arch *in the time of Camillus*; or of any Arch that could have been built by him;—though I must now also add, that even if it did afford such proof; yet as *Democritus* (according

to Diogenes Laertius) died 361 years before Christ, at the age of 109, it would be no proof *of the existence of an Arch before the time of Democritus;* because Democritus must have been living, and 75 years old, in the year 395 before Christ, when the draining of the Lake was undertaken by *Camillus*.

And I must further add also, that whoever will examine with attention *Piranesi's* representation of the present magnificent Façade, in his *Vedutedel Lago Albano,* to which Mr. Dutens refers, will plainly perceive, that even *there* the whole of the original drain, *the Emissario,* the work of *Camillus,* appears to have been a mere *mining excavation,* of small dimensions, hewn out, or cut through the rock, and hill, without any arched masonry at all; —and that *the entrance of the Emissario,* even in the Façade itself, appears, in this view of Piranesi's, still covered at top *merely by a flat stone,* instead of being a stone *Arch;*—and that the magnificent Arch, of the great *facing of stone work against the side of the hill,* is so far from carrying decided marks of the highest antiquity, that it has even *a regular key stone, rising higher upwards than the other stones;* and regular *stones projecting outwards, one on each side, as imposts;*—and a sort of *rustic work,* on the supporting walls, on each side:—and indeed such kind of proportion, and ornamental design, as seems to indicate its being of a much later age than that of Augustus.

Let any one look on the Arches shewn by Piranesi himself to exist, on the outside of the walls of the Pantheon, and see how different they appear to be.—Or let him look at the antient Arches, as represented by Piranesi himself, in the many really antient ruins near *Castel Gandolfo,* and the Lake Albano, in his

*Rovine d'Antico edifizio nella Villa Barberina presso Castel Gandolfo;*

in his *Veduta della Spelonca, detta il Bergantino, presso l'imbocco dell' Emissario del Lago Albano;*

in his *Elevazione e prospetto d'un' altra piscina esistente nella vigna de' PP. della Compagnia di Gesu a Castel Gandolfo;*

and in his *Rovine dell' Anfiteatro detto di Domiziano nell' orto de' Monaci di S. Paolo d'Albano.*

Let any intelligent person well examine all these; and then let him say, if it be possible to consider the Façade, at the mouth of the *Emissario*, as having been even nearly of so high antiquity as any of them.

Are we to say, the age of *Camillus* was a more skilful, more scientific, more magnificent age, than that of *Augustus*?—And also, that Rome, and its environs, or at least that some of the Structures, were full as magnificent in the days of *Camillus*, as in those of *Augustus*, or even of the *Antonines*?

*Piranesi's* View of the *Emissario*, agrees perfectly well with *Kircher's* exact description,* which, as to the *Emissario* itself, conveys simply the idea, of a passage being *cut or hewn through the rock, and even of unequal height, in different parts*;—so far from its having any regular *arched* masonry;—and the only Arch he speaks of, is that great facing placed in front of the rock; whose appearance is most superb.—This magnificent Façade, it is very remarkable, is approached through plantations of trees;—is just beneath *Castel Gandolpho*, which has been the country autumnal residence of the Popes for centuries;—and from its whole style, and appearance, this Façade, as delineated by *Piranesi*, is much more likely to have been added, for ornament, to the entrance of this celebrated subterraneous Canal, by one of the magnificent Pontiffs, than to have been any work of the Romans, either in early ages, or even in the time of the Emperors.

The greater part of all the adjacent Ruins, are well known to be Remains of Buildings constructed in the reign of *Domitian*, and they seem evidently to shew, upon comparison, that this great Arch of *the Emissario* could not have been built, even so early as in his days;—in short the whole stile of the Arch is such, that it would hardly be absurd, or impossible, to suspect it, from Piranesi's representation, to have been built even so late as in the

* The words of Kircher are,—Ingens occurrit arcus, quadris lapidibus ingenti mole adinstar prægrandis portæ constructus, quam ubi subieris, tum ecce Canalis latitudinis septem palmorum se spectandum præbet;—altitudo pro diversa terrenarum partium conditione varia est, jam depressior, modo altior; ubi maxima est, decem palmorum deprehenditur.—Kircheri Latium Vetus et Novum, p. 39, 40.

time of Pope Alexander the Seventh, about the year 1660, who bestowed more cost than almost any of the Popes in ornamenting the Palace of *Castel Gandolfo*, and its environs.

The Antiquary's care should be, to distinguish carefully Buildings, and Works, *and even the parts of Buildings, one from another, that deserve to be distinguished, as to their different ages;*—and not to confound them together, because they chance to be found on the same spot.

It is now incumbent upon me to remark further; that notwithstanding Mr. Dutens's neglect to take any notice, in his Postscript, of what I had previously written, concerning the *Emissario of the Alban Lake*, yet he is very eager to take notice of a little apparent erratum (in my Introduction, p. 11), occasioned by an omission of the word *nearly;* by omitting which word, I mention *Pliny* as living *in the days of Trajan, about* the year 100 A. D, though Pliny died A. D. 79.—But notwithstanding I acknowledge this may be considered as an erratum, yet I must desire Mr. Dutens to recollect, that the difference is only 21 years;—that *Pliny* was 56 years old when he died, in the year 79;—that *Trajan* was 64 years old when he died, in the year 117;—and therefore must have been 26 years of age when *Pliny* lost his life;—and that, in reality, both Pliny the elder, and Pliny the younger, were intimately known to Trajan; as appears from the younger Pliny's Letters.

I cannot conclude, without adding, with regard to the passages cited from *Aristotle*, and *Plato*, (as Mr. Dutens still again refers to them),—that the proper and original meaning of the word ψαλὶς, is *forfex, a pair of sheers*, or any thing constructed in the form of a V, or inverted Λ,—as *a phalanx of soldiers*,—or even as mere sticks so placed;—which (with the point cut off, or a little flattened), is almost the precise form of the coved covering of the great Gallery, in the first Pyramid,—or of the flue of an Hypocaust.—And when *Scapula* says, (p. 1835)—*Apud Architectos* ψαλίδες *dici traduntur in fornicibus, et frontibus ædificiorum, maxime vero in fornicato aditu portarum, oblongi lapides, qui in sui coagmentatione forficum figura efficiunt*,—it leads us to the apprehension of the form

of *a triangular pediment* of a Building, much rather than to that of *an Arch*, though he immediately cites, both *Plato de Legibus*, lib. xii. —and *Aristotle de Mundo*, the very passages to which Mr. Dutens refers.—And though he also adds, as a further explanation of the meaning of the word,—*item ipsæ fornices seu structuræ arcuatæ ;*—for it is apparent from hence, that both *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, may fairly be concluded to have meant, much rather, *the obtuse triangular sort of coving*, or vaulting,—than *the really arched vaulting*.

The same Lexicon, p. 175, allows ἀψὶς, in its primary signification, to mean merely *connexio*, or *vinculum*.

And the same Lexicon, p. 643, informs us, *ab Hesychio*, as one of the properest significations of the word, that θολὸς,—*domus est tectum habens in acutum fastigium desinens*,—which surely means, a *conical covering*.

And in another place, the Lexicon explains θολὸς—as *chamera ædificii, quæ altius crescens rotunda forma in fastigiatum cacumen desinit ;* —and *in fastigiatum cacumen*, is surely, *sharpened at top like a cone, or pyramid*.

All which is perfectly consistent with what has been already observed, from the great authority of *H. Stephens ;*—and totally frustrates any dependance upon the passages in *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, as being any *decided* proofs of the real existence of any Arches in their time.*

* It has been suggested, that possibly, the Fire Temple, of which a representation is given in Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, (ca. 29, tab. vii. p. 359) might be some proof of an high antiquity of the Arch, before the time of Augustus.—But the very words of Hyde himself, refute this idea :—for he says (p. 359) that " antecedentibus temporibus, antequam Religiosus servaretur Ignis, nulla erant Templa veterum " Persarum, quippe qui omnia sua Sacra sub dio peragebant : ideòque in suâ religione " et linguâ non habebant Templi nomen."—*In antient times, before sacred fire was kept up, there were no Temples belonging to the antient Persians, because all their sacred Rites they performed in the open air : and therefore, both in their religion and language, they had not even a name for a Temple.*—And again, in the very page, in which is given the representation of the *Fire Temple*, he says,—" nulla itaque apud veteres Persas erant " Templa, donec perveniretur ad Pyréa, seu Ignis Domicilia."—And afterwards describing the Fire Temples existing in after ages, he says, (p. 360)—" Quoad externam " Pyreorum Figuram, *Thevenotus* in Itinerario dicit, *Antiqua Ignis Templa superne aperta :* " scilicet relictis in *Cupola* foraminibus, ut exeat Fumus, non autem ita ut pluvia

" extinguat Ignem inferius in medio Foco ardentem. Et *Bundâri* tradens quod *Zerdusht* " extruxit Domicilia Ignis refert ;—جعلها قبابا رفيعة—*fecit ea cum Cupolis excelsis.*"—And both these descriptions, and especially that where the words are *cupolis excelsis*, with *high cupolas*, are much more applicable to such Structures as might have the tops *in the form of a cone*,—like a Glass-house, or Tile-kiln,—than to any Structures covered with an arched Dome ;—whilst the figure of the *Fire Temple*, given by Hyde, Tab. viii. p. 359, is that of such a Building as can hardly be supposed to have existed any where, in any age ; and is not even pretended to be from any drawing taken on the spot, by any person whatever ; and indeed seems merely to have been copied from *Picart's Religious Ceremonies*, Vol. IV. p. 412 ; where also it has no other authority, than a slight reference to *Lord's History of the Religion of the antient Persians*.

## SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

Since my writing this last sheet, Mr. Dutens has sent into the world, and has presented to me, a fourth publication;—but as its contents are chiefly mere repetitions, and emendations, I can find nothing that demands any further notice, except that he adduces, as a new, and additional proof of the high antiquity of the Arch, a passage from Sallust, concerning *Il Carcere Tulliano*, which he says is a strong proof of the existence of *Arches*, five or six hundred years before Christ.

The passage is well known.—*Est Locus in Carcere quod Tullianum appellatur . . . . . eum muniunt undique Parietes, atque insuper Camera, Lapideis fornicibus vincta.*—But as the word *fornix*, was equally used by the Romans, in the days of Sallust, to describe a structure covered in by side walls, built inclining towards each other as they advanced upwards, and crowned at the top by a flat stone; as well as to describe *an Arch*;—and was even used to describe the structure of the flues of *Hypocausts*, which are well known to have been usually of that very form; this passage cannot be relied on as any proof at all:—and much less can it be relied on, when *Venuti*, to whom Mr. Dutens refers expressly, says in his Roma Antica, Tom. I. p. 58, *that the work in question was repaired by the Ediles, C. Vibius, and Cocceius Nerva, whose names are over the Prison*;—and when therefore it is much more probable, that the covering part of the Den, or the *Camera Lapideis fornicibus vincta*, whatever kind of *coved covering* those words may denote, (if it was not a mere excavation, or cavern cut in the rock), was in reality the work of *those Ediles*;—and not either of *Tullus Hostilius*, or of *Servius Tullius*.—Boissardus says, in his Topographia Romana, printed in 1597, Vol. I. pars 2,—*Erat autem Tullianum sicut hodie videmus duplex superior et inferior Camera*:

*superiori extat adhuc foramen spiraculi causa additum, ut retulit Flaccus.* And from this description of there being *two dungeons, one beneath the other;*—as well as from these words :—*quod Syracusis ubi hac de causa custodiuntur, vocantur Lathomiæ:*—wherein, as well as in the words immediately following, he compares it to the *Lathomias*, or dreadful dungeons *hewn out of the rock*, or quarries, at Syracuse, we may even be led to suspect, that it was in like manner merely hewn out of a rock,—and that Sallust's words of its being *camera lapideis fornicibus vincta*, were intended to describe the stone coved covering *of rock*, left remaining over head, rather than any *real Arch of masonry*, or artificially constructed vaulting.

Mr. Dutens concludes with these words,—"*In short the state "of the question is this: was the use of Arches known long before the "time of Augustus?—I say yes: five or six hundred years before "Christ, and to prove it, I want only what I have alledged about the "Cloaca Maxima, the Gate at Pæstum, the Carcer Tullianum, and the "Authorities of Posidonius and Seneca on Democritus.*"

From these words one might conclude, that Mr. Dutens had forgotten that *Posidonius*, and *Seneca* were not of the same opinion, with regard to the date of the Invention of the Arch ;—and that *Seneca* was, in reality, with no small degree of conceit, and vanity, fastidiously opposing the opinion of *Posidonius*.

I have endeavoured to shew, that *Posidonius* may very well be allowed to have been the better judge.—And after the full, and fair observations, that I have endeavoured to offer to Mr. Dutens's consideration, in the preceding pages of my answers to him, concerning the *Carcer Tullianum*,—the *Gate at Pæstum*,*—and the *Cloaca Maxima*,+—I can only now say, that I must here leave my ingenious antagonist, to his own convictions.

This full reply I have thought it needful, on this occasion, to make, to repel unjust charges, and to shew that I have advanced nothing hastily.—But it is both my desire, and full purpose, to

* Introduction, p. 15.—Appendix, p. 17, 20.—And see Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 262.

+ Introduction, p. 9, 10, 11, 15.—Appendix, p. 17.—And see Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 269.

avoid controversy, on any subject, with any person whatever.—My only motive, in all my Researches, and in all that I have written, on any subject, has ever been merely to acquire useful knowledge;—and to obtain some apprehension of truth.—And as I received convictions that were satisfactory to my own mind, I have been willing freely to communicate them to others.

# INDEX

TO THE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

# MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA;

AND TO

## THE APPENDIX;

AND ALSO

## TO SUCH PARTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME

AS RELATE TO THE

## INVENTION OF THE ARCH.

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